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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

OF

FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN

1896

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

1897 X

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES, 1896.

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Publication Committee: Messrs. FRANK WOOD, J. W. DAVIS, and Mrs. I. C. BARROWS.

PREFACE.

THE fourteenth annual meeting of the Mohonk Indian Conference was held at the Lake Mohonk House, Oct. 14-16, 1896. Though death had made several gaps in the ranks, there was a large attendance of the old members, and of many who, for the first time, enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, and an opportunity to share in the work of the Conference.

One copy of this report is sent to each member who was present. If other copies are desired, application may be made to Mr. A. K. Smiley, Lake Mohonk, Ulster County, New York.

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THE FOURTEENTH MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 14, 1896.

The fourteenth session of the Mohonk Indian Conference began Wednesday morning, Oct. 14, 1896, assembled at the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley.

After morning prayers the Conference was called to order by Mr. Smiley who said that it was a pleasure to welcome so many earnest people who had gathered to discuss the interests of a people who need sympathy and help. He then nominated Dr. Merrill E. Gates as president. Dr. Gates was unanimously elected.

On motion of Mr. Welsh, Mr. Joshua W. Davis and Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows were elected secretaries.

On motion of Dr. M. E. Strieby, the following Business Committee was elected: Dr. W. H. Ward, chairman, Dr. Addison Foster, Philip C. Garrett, Darwin R. James, Mrs. Clinton B. Fisk, Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Miss Anna L. Dawes.

On motion of Mr. James, Mr. Frank Wood was elected treasurer.

On motion of Mr. Garrett, Mr. Frank Wood, Mr. J. W. Davis, and Mrs. I. C. Barrows were elected a Publication Committee.

Dr. Gates then spoke as follows:—

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT MERRILL E. GATES.

THE INDIAN OF ROMANCE.

The New York papers of last night report as the topic for consideration and discussion at a meeting of one of the brightest women's clubs of that city, a day or two since, "The Novels of Fenimore Cooper." As I saw the item this morning, I was reminded of a morning in the south of France nearly twenty years ago which impressed upon me vividly the prominent place which Fenimore Cooper's North American Indian has held in the European conception of America. On the train from Paris to Marseilles, I found myself in a compartment with an old Italian priest, amiable,

genial of disposition, and persistently inclined toward conversation. He knew no English, he could not speak French, and I tried him in vain with German. As I knew no Italian, conversation seemed likely to prove impracticable. At last we came together through the medium of such Latin as we could both use. The mixture of academic and mediæval Latin in which we sought to exchange ideas for two or three hours, was much of it in startling violation of the canons of the purist, and even of the rules of the grammarians. It would have made Cicero turn in his grave! Nevertheless we established a vocabulary of our own; and the genial and interesting old parish priest, after he had put many questions as to American life, turned to the literature of America, and in barbarous Latin asked me "How true to life is the picture of the Indian, in the novels of Fenimore Cooper?" The foremost place in his knowledge of our literature and in his thought of American life, was filled by the figures called into being by the author of the "Leather-Stocking Stories."

TO SEE THE INDIAN AS HE IS.

Perhaps our work in the successive sessions of this Mohonk Conference might be epitomized in the phrase, letting go the Indian of romance, and learning what the real Indian is and how to help him to intelligent citizenship, to civilization, and to Christianization. We are no longer seriously misled by the romantic ideals of the Indian which those most entertaining novels of Fenimore Cooper made current. I remember, at a dinner party twenty-five years since in the home of my dear and honored friend, the late Paul Fenimore Cooper, of Albany, son of the great novelist, that a bright society woman near the opposite end of the table leaning forward asked our host, "Mr. Cooper, was not an old colored servant in your father's family the original of 'Natty Bumpo,' the 'Leather Stocking' of your father's stories?" "Oh, no," said Mr. Cooper, "'Natty Bumpo' never had any original, any more than did my father's Indians. And no one in the world believes in that kind of Indians, except Governor Horatio Seymour and my sister."

When we began to assemble here thirteen years ago, many were still giving expression to views which showed that the Indians of Cooper's novels were the Indians with whom they thought we had to deal. The first step in our work was to awaken in the united East an interest in plans to civilize the Indians and to secure for them their rights. Our second step was the rather painful one of learning to contemplate the Indian as he really is, without the halo of romance on the one hand, and without forgetting, on the other hand, the divine worth of manhood and womanhood, however debased by barbarism and sin. If our work had ended with the dissipation of the romantic ideal, it would have been utterly unworthy. And if we had attempted to do nothing more than to see the Indian as he really is, we should have been as untrue to the ideals of Christianity and to American citizenship as is the latest French realistic

novel. But "disillusionizing" was not the end of our work. Coming to see the Indian as he is, we have also learned to see him in the light of the ideal, in the light of what he may become, what he ought to be and may be as an American citizen and a Christian. These Conferences have been dominated by the disposition to see the actual in the light of the ideal. We have been determined to see facts as they are in the light of facts as they ought to be, and to use our united power in the effort to bring about the needful changes.

THE RESERVATION HAD TO GO.

And first we had to learn to see the Indian on the reservation as he really was. I am glad that we can put the reservation in the past tense! The reservation, from which every influence of the virtues of civilization was carefully shut out, while all the damning vices that are the bane of civilized communities found constant access, has been from the beginning a curse to Indians and whites. The reservation was so steeped in iniquity of all kinds, so isolated from all good influence, so contrary to ideals of American citizenship, so utterly destructive of purity in personal life and of all hope of sound and pure family life, that as soon as a Conference like ours fairly saw the reservation as it was, with the greatest unanimity and emphasis we were compelled to declare, "The reservation system must be broken up!" And it is not too much to say that these Conferences have carried with them the public opinion of the country upon this point.

DANGERS FROM LAND IN SEVERALTY.

Then came the difficulty as to the feasibility and the probable consequences of holding land in severalty. We know how various were the opinions expressed here twelve years ago, and how bitterly opposed to each other were some who maintained certain of these opinions; but out of discussion and experiment has come a consensus of opinion. We are by no means blind to the dangers that threaten the transition period from barbarous reservation life, with its savage communism, to homes upon land held in severalty. But we are of one mind as to the absolute necessity of making all the Indians who have not yet left the reservation, as peacefully as may be, but as rapidly as is safe, pass through this transition period to homes upon land in severalty and to full citizenship in the United States.

HISTORY CROWDED INTO A MOMENT.

It is said that when one is in the act of drowning — and from personal experience I know that it is sometimes true when a sudden accident, like falling from a great height, places one for a supreme moment where he is conscious that within the next few seconds he

is likely to be killed — there flashes through the mind a condensation of past consciousness, a sudden gleam of vividly intense remembrance of all one's past. That supreme instant seems to hold before the eye of consciousness a record upon which, in infinitesimal tracery, all the past experience of the life has been written; and, with a foretaste of what it may mean to be set free from limitations of time and space, the soul is suddenly gifted with the power to rush through that long record in an instant of revealing reminiscence which seems to leave nothing unremembered. Incidents and experiences that have not been thought of for years are vividly represented to the mind, and you live through them again in an instant.

TO CIVILIZE THESE RACES IS TO CONDENSE NATURE'S METHODS.

This mental experience seems to have an analogue in the early history of our bodies. The investigations of the biologist, the study of the embryologist into the history of our physical organism, indicates that in the early history of each human organism there is condensed an epitome of the record of its descent through other forms,—a brief history of the past of the race.

Those who are most carefully studying the mental development of childhood in the light of these investigations of the biologists, believe that important modifications will be made in our methods of education, modifications based upon that condensation of the history of the race in miniature which they think they discern in the natural development of the child. Childhood properly studied recalls not only "trailing clouds of glory," whence it came, but also something of the history of the earlier stages of development through which the race has passed. Traces of the feelings of the savage are to be found in early boyhood in all healthy children; and the converse of this record of the race, written in the childish organism and experience of the individual, we find ourselves face to face with when we attempt to do for the Indian race in one or two generations what unaided Nature by her slower methods takes hundreds of years to do. To transform savages into civilized and enlightened citizens is a process requiring time. Education, Christian training, and the helpful hand of Christian friends may greatly shorten the time which is required for this transformation. But no educational processes, and not even the transforming power of the Christian life can entirely annihilate or completely and immediately overcome the impulses and tendencies which are directly inherited from ages of savage descent.

PATIENCE AND THE HIGHEST IDEALS!

In our efforts to eradicate and overcome these tendencies we are not to forget or despise the prolonged stages by which Nature leads races through such steps of progress; nor are we ever to leave out of account the constant need (if we would shorten the time) of enforcing the higher ideals.

For instance, we must see to it that the interest which just now is wide-spread in methods of manual training does not lead us to make a "fad" of manual training. General Armstrong used to insist, with fine emphasis, upon "the way to the head and the heart through the trained right hand." But where could we find a nobler example of reliance upon the power of the highest moral and intellectual standards to give dignity and direction to such manual training? With that Christian hero and pioneer in industrial training, the awakening of noble ambitions, the inculcation of the unselfish spirit of service of one's fellow-men,—in short, the *formation of character*,—always dominated the conception of industrial training.

That view of industrial training for the Indian or the negro which seeks to limit their intellectual achievements to the lower planes, in order that all may become skilled artisans, and none of them anything more than artisans, is an ignoble conception of even elementary education. General Armstrong himself would have been among the first to denounce that false ideal of education. The way must be opened through the better training of the hand; but for the most capable and the most quickly progressive, there must always be the open avenue to the higher education.

POWER OF PROPERTY TO AWAKEN WANTS AND TO LEAD TO HIGHER CIVILIZATION.

We have, to begin with, the absolute need of awakening in the savage Indian broader desires and ampler wants. To bring him out of savagery into citizenship we must make the Indian more intelligently selfish before we can make him unselfishly intelligent. We need to *awaken in him wants*. In his dull savagery he must be touched by the wings of the divine angel of discontent. Then he begins to look forward, to reach out. The desire for property of his own may become an intense educating force. The wish for a home of his own awakens him to new efforts. Discontent with the teepee and the starving rations of the Indian camp in winter is needed to get the Indian out of the blanket and into trousers,—and trousers with a pocket in them, and with a *pocket that aches to be filled with dollars!* The most intelligent students of physiological psychology in the training of children tell us that it is a misfortune to make a very little child so absolutely unselfish that he wants to give away everything. Such an unselfish childhood is most unpromising. The person who blindly gives away everything in the mere wish to be smiled upon—and without any consideration of the value of what he gives—is not fitting himself to be a helper of others, but is taking the first steps toward becoming a vague pauper, looking for a readiness on the part of all others to distribute whatever they can lay hands on to all who will smile when they receive it. The truth is, that there can be no strongly developed personality without the teaching of property,—material property, and property in thoughts and convictions that are one's own. By acquiring property, man

puts forth his personality, and lays hold of matter by his own thought and will. Property has been defined as "objectified will." We all go to school to property, if we use it wisely. No one has a right to the luxury of giving away, until he has learned the luxury of earning and possessing. The Saviour's teaching is full of illustrations of the right use of property. I imagine that we shall look back from that larger life which lies before us "on the farther side of the river of death," and shall regard the property we have held and used here, not as in itself an object and an end, but much as those of us who have had the benefit of kindergarten training look back now upon the little prizes and gifts that were put into our hands in the kindergarten classes, things which were of no sort of value or consequence except as out of their use we got training for the larger life, and for the right use of stronger powers.

There is an immense moral training that comes from the use of property. And the Indian has had all that to learn. Like a little child who learns the true delight of giving away only by first earning and possessing what it gives, the Indian must learn that he has no right to give until he has earned, and that he has no right to eat until he has worked for his bread. Our teachers upon the reservations know that frequently lessons in home-building, and providence for the future of the family which they are laboriously teaching, are effaced and counteracted by the old communal instincts and customs which bring half a tribe of kins-people to settle down at the door of the home when the grain is threshed or the beef is killed, and to live upon their enterprising kinsman so long as his property will suffice to feed the clan of his kins-people. We have found it necessary, as one of the first steps in developing a stronger personality in the Indian, *to make him responsible for property*. Even if he learns its value only by losing it, and going without it until he works for more, the educational process has begun. To cease from pauperizing the Indian by feeding him through years of laziness,—to instruct him to use property which is legally his, and by protecting his title, to help him through the dangerous transition period into citizenship,—this is the first great step in the education of the race.

IMMERSE THE INDIAN IN CIVILIZATION.

And the second of the lessons which seem to me of greatest value, as we review the outcome of our thirteen Conferences at Mohonk, is the "object lesson" which has been taught us by Captain Pratt, through his system of placing out Indian boys and girls in Christian homes. Here they learn by experience and by contact, here they imbibe citizenship and Christianity; and, through living in the families of American citizens, they are taught how to walk alone as citizens. This immersion in citizenship, with such a personal hold by friends upon each young person who is drawn from the reservations as is secured by membership in a civilized and Christian family, is the surest and most rapid method of advancing the civilization

of the Indians ; and I believe that every young Indian who is taught to hold his own while he stays here in the East, by his example and his influence upon his own people is worth ten times as much as he would be if he went back to the tribe and the reservation. Let us break up the tribal masses ! Let us draft into the East as many as we can persuade to come, and can wisely place among helpful friends. The surest way to learn to speak a language is to live constantly among those who speak that language and no other. The surest way for the Indian to learn the life-language of civilization and Christianity is to live daily among civilized Christian people who care for him.

SCHOOLS AND HOMES.

Twelve years ago we had bitterly to lament the lack of schools for the Indians. To-day schools are provided for more than two-thirds of all the Indian children of school age.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

Ten years ago we gave them land and law in the Dawes Bill. But there is still that great blot upon our map where is still tried the un-American and unstatesmanlike experiment of the *imperium in imperio*. This attempt to deal with an Indian tribe on our territory as we would deal with a foreign government, has been a mistake from the first. One of the most important questions to come before us in this Conference will be, How can the government of the United States be extended over the Indian Territory ?

Part of our study has always been the customs of the Indian, to see him as he has been and as he is. That is practical. "Morals" means "customs." Morals, ethics, are the expression of what we have been accustomed to do. The customs of a people embody their code of morals. And we must build up morality in the Indians ; and to do this we must help them to a more intelligent religious life. There has never been a moral people that has not been a religious people. Matthew Arnold's attempt to define the religious life as "morality touched by emotion" does not answer the need. They need morality touched by *life*, and by Him who is the Author of life.

Whether our schools are organized by the missionary boards or under the government, we have learned that the best results can not be attained unless the work is steadily done in the light that breaks from the Source above us, "the light that never was on sea or land." The face of the child must be trained to turn reverently to the face of the Father. Whatever else our work is, it must be Christian work. And it is Christlike work ! Let us address ourselves to it with reverent reliance upon Him who "came to seek and to save" the lost.

SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

BY GENERAL E. WHITTLESEY.

The year has been a quiet one in Indian affairs. There have been no disturbances, no excitements; but there has been a steady improvement in education and industry among our Indians. The disturbances that troubled us last year at Jackson's Hole in Idaho have been settled by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States,—a decision that declares that the State laws in reference to game are to be obeyed by Indians as well as white men. This decision of the Supreme Court seems a hardship to the Indians; but there are considerations that may reconcile us to it. One is, when this reliance upon the game of the country for support is broken up, the Indians will be led to turn their attention to the soil and its cultivation as a means of maintenance. Another is that the decision settles the legal status of the Indian, and puts him upon an equality with the white man. That is the principle for which we have contended in this Conference, and which you remember was so earnestly and ably advocated by our lamented friend, Judge Abbott.

The condition of affairs in the Indian Territory has not materially improved; but there is a beginning of light even there. It is significant that in the appropriation bill passed last winter, in the appropriation for defraying the expenses of the commission to the five civilized tribes, it is expressly declared "to be the duty of the United States to establish a government in the Indian Territory which will rectify the many inequalities and discriminations now existing in that Territory, and afford needful protection to the lives and property of all citizens and residents thereof." I think that is a gleam of light upon this subject; and we may hope for further legislation. It is also significant that in the late election in the Choctaw country the party in favor of the division of their lands and of United States citizenship was successful. We hope something from that, and that the influence of it may spread among the other tribes in that Territory.

One step of progress has been made during the past year, and that is the extension of the classified civil service over almost every branch of the Indian service. All persons, except those nominated for confirmation by the Senate, are now under the civil service rules; and it is provided that Indians may be appointed to such positions as they are competent to fill. This recognition of the merit system will certainly lift the standard of the service in every way; and I am sure it makes glad the heart of one who has been in this Conference and in public assemblies all over the country advocating this reform and fighting against the spoils system,—Herbert Welsh.

The work of education has gone on well, though no great advancement has been made. There is, however, steady improvement under the able superintendency of Dr. Hailmann, backed up by the

Commissioner. The number enrolled during the last year in all the Indian schools was 23,393, an increase of 357 over the enrolment of the previous year. The average attendance has been 19,121, an increase of 933 over the attendance of the previous year. In addition to this 558 Indian children have been placed in public schools in the States and Territories under a contract with the Indian office. The appropriations for the support of the Indian schools for the current year on which we are now entered amounts to \$2,517,265, so that there is an increase this year over last year of about twenty-two and a half per cent. During the three previous years there had been a slight falling off. In addition to this there is also an appropriation of \$15,000 for matrons, and of \$65,000 for additional farmers. This is really educational work as much as any other. This \$80,000 added to the \$2,517,265 gives us nearly \$2,600,000 for the coming year for the work of education.

The amount set apart for contract schools for the current year, including the appropriations for Hampton and Lincoln, is \$257,928, about half that was devoted to that purpose two years ago. Taking out the appropriations to Hampton and Lincoln, the amount appropriated for contract schools is \$204,488.

I am sure that you will be glad that the Commissioner has a larger fund at his disposal for next year, and that he will be able to add several important schools to those now in existence. It is contemplated to build a large school at Rosebud Agency, and another at the Pine Ridge as soon as possible. Some others are projected.

The allotment of lands has continued with perhaps as great rapidity as the exigencies of the service would warrant. During the last year, patents were issued and delivered to 2,283 allottees. Patents were made out, and are ready to be delivered, amounting to 919. Allotments were approved and sent to the department to have the patents prepared, amounting to 2,658; and additional schedules of allotment have been received at the Indian office, but not yet examined, amounting to 3,623. Last January I had the records of the Indian office very carefully examined in order to ascertain how many allotments had been made since 1887,—when the general allotment was approved,—and the summary is 49,957 allotments, and patents issued, 33,732. Up to this date there have been nearly 60,000 allotments made, and about 35,000 patents issued.

That shows the magnitude of the work; and yet it is ten years almost since the allotment bill was approved and passed, and an immense amount of work in that direction yet remains to be done. I should have added that non-reservation Indians have received 606 allotments and patents. They take up their allotments, under the homestead laws, in the public lands, the government paying their fees for them.

There has been, during the year, no general legislation upon Indian affairs of great importance. The bill for the reorganization of the Indian Bureau failed to receive attention in Congress. The bill for the establishment of a government in the Indian Territory also failed. Another bill of very great importance has failed for two

years in succession; that is, the act for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors to allottees. Complaints come up to us from all quarters of the disastrous effects of liquor-selling, coming in under the laws as they have been interpreted by judges of State courts; and there is now a free sale of intoxicating liquors to Indian allottees. Commissioner Browning prepared a bill, two years ago, to meet this difficulty, and it was passed by the House of Representatives, but failed to receive attention in the Senate. Last year the bill was introduced in both houses. It received the approval of the Committee of the House, but no further action was taken. In the Senate it was referred to the committee, and nothing more was heard of it. Now, I hope that every member of this Conference who knows a member of Congress will give him no rest until he takes hold of this measure and tries to see it through. It is of vital consequence. The allotment of lands, and the securing of homesteads, will be an utter failure if we allow intoxicating drinks to come in and ruin the Indians to whom these allotments have been made.

When we think of the condition of affairs twenty years ago, or even fifteen years ago, when the idea of this Conference took shape in the mind of our good friend and brother, Mr. Smiley, we cannot help rejoicing and thanking God for what has already been accomplished. We have seen the spoils system in the Indian service substantially overthrown. We have seen the school system organized and put into good shape, so that it will accomplish more and more year by year. We have seen this work of allotment going on year after year, until multitudes of Indians now are settled upon their homesteads; and the department is doing all in its power to aid those who take up their allotments in the way of building houses, furnishing tools, and seeds. So that, all over the land, Indians are getting to work; and they are engaged in many industries besides farming. Many are employed by the government. More than \$400,000 was paid to Indian employees at the various agencies and in the schools during the last year, and much more was earned by chopping wood, fishing, and in many other ways.

Though so much has been done, and we see reason to thank God and take courage, there yet remains enough for us to do. We have to maintain the civil service reform against all opposition from whatever source it may come. We have to continue the school work with all the aid we can render by our advice and our material help. We have to work for the moral elevation and the Christianization of the Indians, so that they may resist the temptations that come in upon them from every side. We have to maintain their rights against the men who are determined, in all possible ways, to get hold of Indian property if they can. It seems to be the idea among many men that, if an Indian occupies a piece of land, it must be specially valuable for some purpose, and he wants to get hold of it.

There is another thing in connection with this allotment which we have to work for, and that is to resist too rapid a sale of the unallotted lands. Many of the reservations are good only for grazing purposes,

and the great body of land should be held in common by the Indians even after they have taken their allotments, so that they may use it for the herding of cattle, as that is probably the only industry in which many of them can be successful.

I am sure, looking over the whole field, we can say in the words of the old hymn which we have so often sung, "Give to the winds thy fears, hope and be undismayed."

President Gates introduced Mr. Francis E. Leupp as the Washington representative of the Indian Rights Association and the latest appointment to the United States Board of Indian Commissioners.

VISITS TO RESERVATIONS.

MR. LEUPP.—I have been over the North-west this summer and have visited a number of reservations. I shall not attempt, therefore, to give a full account of my wanderings, but will pick out a few of the salient features that may be interesting.

One visit I made was to the Sac and Fox Reservation in Iowa. It was a striking object lesson in the matter of which you have heard this morning,—the fruitlessness of the reservation system. The Sac and Fox Reservation is in the midst of a teeming civilization in a farming country, and the people all about there are as fair samples of American citizenship in the agricultural districts as one could look for. There is a healthy sentiment among them about the Indians, as a rule. Yet we have drawn a line around the reservation, out of which no Indian shall come and into which no white man shall go. The result is, that these Indians have been there nearly a half-century, and are hardly advanced beyond the point at which they started. The houses in which they live give a fair idea of the degree of civilization they have reached. They are made of unplanned hemlock boards, and put up by the Indians themselves. They are built in a rather primitive fashion, and their most curious feature is the windows. A window consists of a movable clapboard hung on strap hinges which the family let down for light and air, and which they shut up when it is too cold or stormy. The way the houses are built is characteristic. They are carried up in the ordinary manner as far as the square goes, but the angles made by the gables are filled in with strips of bark and rush thatching, possibly because it is difficult to saw boards to fit, whereas the bark and thatch-work can be done with a jackknife. These Indians enjoy one advantage in being in a community where public sentiment is against the liquor traffic; for, in the few instances that have come to light for some years past, the white dealers who have sold liquor to the Indians have been vigorously prosecuted and judgment always found against them, so that it has become too dangerous a business even for those who are restrained by no moral scruples.

Another point of interest visited this summer was the Sisseton Agency, where the Indians have had allotments in severalty for some

years. They had their share of the common experience of double allotments being given to one Indian, while some other Indian was left out, through confusion of names. All this is in process of adjustment; but meanwhile it has borne one unpleasant fruit.

The Indians received this year a cash payment from the government, amounting to about \$34 per capita. The whites in the neighborhood, knowing that the Indians were to receive this money, planned to get all of it that they could. They came as near to the reservation as they dared, and set up gambling establishments and places for selling intoxicating liquors. The agent, Mr. Keller, by very hard work, had contrived to drive these people off for two or three years, going as far in that direction as he could within the law; but they carefully examined the map of the reservation and discovered that there was one little tract,—a quarter-section which seems to have been given to some Indian who had an allotment elsewhere, and been abandoned by him. This was just across a narrow ravine from the agency buildings. There the white sharpers set up a miniature city this summer, with their gambling shanties and liquor tents and all the rest, with the idea that the Indians, as fast as they got their money, would go there and be drawn into the net. That was the plan. But the agent warned the Indians, established a police cordon for their protection, and had some of the sharpers arrested. The dramsellers and gamblers were therefore forced to prey chiefly upon victims of their own color, and had a pretty unprofitable season as a whole. There is good reason to doubt whether the miniature city will be found there another year.

One word with regard to payments like this one, where the Treasury simply pours money into the Indians' laps. Here was a case where many of the Indians had been leading industrious lives; and, even admitting the existence of another element among them, their movement was generally upward. The prairie country on the reservation looks like a boundless sweep of dead level, but there are ravines here and there where trees grow. The more industrious Indians have been in the habit of cutting these trees and selling the wood for fuel. Mr. Baskervill, the missionary who is in charge of the Good-Will School about two miles from the agency, told me that he had been in the habit of laying in his stock of winter fuel by buying from the Indians, and until this year usually had his sheds partly filled by the middle of the summer. But this year, up to the time of my visit, in spite of all the efforts he had made, the Indians had been so excited and overwrought with the feeling that some money was coming to them for which they would not have to work, that only a few of them had even begun to cut their wood. A very few thrifty ones had brought in a little, but he did not know at that time just where he was to look for the bulk of his wood for the winter. Many of the farming Indians, too, had neglected to put in crops, or had sowed only small ones, for the same reason.

Another point I visited was La Pointe Agency in Wisconsin. This agency has seven reservations attached to it. Two of these, the Bad River and the Lac de Flambeau, have passed through a

wonderful transformation within a few years. Lieutenant Mercer, the acting Indian agent, is a young and energetic army officer, ambitious of making a record as a man of business. His force of character has brought upon him the wrath of a half-dozen mixed-bloods who had been in the habit, before he came, of running the agency as they pleased. Former agents seem to have been afraid of them. Mercer has taken hold of the lumbering interests of his Indians and is making a good thing out of them. He has concluded contracts with reputable lumber dealers, who have come in and set up mills costing from \$300,000 to \$350,000 apiece, and have cut the timber and sawed it into merchantable forms on the reservation, so that each Indian allottee gets the full value of every stick of wood growing on his allotment. I looked into a number of complaints which had reached me from La Pointe and found them utterly trivial; as a rule they had been instigated by people who were disposed to do everything they could to make trouble for the agent. Some of these mischief-makers have had to be dismissed from the reservation as incorrigible nuisances and stirrers-up of bad blood.

A good many of the Indians have been stimulated to work at the saw-mills and in the logging-camps. The contractors have honestly tried to carry out the idea of giving them the same pay as white men for the same work. The result is that at Bad River not only have some \$30,000 of the contractors' money been distributed among the Indians for work, but about \$60,000 more have gone out in the way of sub-contracts with Indians and mixed-bloods who have organized logging-camps.

The Red Cliff Reservation, another attached to La Pointe agency, contains about two hundred very industrious and worthy Indians. These men have struggled hard to get a living, and succeeded uncommonly well. One of their original industries — the most important one — was the net fishery in a bay adjoining the reservation. Recently, however, at the instigation of some white men engaged in the fishery business, with whom these Indians came into competition, the Legislature of Wisconsin passed a law forbidding such net-fishing as the Indians were engaged in. The result is that these poor fellows are thrown upon their backs. They have no other resources except farming in a small way, but they still put on a sturdy front and ask no odds of the government. They are most anxious now for the President's approval of an allotment plan which was submitted to Washington in their behalf several years ago, but which in some way was side-tracked. If the President could be induced to approve this allotment plan the Red Cliff Indians would continue to be self-supporting, for they could sell their growing timber.

Something has been said this morning with regard to the liquor bills which have been introduced into Congress. Contradictory attitudes have been taken in regard to this kind of legislation by our statesmen in Washington. I went to Senator Pettigrew a while ago to see whether the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs would not put one of these bills on its passage. He wanted to know what was the trouble with the laws we already had. I answered that they did

not go far enough,—we wanted some legislation to protect the Indians to whom allotments had been made. “No,” he said, “we cannot do anything of that kind. It would be unconstitutional. Those Indians are citizens; and there is no way of preventing them, by United States law, from buying liquor if they want to.”

As the House Committee had reported a liquor bill favorably, I sought a prominent member of that committee. “How is this?” I asked him. “You are a lawyer, and Senator Pettigrew is a lawyer; yet you have reported favorably on a bill which he refuses to recognize as constitutional.” “Oh,” he replied, “that whole constitutional question was argued in our committee till I grew tired and exclaimed, ‘Gentlemen, we can talk over this thing till doomsday and get no nearer a conclusion. The only thing for us to do is to pass the bill and let the Constitution go to Ballyhack!’” When we can induce a few more Congressmen to take the view that it is the business of the courts, and not of Congress, to settle constitutional questions, we may get something done.

Miss M. C. COLLINS, Fort Yates, No. Dak.—I have just come from the West, almost directly from the Standing Rock Agency, and am glad to bring you some news which is encouraging. But I want to say to you first, dear friends, do not be too hopeful. Do not at once think that you have accomplished all there is to do, and that the government has done all it can do for the Indian people. There is a great work yet for Mohonk and for the Indian Rights Association to do. If an agency is all right, it will do no harm for you to watch it; and, if it is all wrong, you ought to know it.

I find on our reservation that the question which presents itself to us is, not the Indian problem, but the white man problem. Our Indians are ready to be civilized. Many are trying to become civilized, but their experience with white people is often such that we have constantly to remind them that all white men, even though they be dead, are not good.

Not long ago one of the old Indian chiefs, Grindstone, was in conversation with a non-progressive man who does not believe that it pays to put all our Indian youth into school. Grindstone is solemn, quiet, never speaks aloud or gets excited, but he said this to the other Indian, “My friend, there is one thing that Indians must learn: we must learn to take off our hats to the flag, we must learn to honor the Church, we must learn to support the schools.” Patriotism, Christianity, and education, are what the Indians all need. We must Christianize them to civilize them. Grindstone was one of the followers of Sitting Bull and was in the battle of the Little Big Horn where Custer fell. He has all his life been considered one of the leading warriors among his people, an honorable man, a grand man, and he sees that the rising generation must live in a different way from past generations.

My work as a missionary brings me in contact with the people in their homes, and I can see a great improvement in the last few years. When I first reached there I could not in all the region buy

hay for my horses. No Indian ever put up hay. He had ponies, and when the snows did not fall too deep they could beat it away with their hoofs and get grass. But when the snow drifted up, sometimes forty feet deep, in the ravines, the ponies starved to death, or, if they survived, were hardly able to travel. This summer a large number of my people have put up from forty to one hundred tons of hay. When I first went there few cattle were owned by Indians. One of our men had nine, and that was about as large a herd as was found on the Grand River. Now we have a great many owning from twenty to seventy-five head. When I first tried to persuade them to take care of their cattle, it was up-hill work. A man with four or five cows usually had two or three calves, but accidents would happen to them and they would be killed and eaten. I remember taking a blackboard and putting the number of cows that one man had on the board, and explaining how they would increase naturally, and how, if they would keep these cattle, in ten years they would have a certain number. A man from a long distance came to me and asked me to explain it all to him again. He was one of the first to settle down, and has now sixty head; and some of the Indians say he is the stingiest man they ever saw, because no accident ever happens to his calves.

Our church work is under the American Missionary Association. We began ten years ago on Standing Rock Agency without a single church. To-day we have a large church and about two hundred adult members, besides the following within the families. I can tell by our Fourth of July celebrations what our following is, because the people divide by churches. It is almost impossible to make the people come together in one grand celebration; and the denominations, Episcopalian, Catholic, and ourselves, have separate celebrations, though they have tried to have but one. Last Fourth of July our Church of the Sacred Herald had fifteen hundred people present, almost all our own. That was a large meeting. Our Indians are learning to vote upon important questions and to carry on their own missionary societies. Until this year we have always had to do the great part of the work for the Fourth of July. This year I suggested that they have the celebration without asking me any question, unless there was a controversy to settle. They appointed their own committees and arranged their meeting, and raised their money for fireworks. They appointed their own speakers, and among others appointed an old-time Indian to represent the old times; and he did it, and he did as much for us as any of the speakers. We had one of the deacons of the church to represent the progressive Indians, a returned student to represent the students, the ministers to represent the church. When dinner came it was served by twelve young girls who had on new dresses, though it was very hot, of the most gorgeous scarlet and purple velvet with white aprons, and they waited on the tables beautifully. The dinner also was prepared by the Indians themselves. An Indian from another church asked one of our men, "How is it you know how to manage so well?" He replied, "They say it is because we are Congregationalists and have to govern ourselves."

In our missionary meetings we raised \$1,000 last year for native missionary work. At our last meeting, at Yankton, the question came up about new missionaries in the field, and our Indians raised enough to pay \$300 a year for three native missionaries, and they are never in debt. I will tell you why: because each year they have the money laid down in the hands of the treasurer to carry on the work for the next year. They had this year, after the salaries were paid, \$1,000 in hand. And when our missionary said, "The American Missionary Association is needing help so much, and this is their great jubilee year, we hope you will make a gift to that Association to carry on its work," the most hopeful said they thought they could give \$50, but it would be hard work to get it. They went out and appointed a committee, and the result was that they made a gift of \$300 to the American Missionary Association to help pay its debt. Then came the question of the Crow Indians. They need a missionary very much; and the question came up of sending a Sioux missionary to their old enemies, the Crows. The question was considered and decided that these Sioux Indians should raise another \$300 in addition to the \$900 already raised; and they will do it this year. This is the hopeful side, this is the Indian side of the question.

There is another side which is not so hopeful. It is true we have American schools among us, and it is true that the government in Washington is doing a great deal, perhaps all that it can; but it is a long way from Washington to the Indian reservation, and there are a great many to come between our Indian Commissioner and School Superintendent (Dr. Hailmann, I mean) and our Indians.

We have three or four police judges among our Indians, and it seems to me it would be a good plan for them to learn to be citizens by electing these police judges themselves. Why not? They are appointed now by the agent. He sometimes appoints a good man, just the right man; but it is not every agent who can select a man for a judge that will please the Indians. The Indians would be satisfied with a man whom the majority of them had chosen. If those Indians could learn something about voting, and the necessity of standing by a man, it would be worth everything to our people. Wouldn't it be well for us to begin to learn something about citizenship before acting as citizens? Our government schools are largely under the agent.

We have a fine superintendent. No one would criticise Dr. Hailmann; but he is not on the reservation. And it seems to me that each Indian reservation should have an assistant superintendent who could be reached by every teacher and every employee on the reservation connected with our government schools, without the delay of appealing to Washington in all the difficulties that arise. No city would attempt to carry on its great schools with no one but a State superintendent to have the oversight of them. If it did, their schools would be failures. A good superintendent in Washington, assisted and strengthened by good and efficient educators as supervisors, and good men of high standing as agency-school superintend-

ents, could in a few years so grade our government schools that after a time they would naturally fall into line with the ordinary public system.

MR. WELSH.—Is there organized opposition to the bill preventing the sale of liquor to Indian allottees, or is it simply indifference which prevents its passage?

GEN. WHITTLESEY.—I do not think there is any organized opposition. I think it is indifference on the part of our members of Congress. I wish the subject could be brought up again during the coming winter.

MR. WELSH.—Do you think such a law would be unconstitutional, as Senator Pettigrew claims?

GEN. WHITTLESEY.—With all due respect to Senator Pettigrew, whom in many respects I highly esteem, I do not think such a law unconstitutional. It was drawn up by Commissioner Browning himself, and he is a good lawyer.

DR. RYDER.—Miss Collins has done a great deal for the physical condition of the people. I should like to ask her if there is any improvement in the health of women and children on the reservation.

MISS COLLINS.—The best way I can judge of that is by my congregations in church on Sunday. When I first went there I was not troubled very much with little children in the congregation. Now the house is pretty well filled with them. It is very rare for the Christian people to lose their children now. They have learned to feed and clothe them properly, and, having done away with the old-time methods, the mothers do not stand out watching the dances with the baby on their backs freezing to death. There is great improvement in their health.

QUESTION.—How is it about returned Indians?

MISS COLLINS.—I have never known of a single case where a returned Indian student relapsed to barbarism. I know one man who came home who had learned to bake bread, and wash and iron; and when I visited his home, his house, which had been a one-room cabin, he had enlarged by building on a room and had put in a floor in place of the dirt floor. And there were white curtains, and a shelf on the wall where he had his Hampton books, and he had taught his mother to wash and iron. He bought a dress for his mother and asked me to cut it out, as he had never been taught to make dresses.

QUESTION.—Are you troubled with many squaw men?

MISS COLLINS.—Not so much on our reservation, because an order was issued that every white man should be legally married to any Indian woman with whom he was living.

QUESTION.—Are the Indians ready to accept medicine from the white doctor?

MISS COLLINS.—Yes, there is no difficulty about that now.

QUESTION.—Do the old medicine men have much influence at your agency?

MISS COLLINS.—Not very much; the people are beginning to be

too intelligent. They understand that it was largely fraud and not much medicine.

QUESTION.—Do you think there is an increasing desire on the part of the Indian to go away to school?

Miss COLLINS.—On our agency, no. They have been discouraged from going away. They are not going away as much as I should like to have them. We wish we could send away a hundred every year. I heartily believe in the Eastern schools.

QUESTION.—Will you tell us about the ticket system in regard to business transactions?

Miss COLLINS.—We have a system of cheap money on our reservation. Every Indian trader is allowed to make tickets and issue them with his name on them, twenty-five cents, etc., good in merchandise. These are paid to the Indians at the beef issue for the beef hides which belong to the Indian. They are received for purchases made at the store. But the traders will never receive them for debt. I have always opposed this system. When the government orders that they shall be taken for debt the system will soon be done away with. We want the Indians to be independent and to be able to trade where they can do the best. The seventy-five cent dollar is used all over the reservation.

Gen. EATON.—What is there in the way of sending the Indians to Eastern schools?

Miss COLLINS.—For what reason it is discouraged I cannot say. I know that it is discouraged on our reservation. If there was more encouragement from the agents and other officials it would be easier to send students away.

QUESTION.—Is it not understood that the superintendent at Washington favors the policy of sending them East to the higher schools?

Miss COLLINS.—I think it is understood. But when you send a boy or girl away to school you must have the parent or guardian go before the agent and state that he is willing to have him go; and often it is too far for the parent, and often he does not wish to go to the agents. It is impossible to make such men ride thirty or forty miles to say they are willing when they are not.

QUESTION.—Is there any attempt made to keep statistics about the health of the children?

Miss COLLINS.—The figures are partially kept by the agency physician. I do not think they have ever been kept very accurately.

QUESTION.—Does the fact that now most of the children live have any great influence upon the minds of the Indians?

Miss COLLINS.—Yes, it has a very great influence on the old-time Indians. When they come to see that the Christian Indians have large families they begin to think that the God of the Christians has something to do with it, and are more ready to accept Christian teachings.

QUESTION.—To refer to the money system again, has this ticket system been established by government authority?

Miss COLLINS.—I think it is permitted in Washington, but I do

not think it is perfectly understood. They are made to believe that it is hard for us to get cash; so these tickets are used. Here is an illustration of the way it works: A man owed an Indian and paid him in tickets amounting to \$4.00. The man needed money, so I gave him \$4.00 in cash for his tickets, and thought that I was well enough known to have money for them. I sent them to a trader with a note, asking to have them cashed. He cashed them taking off 25 per cent.

QUESTION.—Is there compulsory attendance at school?

MISS COLLINS.—The police go out and bring in the children, but there is a good deal of trouble because a large proportion of children are not fit to be in school on account of scrofula and lung troubles. A short time ago a man and wife came with a little girl so sick that if she was one of your children she would be in the best place that could be found for her with the best medical attendance. This little child was brought to school by force and the parents' hearts were broken because they were afraid that she would die. As soon as the children are found to be sick in the school they will send them out again. There should be in some way a medical examination first, and only compel those children to attend who are able.

QUESTION.—Who compels them?

MISS COLLINS.—The Indian agent, by dropping the names from the ration ticket. It makes an uncomfortable feeling among the Indians. They feel that they are not treated justly.

QUESTION.—Are there not extra rations for old and sick people?

MISS COLLINS.—No, not to my knowledge: I have never seen any.

QUESTION.—How far do the reservation schools carry the children in their studies?

MISS COLLINS.—The most of our reservation schools would not be higher than the lower classes of a grammar school, but they gain a great deal besides books,—how to care for the body, how to do housework, and many other things. They are kept in school too constantly, too many hours, and are compelled to rise too early. The artificial light is not good for their eyes in the night schools. All these things need looking after. The children work too hard.

QUESTION.—Do they have training in morals and ideas of citizenship?

MISS COLLINS.—I think they receive a little training in morals, not so much as they ought, and often the example of laborers around the school will undo all that the teacher can do.

QUESTION.—Is the instruction merely in English?

MISS COLLINS.—Wholly in English.

QUESTION.—How many persons are there in your agency?

MISS COLLINS.—About four thousand, I think.

QUESTION.—You speak of the child's name being taken off the ration ticket. You mean it is issued to the school, not to the home.

MISS COLLINS.—It is issued to the school, but if the child goes home, after a long time the parent may get it back again if he will work for it patiently and persistently.

Dr. STIMSON.—I knew something of the work in that neighborhood before Miss Collins went out there; for, twenty-five years ago, in the days of Dr. Williamson and the elder Riggs, I was there, and I knew the Indians. At that time I saw mills and engines unused, representing thousands of dollars, that had been out there for the Indians. I saw houses for Indian chiefs, costing from \$2,000 to \$3,000, which had never been occupied. That was the standard of progress which had been made by the government in its effort to civilize the Indian at that time. There was an intelligent agent striving to do his best, but he found himself checked in his work, and his work destroyed, and himself cast out, by the machinations of selfish men who were able to use the efforts of the Indian in the East to do the work of the devil in destroying the work of good men. I know when Miss Collins came out there, and how the Indians learned to love her as Winona. I shall not forget when Indians first came to the communion service there wrapped in blankets. We need to go only about half way back to that time to reach those public meetings when some of us pleaded for citizenship and rights of property for the Indians; and our ideas were treated as chimerical. The progress which has been made in the short time which has passed since Miss Collins undertook her work with vigor, intelligence, and hopefulness, deserves our hearty tribute.

Rev. Egerton R. Young was next introduced by President Gates as a Canadian Missionary, who had spent a number of years among the Cree and Saulteaux Indians in the Hudson Bay Territories.

WORK IN CANADA.

Mr. YOUNG.—My work for a number of years was in the far north in Canada. There the only inhabitants are Indians, with the exception of the fur traders and their families. The powerful Hudson Bay Company have been in existence for over two hundred years. They obtained their charter from Charles I. On the whole their treatment of the Indians has been fair and honorable.

I went out to that land as a missionary in 1868. At the time my Church called me to this missionary work, I was pastor of a flourishing church in the City of Hamilton, in Canada.

One strong motive that caused my good wife, with me, to resolve to go to that far-away land and isolated work, was, if fur-traders are willing to go and live in such regions for the sake of getting rich in bartering their goods for the valuable furs of the Indians, what is our religion worth if we are not willing to make equal sacrifices for the spiritual and eternal welfare of the Indians?

We were two months and nineteen days on the journey. We often refer to it as our honeymoon trip, as we had only been a short time married.

As St. Paul for a time was our nearest city, we were about 1,200 miles from civilization. Our nearest post-office was 400 miles away, and we waited six months for our daily newspaper.

Our first habitation was a substantial log house. Soon after we had taken up our abode in it, we had a long talk with the Indians and tried to get into a good understanding with them. We told them that in spite of all that had been said against them as to their being thievish and unreliable and ungrateful, we were going to trust them; and so no matter how others had thought best to act toward them, our plan was to trust them, and then see how they would act toward us. So we took the fastenings off the windows, the bolt off the doors, and the keys out of the locks, and were never particular afterward in locking or fastening up anything. Grandly did they respond to this confidence reposed in them, and never did we have stolen from us anything of the value of a sixpence.

While learning their language so as to be able to talk to them, we, as all the missionaries everywhere among them have been doing, introduced the study of English into the schools, and now in our older missions all the children and many of the older people can talk in English. At an old mission I lately visited among the Oneidas, I spoke to the children in Indian. At my words the children were amazed, as they now know only the English language. Looking at this from the sentimental side, it may seem a matter of regret that these Indian languages, some of them so poetical, should be forgotten and entirely disappear; but if we are going to build up a great magnificent America, with its two great divisions, Canada and the United States, let it be a mighty people speaking one language.

I would here desire to add my testimony to what has been well said on the subject of the missionary being a medical man. To be able to administer to the sick and diseased among them gives him a marvellous influence for good over them.

Then the missionary who would be a success among the Indians must be a man who is willing and able to put himself at their head, and show them that good, honest, hard physical toil is not degrading. The pagan Indian hates labor. He leaves it all to the women. He can be active enough when hunting or fishing, but he simply abominates the axe, and the spade, and the hoe. "Let the women do all that work!" is his cry. So the minister or missionary who would succeed must show him by example that it is not degrading to toil.

But the grandest triumphs only come by putting Christianity first. Civilization, with its many blessings, then follows very much more easily, and abides.

Long years ago, we had a governor in Canada who tried to civilize a tribe of Indians without the gospel. It was not a success. In spite of his feasting them, and pleading with them to go to work as they saw the white settlers doing, they only hung the bright new axes around their necks as ornaments, and then made a fire of the wooden ploughs and harrows, and ate up the oxen sent among them for use.

That is a sample of the efforts to civilize without first sending the gospel. When the gospel enters into their hearts, the very horizon of life seems to widen. Then the once listless, careless, cruel tyrants go to the missionaries and say, "Cannot you help us to a better life here also?"

Marvellous have been the real and abiding blessings conferred upon them. See those Northern Indians. They lived altogether by fishing and hunting; and the missionaries and their families of those days had to live about as the natives did. Fancy fish, twenty-one times a week, as the staple food for six months; then, game of various kinds, such as bear's meat, reindeer, muskrats, beavers, and an almost endless variety of other things of that kind, the rest of the year!

Until the fertile prairies of Manitoba began to be cultivated, and flour transported into that Northland, bread was a thing unknown. In the petition in the Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," the intelligible translation is, "Give us this day something to keep us in life." So it was with the ordinary garden vegetables. They were unknown in many places. Fruits were never dreamed of. Once, when on a missionary lecturing tour in Toronto, some friend gave our only son — then a little lad of about five years of age — an apple. He did not know what to do with it. When told to eat it, he began at it very carefully, and when a piece of the thin core got in between his teeth, he threw the half-eaten part down on the floor and exclaimed, indignantly, "I don't like this potato; it has too many fish-scales in it."

Well, we rejoice to be able to report that a better state of things now obtains there. The missionaries have helped them; and the result is, the people are vastly better off.

Some of my own experiments were interesting and suggestive. We have, in the far Northland, only four months in which there is any growth. The summer is short and brilliant; the winter long and severe. At one place I succeeded in getting out for planting some seeds of hardy vegetables, and also four potatoes. As the season was half gone when my four potatoes arrived from the South, I only succeeded in raising from them some little ones about the size of acorns. However, we carefully packed them away from the frost in our hot dining-room, in cotton wool, and then, planting them the next year, we obtained from them a large pailful of splendid potatoes. These yielded the next year about six bushels. The next year the crop was up to one hundred and twenty-five bushels. Then the raising became quite universal among the people. I did my first ploughing with dogs. Eight good dogs were able to draw my plough very nicely. With my dogs I also harrowed in my grain. They were the substitutes in place of horses and oxen, and were of great use to me, as, with them, I travelled some thousands of miles each winter on my long, long journeys to remote bands of Indians in the more distant wilderness. So interested and pleased did those Indians become in their efforts to cultivate the soil, that a large number of them, under the guidance of their missionaries, migrated some hundreds of miles south, to a place called Fish River, in the northern part of Manitoba. Here the Canadian government has given them a splendid reservation, fourteen miles long and seven wide. I wish here to put in my most emphatic testimony to the kindly interest our Canadian government takes in the welfare of the Indians

of our country. We have never had in Canada an Indian war. We allow no Indian agent to swindle or rob the natives. We punish most severely any man who tries to sell intoxicating liquors to them.

I visited the Fish River Reservation in 1893. I was delighted with what I saw. I spent a week in the house of one of the Indians. It was as clean as could be desired. The food cooked by them was abundant and wholesome. In some of the houses there were Canada organs and sewing-machines; and the native women and girls could use them fairly well. When I worshipped with them on the Sabbath I found them well dressed in the garments of civilization; and they were devout and attentive listeners as I preached to them the old gospel that they still love as in the days of yore when it lifted them up out of the darkness and superstition of paganism into the light of Christianity.

Their old habits and customs are now almost things of the past. They love to imitate the whites in various ways. At one church a bride of a fur-trader came to church with a pretty little lace veil that reached just below her nose. The Indian girls, who had put their luxuriant hair up in nets, when they saw this veil during prayers dragged their nets forward over their heads, and hitched them on their noses in imitation of the white lady.

This constant watching on their part made us careful to ever set before them a good example.

Marvellous has been the transformation wrought among them. They can be saved. Pity that the great people of this great continent did not set about the work earlier!

Well, we will rejoice at what is now being done. We all thank God for Mohonk and for Mr. and Mrs. Smiley. May the good work go on; and, while the educating and civilizing work is making such glorious strides, let us, as Christians, not forget that if we want to have a real and abiding civilization and uplifting of these Indians, we must send them the Bible and the knowledge of the great truths of the gospel as therein recorded. Then the work will not be in vain, and neither will it be easily overturned.

Second Session.

Wednesday Evening, October 14.

The Conference was called to order at 8 P.M., and Mrs. Mary L. Eldridge, field matron from New Mexico, was introduced.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—It is always best to remember that our Navajo Indians are not fed or supported by the government in any way, but are self-supporting. They have for many years lived upon the products of their herds of sheep. The men used to own ponies and great flocks, but the fall in the price of wool has left them without any means of subsistence, and they are now going through the transition from herders to farmers. Five years ago my friend, Miss Raymond, and myself were sent by the Missionary Society to work among the Navajoes. When the request went to the agent for a locality for us, he said, "Put those women just as far from the agency as you can; we don't want missionary women watching us and reporting." So we were sent into the very northern part of the reservation where we had about three-fourths of an acre of land. Back of us rose two mountains five or six hundred feet high. South was a river, and our open side was toward the plains. We were there when it was very cold, but a tent was given to us which we lived in for six weeks. In the mean time the Indians came about us and informed us that they had no use for white people and the quicker we got off the better it would please them. It was not a very encouraging beginning. Then a few weeks' serious illness broke out among them; and, as they had been growing very poor for two or three years and were not able to employ a medicine-man, they came to us for help and we were able to help them by giving them medicine. At the end of six weeks we found that we were to be allowed to stay, and so we built a small house of rough timber and in that we stayed through the winter. The Indians gradually came to us more and more, and in this way we got hold of them. The Navajoes are very independent Indians. They are very hard-working men and women. They were just finding out that they could not live longer on the proceeds of their flocks and were wondering how they should subsist. Nothing can be raised there except by irrigation, and we made them understand that they must take out water upon the lands and raise their own corn and wheat. Soon after we found some of our men had begun working to dig a ditch. The ditch was to be eight or nine feet deep at the head, and a mile in length before the water would be available for irrigation. For tools they had only an old axe, a broken-handled shovel, and a pick from some white man; and with these three tools they had begun work. About that time money was

sent to us by the Cambridge Association, some seventy-five dollars, with which we bought tools for the Indians. They kept up this work all winter and well into the spring; but it was not completed in time, and they raised little that year. The second year they raised a very good crop of corn and some wheat, which they cut with their butcher knives and cleaned in the old-time way such as we read about in the Bible. Following out this plan of putting in the ditches and getting something for the people to eat, ditches were put on both sides of the river and gardens made and homes started. There are not, however, enough irrigation ditches yet.

We have had some curious experiences among these people. One man came to our place two years ago and wanted to have us take his boy of sixteen in hand, because he would not work. He wanted one of us to whip his boy. We asked how much the boy had to eat every day. He said he had a handful of parched corn in the morning and another at night. I issued flour and coffee to the man and told him to take his boy home and feed him well and then put a shovel in his hands. If he worked well all the forenoon to give him a good dinner, and if he worked poorly to give him very little, and if he did not work at all to give him no dinner. The plan worked to perfection, and the man came up the next week and said his boy was doing splendidly.

The people are ingenious in all kinds of work, the women especially. They do not, as a general thing, work in the field. They herd the sheep. The sheep belong to the women, and the ponies to the men. They spin well, and make the yarn from which they make the blankets. The weaving is very primitive. The beams are stretched between two trees, and this primitive loom is carried about with them when they move from place to place. They devise their own patterns for the blankets. One of the blankets I have for sale here took a woman one hundred and twenty days to weave; and I do not suppose her work counted for more than twenty-five cents a day. The spinning of the yarn would certainly have taken another hundred days. The Navajoes are now trying to make homes. That is their strongest love.

About forty-five miles south-west of our place is a wash coming down from the mountains. Two years ago, when they had a good deal of snow, they built a rude dam and made a reservoir in which the snow-water was held and carried by side ditches on to the sand; and for miles up and down there were nice crops of corn, wheat, melons, and squashes. This year there is not a hill of corn there, and nothing raised at all in that vicinity. On the north side of the reservation the white people have taken out no ditches from the irrigation fund. All that has been done has been done by Indians. We have had the service of no surveyor.

Five years ago if we had talked to them about allotments they would have been very angry. Now they are anxious to have homes and allotments.

That part of the country has been a rendezvous for criminals of all

kinds, people trying to get away from arrest. They sell whiskey to our Indians and gamble with them, and it has been very hard on that account. The only power we have in the matter is the moral power which we can exercise. These Indians with whom we associate every day it is comparatively easy to keep straight, but where they are miles away it is difficult. The question of the Utes being settled in our vicinity is a very serious matter for us. Those Utes who would not take allotments of land are to be brought down within eight miles of the Navajo Indians. They are ration-fed and they are to be placed in a location where they will have to be fed always, for they can do nothing whatever with the land. We object very strongly to having them placed so near our Navajoes. Of course our Indians are not all good, and the bad ones will be made worse to be among the Utes where they can gamble and get whiskey.

The Navajoes are a reverent people. They will not accept a statement as to our belief very readily. They want to know our proof. They say we cannot see the white man's God. Where is he? And if there is a God, why don't the white people behave as if there were one? They say a great many white people will do things that no Navajo will do. They give us pretty hard questions to answer sometimes; for instance, when they say, "If the white people have always known that there is a God, why have not they told us so before our fathers and mothers died? They never heard of any God." They also say, "Now my father was a good man: he did not steal, he did not lie, he did not kill anybody; but he knew nothing of this God you are telling us about. Now what has become of my father? Will he be lost forever because people did not come and tell him that there is a God?"

It is very touching. I think every Indian worker finds it so when he comes to face this question; and it seems to me it is a blot upon our Christianity that within fifteen hundred miles of us there are probably 20,000 people who have never heard of God.

Now we do not ask rations for our Navajoes. We do not want them to be fed. We do ask that they shall have tools to work with. They are not able to buy them. We ask that the government shall furnish all that they need for their work. We ask also that they shall have good schools. If a school could be put in operation upon the Navajo reservation the children would go naturally from the day schools to the larger schools in the East as naturally as our white children go from our public schools to college. But the great thing that our people are asking for is industrial training. They are anxious to know how to do work of every kind in the best way. Some are employed by white farmers in the vicinity, farmers who pay a white man \$1.50 a day and give him his board, but they hire our Navajoes for fifty cents a day; and at the same time they say our Navajoes do more work than the white men. It seems to me that if an Indian does just as good work he should receive the same amount of money for it. I suppose this will naturally right itself after a while.

QUESTION.—Is there any timber near you?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—There is very little timber in that country north of the reservation. Any timber for building purposes must be drawn about 135 miles, and they have no wagons and their ponies are very small. Laid down in our valley it costs \$38 a thousand; so the question of building is a very serious one, for the Navajoes have no money.

QUESTION.—How many people come under your care?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—Our line runs about 25 miles to the east of us, 30 to the west, and 35 to the south, and we are supposed to visit the different camps and help them in every way we can.

QUESTION.—Do they speak English?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—No, very few of them. We have an interpreter who speaks good English.

QUESTION.—Do they wish to learn English?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—Yes, they are very anxious to. That is their chief object in asking for schools. It is all they care to learn except industrial training.

QUESTION.—If the Navajoes could have modern looms for weaving their blankets, don't you think they would appreciate them?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—They would not be Navajo blankets then. They might appreciate the looms, but I do not think they would get money enough out of them to make them appreciate the difference in the time saved; for, as I say, after all, they would not be Navajo blankets. I should like to have them have a scouring-mill and a spinning-jenny so that they can work up their own wool, but I should prefer to have the blankets made after the old-fashioned Navajo style.

QUESTION.—Are the two blankets that you have on exhibition for sale, and at what price?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—Yes, they are for sale; the better one is \$100, and the next is \$75.

QUESTION.—Have you ever made an effort to change their method of weaving?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—No, we have not; because our people have been on the verge of starvation, and our efforts have been in the line of getting them to raise farm produce to keep them alive. We have been farmers among them.

QUESTION.—Where do they get their colors for dyeing the wool?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—They are their own colors. Where they get the blue no one has found out. The red is made from the bark of a certain tree, and the yellow from certain flowers.

QUESTION.—Can they get those colors now?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—Yes; but the trouble is, they are not able to get money enough for their blankets to pay them, and they now use Germantown wool.

QUESTION.—Do they make baskets?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—Very few.

Mr. GARRETT.—I have a theory that the Navajoes could be taught skilled industries and be enabled to make considerable money.

Gen. EATON.—I think Mr. Garrett is right. It reminds me of efforts made in Europe to teach the women of different counties different industries. In Ireland, for instance, they found rude industries and taught the people how to improve them, and transformed the condition of a population of about one hundred thousand people, so that where they had at one time no income, it amounted afterward to about \$80,000. If Mrs. Eldridge had a little help I think this could be done among the Navajoes. Something similar has been done in Liberia.

Mr. JAMES WOOD.—I want to take Mrs. Eldridge's side against Mr. Garrett. If made by a modern loom they would no longer be a Navajo blanket. I spent some time last spring looking into this question, and I found that it is a unique blanket, different from any other made in the world. Mr. Garrett probably has upon his floors at home, rugs brought from various parts of Asia. Why does he buy those expensive rugs? Because he could not get them from any other part of the world. A machine-made rug is not like a rug for which he pays hundreds of dollars. The Navajo is a unique blanket and it is a great surprise that so many people know so little about it. No other blanket in the world can give such service as a Navajo blanket. Miners will pay \$75 for them when they could get a machine-made blanket for \$10. Why? Because when he lies down under it he has an absolutely waterproof covering. He can roll himself into one and lie in the melting snow and be perfectly dry, and there is no other blanket in which that can be done. Mrs. Eldridge is absolutely right. Here is one of the marvels of our country, that this aboriginal people, so different from all other people or other tribes on this continent, have developed of themselves an important and unique industry. Let us, right in the line of their development, help them not to make something that shall be a drug in the market but that shall be unique. I saw there three years ago clips piled up because they had no market value, and my heart was wrung for these poor people when I saw this source of income, for which they are deserving of the greatest credit, cut off. They were on the verge of starvation because their industry was ruined.

One thing more. We are told here to-night that they have no patterns from which to weave these blankets, that the designs are carried altogether in their mind. I wish some one would tell us how it is that these patterns made by the Navajoes and the patterns made by the Norwegians five hundred years ago are identically the same. I can show you a Norwegian rug which, hung up side by side with that one, would almost defy you to tell one from the other so far as the pattern and color are concerned.

QUESTION.—How are these twenty thousand Indians going to get through the coming winter?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—They still have some of their flocks, and when they get very hungry they will kill and eat their horses.

QUESTION.—Do you think this Conference ought to ask for an appropriation to buy flour for them?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—No. We are an independent people, and it hurts us to take rations just as much as it hurts white people.

Captain R. H. Pratt was asked to speak.

Capt. PRATT.—I want to add a word to the discussion about the Navajoes. Those people live in the poorest of houses. They move easily from place to place following their sheep; and this simple loom which enables them to produce these blankets they can roll up and carry on the pony's back, and hang it up wherever they camp.

Gen. EATON.—Have you ever had any of them as students, and what would you train them in?

Capt. PRATT.—I have some now. I have one who is a successful machinist, who earns \$3 a day,—having acquired that ability and worth in four years. That is the kind of industry I would teach them. I would get them all the abilities of civilization, and then let them swim around in it until they were saturated and could stand as individual men. I believe in ending Indian life in this country by making them individual and citizen. I believe if we force the issues to bring that about with just about the same vim we now force them to remain Indians and tribes, the object will soon be accomplished. We place and arm an agent with authority, give him a body of policemen, and a great deal of machinery to hold the Indians together as tribes, to hold the Navajoes on their reservation, for instance, and, in the mean time, white men go in and steal their tribal resources of living, their water, perhaps, by going a few miles above to the source of the river, and occupy the land, and run ditches, and use all the water, so that the poor Indian is left without a possibility of making a living.

During the summer I was in Arizona on the Pima, Marecopa Reservation. The white men belonging to the town above these Indians have absolutely taken just about all the water that the river affords; and the bottom lands along the river—that the Indians had cultivated by irrigation, and from which they had gained support for generations—are now barren. As a possible relief, the government had civil engineers digging down and trying to find a sufficient water supply, which was to be lifted to the surface with powerful machinery for the benefit of the Indians. As an ignorant people unable to cope with us, in mass they are perfectly helpless. As individuals taught some civilized industry, I care not what (blacking boots on the street would be respectable), they are manly, and they will soon grow so that they may stand here as the next speaker who follows me has grown, and become independent, until we can and must respect them. An Indian, earning his own living by the sweat of his brow, moving about as a man in the United States, is surely worth dozens of the helpless Indians to whom we give 160 acres of land, and who cannot speak our language and who have to be rationed year after year.

The other day, a preacher came to see my foot-ball boys practise, and a friend of mine heard him talking about the Indian school afterward, and he said, "If the government of the United States has nothing better for the Indians to do than to play foot-ball, I am going to quit taking up collections in my church for Indian mission-

ary work." If, through foot-ball, Indian boys can kick themselves into association and competition with white people, I would give every one a foot-ball. The Carlisle foot-ball team is out on a campaign this year. I have endeavored to bring them to the top in foot-ball as well as in other matters, and have urged my manager to get skilful instructors and to play only big games. The score this year has been with Dickinson College,—Indians, 28, Dickinson College, 6; with the DuQuesne Athletic Society, of Pittsburg, made up largely of college foot-ball men,—Indians, 18; DuQuesne, 0. To-day they play with Princeton, and a telegram says that Princeton scores 22, and the Indians, 6.

PRESIDENT GATES.—To score against Princeton is a good afternoon's work for any eleven.

CAPT. PRATT.—Next week Saturday they play with Yale on the Manhattan Field, New York; on the 24th they play with Harvard at Cambridge; on the 7th of November with Pennsylvania University in Philadelphia. They may not score with any of them, but they play well enough to make themselves respected by the champions in this great game.

I talk to you every year about our outing system, pushing the Indians out into civilization. This year the school has had about six hundred pupils out, and their aggregate earnings amounted to almost \$20,000. They have in the bank, on interest at 6 per cent., about \$17,000 of their own earnings and savings. We have 805 students representing 61 tribes.

The question of getting the children away from the reservation came up this morning, and I was delighted with Miss Collins's answers. There was frankness and honesty about them. But can you not see that when you say to an Indian, "Now, my friend, this is your country and your home, and it is dear to you, of course. You have a family, and you love your children, and you want to be civilized like the white man; and we propose to bring our civilization all about you. You can do just as well here on the reservation. You can get your education here as well as at Carlisle or Hampton. Just stay here, and let your children go to school here where you can see them." Do you not see that that sort of influence is calculated to hinder the Indian going away to school? Then, these reservation influences demand that no child shall be taken away from the reservation without the child's consent and the parents' consent, given in writing before the agent,—which adds to the difficulty of getting recruits; but we do get them. Carlisle never had so many students as it has this fall. We are in better shape than ever, and ready for the winter campaign.

I contend that the person who will hold the Indian to his narrow reservation influences is himself narrow, and the person who will push the Indian out into the wider opportunity of good civilized surroundings has the broader better plan. That is the spirit of Miss Collins. She said she wished more could go to the Eastern schools. We shall have the Indian problem just so long as we have distinct communities of Indians. We must in some way break up the Ind-

ian community. We must help them to move about into our civilization, and when we consider that there are only about 250,000 Indians and that we can annually take in 500,000 Italians, Hungarians, and other immigrants and scatter them about in our great American community, and when within two and a half centuries we can bring from the tropical zone and the other side of the earth eight million of black savages and civilize and citizenize them as a useful part of our population, it does seem that in three or four centuries our Indians ought to be brought into the same condition. If the reservation system is so good, why not pass laws to establish reservations for Italians, for Hungarians, and other nationalities each with its agent, and have Hungarian and Italian Commissioners in Washington each with a great bureau? What a mess we would have!

No one can say I am opposed to missionaries. I have probably contributed my fair share to sustain home and foreign missionaries. I believe in them, but I do believe also that all of the influences at work on the Indians should be directed toward this emigration movement, if you can call it so. The Nez Percés are worse off now than they were four years ago before land in severalty was given to them. They are drinking and becoming so debased that it has become a problem whether we shall save any of them or not. Such are the conditions among their people at home that of their own notion the young people at Carlisle from that tribe have determined to stay at Carlisle. This conference will perform its highest duty to the Indians by helping them to break up their tribal relations and escape from their reservation influences and the hindrances to their development coming from being banded together as Indians.

QUESTION.—What portion of your students settle down in the East?

Capt. PRATT.—Very few. Do you want to know why? The Indian Department thinks it is a good thing for Indian youth to go back to their tribes, and it offers to all capable graduates and others place and salary for work among the Indians. They are thus lured and enticed to go back. That is the reason we do not have more of them in the East, not because there is not to be found plenty of work for them to do East. Rations, annuities, lands, and other enticements also abound. Many of them if they go back are not obliged to work. An Osage Indian is paid two hundred and fifty dollars a year in quarterly instalments. What incentive has he to work? He can live on that without work. Many of them hire the white men to work for them.

There are twenty to thirty Apaches belonging to the same band as the next speaker who are earning their own living in Pennsylvania. One of the Apache boys is employed in the great Pennsylvania Steel work at Steelton. He is a skilful blacksmith. The superintendent was at Carlisle at the last commencement, and this young man showed various articles that he had made, and this superintendent offered him a job if he would come over; and he has been there ever since last March working successfully and really causing some anxiety among white men because he has been promoted to a higher

salary and responsibility than the white men who have been there longer. We have skilful housekeepers and nurses among our Indian girls. No nurses in this country have received higher praise for their untiring watchfulness and care and for their skill than some of my Indian girls.

President GATES.—We have learned that the problem is very complex, that different tribes of Indians have different characteristics, and that all these workers are accomplishing something toward the solution of the problem. We are to hear next from a young Indian who was taken captive during General Crook's campaign. He was brought East in 1880 and shifted for himself, doing such work as he could, until he attracted the attention of the Bureau of Ethnology for which he did some work in preparing for the exhibition at Chicago. He is now studying at Exeter, N.H. I will ask Mr. Antonio Apache to speak.

Mr. Apache spoke in substance as follows :—

Mr. ANTONIO APACHE.—It gives me great pleasure to find so many friends of the Indians ; for often I have thought that we had none. The Indians have been mistreated in many ways ; and they will continue to be unless they have more friends than at present. I have visited nearly all the tribes in the United States ; and I know that the Indians are willing to take care of themselves if we give them an opportunity. I think that rations are detrimental to the Indians. When I was at the Sisseton Agency, they told me that ten years ago some of them had good farms ; but when government began to give them money they stopped farming. I never found a man who would work if money was given to him.

The way to help the Indian is to help him to make his own way, and give him something practical to do.

As to schools,—the children go to school, but they cannot learn anything at home. And, when they come out of school, and go home, they lose what they have learned. The only way to educate them, and make them self-supporting, is to take them away from their surroundings. They learn more by imitation than in any other way.

In visiting the different tribes I have found less vice and crime in proportion to their numbers than in civilized communities. I have found some good hearts under a buckskin shirt. The great trouble is there has been too little justice given to the Indians. People have talked a great deal about trouble with the Apaches ; but the Apaches have usually been justified. Troubles arise from disturbances occasioned by the white people in the vicinity. Much of this has been brought on by lack of management on the part of the officers in charge. These officers are not appointed for ability or fitness. I have found many men among the Indians who were not qualified to take care of them. The agent has got to be a broad, liberal-minded man. I have seen farmers, too, who had not visited the farms of

the Indians for two years. You can't expect to make farmers of Indians under such instructions. I have seen men sent out as agents where irrigation had to be developed; and they did not know anything about it, and cared less. I don't know whose responsibility this is; but I think it ought to be the responsibility of the government to see to it. In some places the agents do not care anything about developing the resources of the reservation. In some cases, too, many are made the tools of the agent. There is room for improvement here. The only thing that the Indian asks is that your country shall be their country, and where you make your home their home shall be, and your God shall be their God.

Bishop H. B. Whipple was invited to speak.

Bishop WHIPPLE.—I always listen with great pleasure to my friend Captain Pratt. Perhaps you do not know that we were fellow-soldiers in this warfare twenty years ago. He had a number of Indian prisoners at St. Augustine, and we conferred together and organized a school, and several nights in the week I preached to them the dear old story of the love of Jesus Christ. I love Captain Pratt because he is a man of intense convictions. He is quite sure of his foundations. He is every inch a soldier, and in his line he has done a noble and grand work for the country and for the Indian; but I think you will agree that he has not told you all of the missionary side of the Indian question. I have no argument about missions. I have no story of hardships connected with missions. As I look back upon my life I see that I have learned lessons among the Indians, and in the mission work, that I should not have learned. I have seen sorrow. I have had eight hundred of my fellow-citizens lying in nameless graves, and in that sorrow what did I do? I read again the story of the hopefulness of Jesus Christ for humanity. In his love I tried to love all that he loves. I wish I could tell the story to-night of how this passion for humanity has drawn hearts together and how it has brought forth the most abundant fruit. More than twenty-five years ago I, an Episcopal bishop, was asked to be present at the annual meeting of the Quakers of the United States assembled in Baltimore. They asked me to talk to them about these poor Indian brothers. A few weeks later I was asked to the annual meeting of the Hicksite branch of the Quakers. Well, there came a day—and it was a dark day—that I received a message from the Indian country saying there was not food enough to last. I borrowed money from the bank to supply them temporarily; these Quakers from Philadelphia sent me \$2,000 to feed and care for these Indians. I have no tale of hardships, no tale of failure. The only failure is failure to do God's work. Just as certain as the promises of God are sure, we shall succeed if we work in God's way.

Among the Indians, where thirty-eight years ago there was drunken revelry, at my last visit a church that would seat four hundred persons was filled. One hundred of these were communicants.

I was there for ten days and I did not see a single blanket Indian. We have ten Indian churches there. That is not failure. Our Indian clergy are doing good work as pastors of the flock of Christ. I have seen the most beautiful instances of the power of religion in some of these men whom I first saw with painted faces and who are to-day living a civilized life toiling with their hands and helping to solve the problem that we all desire to solve.

I want to give you an instance in the life of that Christian worker, ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes. He was a great friend of the Indians. He tried to do Christ's work. You know that the South felt that the vote of Florida and Louisiana had been stolen for Mr. Hayes from Mr. Tilden and that Mr. Hayes was unjustly elected president. This must be remembered as I tell my story. I am one of the oldest members of the Peabody Trustees, and we have a rule that when there is a vacancy in the Board of Trustees it shall be filled if it is in the North by a Northerner, in the South by a Southerner. The chief justice of Tennessee had died and the nomination for his successor fell to the Southern trustees. There was Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, Richard Taylor, the right hand of Stonewall Jackson, H. R. Johnson, Governor Aiken of South Carolina, and other Southern men. But Alexander Stuart said the Southern members asked the privilege of nominating a Northern man to fill the vacancy, one whom they wished to honor for his high Christian character, his incorruptible integrity and his even-handed justice to the South,—Rutherford B. Hayes. I thought of that incident as I listened to the speech of that earnest Christian woman this morning.

I know something about the Navajoes. Thirty-eight years ago I began to investigate the history of the different tribes, and as far as possible I read everything I could find connected with the history of the Indians, and so I learned about the Navajoes. When we bought New Mexico, we bought a war with the Navajoes. We sent Kit Carson down to conquer the Navajoes; and he said he found one orchard of twelve hundred peach-trees. At the end of the war the Navajoes were moved, and put where it was impossible for them to live. They were dying off. General Sherman visited them. An old chief came to the general, and said, "My people are dying." The general asked the chief, "Where do you wish to go?" The old chief put his finger on the map, and pointed out his old home, and said, "We want to go there." "Well, you shall go," said Sherman. "My people are sick, and cannot travel," said the chief. "Well, I will send them in wagons," said Sherman. And the old chief looked at him for a moment, and said, "I call you my brother, but my people will think you are God"; and he threw his arm round General Sherman's neck. General Sherman was an old Indian fighter, and I have had as many spats with him as with any man I ever knew; but he loved me as a brother, and I loved him; and, in that famous report of his, he said, "The Indian problem will be solved, like a good many others, by a sentence in the old Book, which says, 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.'"

In a paper which I wrote thirty-six years ago on this Indian question, I emphasized these things: first, the folly of teaching Indian children in their own language; after learning they have no books to read; second, the impossibility of the Indian becoming civilized without government. And, let me say, we have not reached that point yet. Many of the difficulties of which Captain Pratt speaks can be solved the moment we give him exactly the same protection as we give to the white man. Third, individual rights of property. These, with the religion of Jesus Christ, will give to the Indian, as it has given to man all through the ages, manhood and freedom. There is no room for being discouraged. Let us put our shoulder to the wheel, and do all we can. God's hand is over us, and the end is sure.

Bishop Whipple closed by introducing Assistant Bishop Gilbert. Bishop Gilbert was invited to speak.

Bishop GILBERT.—In the old days, before I knew this side of the Indian question, I thought Bishop Whipple was an idealist, and that he allowed his heart to run away with his judgment. 'Now I have entirely changed my mind, and am an entire convert. For many years I lived among the miners of Montana; and I never heard one of them say a good word of the Indian. When I was elected as assistant to Bishop Whipple, I said, "I am perfectly willing to do the work which will be laid on my shoulders, if so he will not ask me to look after the Indians." But the first summer after I was elected, the bishop came to me, and said, "I am not strong this summer, and I want you to go up and look after the Indians." I said, "Well, I suppose it is my part to obey"; and I came back a convert, because I saw the work that was going on. I saw the same kind of Indians I had seen in Montana, with like degradation, elevated through Christian education. Treat the Indian as a man because he is a man. One of the leading lumber-men of Minnesota said to me a year ago as I was returning from my annual trip,—he was not a Christian man: he was a hard-headed, rough-and-ready business man,—"Bishop," he said, "I want to tell you my own experience. When I first began my lumbering business I began by employing some of the Indian young men. I paid them seventy-five cents a day, and gave them their rations,—the very poorest rations I could find,—because I thought that even that was better than they had been accustomed to, and it would do for them. I bought the cheapest clothing, and sold it to them at exorbitant prices. But the Indians shirked their work, and, after a few days, they would go off. I then ceased to employ them. The next year, as I was about to put my crews to work at Red Lake, an old chief came down one day to see me, and said, 'Are you going to employ my young men?' I said, 'No: I have had bad experience with them.' He replied: 'You are a young man, and I am an old man. Let me tell you one thing. Treat my young men as though they were men; treat them as well as you treat your white men; give

them the same wages and the same kind of food, and clothe them with the same quality at the same prices; and you will see how they compare with the white laborers.' The chief spoke so earnestly that I consented to try them; and to-day I would rather have those Indian young men as my laborers than the average white man." That showed the wisdom of treating the Indians as men.

As to the effect of the Indian missions, let me relate a single instance. One year ago, as I was about starting on my trip, a gentleman came to me and said that he would like to go with me. He was a man of seventy years of age, of culture and large experience in public affairs. He said he was very anxious to see the work among the Indians. When this man was a boy he had been brought up as a Christian and in his early manhood had been an earnest Christian man, but since coming West he had laid aside his Bible and had lost his anchorage. Well, he went with me; and as we passed through White Earth Reservation we were joined by one of our missionaries, who has given twenty-five years to the salvation of those people. As we went to the different Indian missions and the Indians gathered around us I could see the puzzled looks of this gentleman. We came one morning to Leach Lake. The Indians there had at one time been the most degraded band in Minnesota. It was not safe for a man to linger among them without protection. It was a beautiful September morning, and in the church was gathered a great congregation of the red children of the forest. It was packed to the doors,—men, women, and children. They received the holy communion and then returned solemnly to their seats one after the other. I was about to close the service when I looked back and there was that old gray-headed man of seventy, that man who had lost his faith, that man who had despised the Indian and did not believe that anything good could come of him, rising to his feet. He came up the aisle with his knees trembling and the tears running down his cheeks, knelt before the altar where he received once more the blessed symbol of Christ's love. He had found there in the wilderness, among those people he had despised, the faith of his mother once more. He had knit together the cords of the anchorage which bound him to hope and to God.

When men tell me that missions are a failure among the Indians I simply ask them to see the impression on this man of the world which the Christian life of the Indians makes. Thus everywhere work good and true is the unanswerable argument.

There is hard work in connection with it. We do get disappointed. Men that were expected to be good Christians do fall back; but is not that equally true among other people? There is, however, one village upon Red Lake where every soul in it is a Christian. It is the only village of the kind in the United States. It is full of honesty and morality, and I have seen nowhere a better illustration of the Christian virtues than among these Red Lake Indians. So we go on. When the reservation system is broken up and the Indians stand forth among their white brothers as men to work out their own salvation, they will be prepared for it by such

work as Captain Pratt is doing and by such work as Christian workers are doing, and by such work as we ministers of God are trying to do. The Indians will then be ready for citizenship; and the time will not come until they are ready for it.

On motion it was voted that a message of greeting should be sent to Miss Sibyl Carter who was kept from the Conference by sickness.
Adjourned at 1.30 P.M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 15.

The Conference was called to order, after prayers conducted by Bishop Whipple.

Miss Smiley read a greeting to Miss Sibyl Carter, which had been prepared by a committee consisting of Dr. Cuyler, Mrs. M. G. Fiske, and herself: "The Fourteenth Mohonk Indian Conference sends loving greeting to the Indian's most devoted friend, Miss Sibyl Carter, and extends to her most heartfelt sympathy and the earnest hope that her health and strength may be restored, that she may continue her noble and beautiful work."

The subject of the day was then taken up, "The Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory and the Relation of the Government to them." Mr. C. F. Meserve, President of Shaw University, was the first speaker.

THE FIVE NATIONS.

BY CHARLES F. MESERVE, A.M.

Before entering upon a description of the trip among the Five Nations, the reader would doubtless prefer me to place before him the legislation creating the Dawes Commission, its report, and the legislation proposed to remedy the present condition of affairs. In a brief report like this, only a synopsis or salient features can be given, though nothing essential will be omitted. Section 16, of the Act creating the Commission, approved March 3, 1893, is as follows:—

The President shall nominate, and by and with advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint three Commissioners to enter into negotiations with the Cherokee nation, the Choctaw nation, the Chickasaw nation, the Muscogee (or Creek) nation, the Seminole nation, for the purpose of extinguishment of the national or tribal title to any lands within that territory now held by any and all of such nations or tribes, either by cession of the same or some part thereof to the United States, or by the allotment and division of the same in severalty among the Indians of such nations and tribes aforesaid, or each of them, with the United States, with a view to such an adjustment, upon the basis of justice and equity as may, with the consent of such nations or tribes of Indians, so far as may be necessary, be requisite and suitable, to enable the ultimate erection of a State or States of the Union which shall embrace the lands within said Indian Territory.

It will be seen from the above act that the Commission had only the authority to negotiate. There was no power to bring about any

result by force. Nothing could be done except by the voluntary consent or agreement of the respective nations with a subsequent approval by the United States, and all in accordance with treaty stipulations.

From the report of the Commission to the Secretary of the Interior, under date of Nov. 18, 1895, and from testimony given by members of the Commission in various hearings before the House Committee on Indian Affairs at Washington during the month of March, 1896, I learn that the Five Nations declined to negotiate, and, in some instances, treated the Commission with disrespect or declined to even reply to their communications. The report and hearings set forth that the Indian Territory has been overrun with white people, who are there in large numbers; and because not only of the encouragement but invitation of the Indians themselves, that crime is rampant; that the timber, the coal, and the land are monopolized by a few to the detriment of the many; that large towns have been built up by the whites; and that all these operations and enterprises are illegal, having no foundation in right or equity; that the governments of the Five Nations are corrupt; and that the United States, when it set apart this country for the Five Nations, never dreamed of such a condition of affairs as the Commission declares to exist there.

The Commission has been criticised for not leaving the Territory after the Five Nations had declined to "negotiate." These critics claim with much emphasis that the Commission had only power to *negotiate*. This criticism contains the essence of absurdity. What would be thought of a man who was sent on a mission and promptly came back and reported failure without stopping long enough to familiarize himself with the conditions that caused or even contributed to the failure? I have found no one who criticised the *failure* of the Commission to negotiate, but rather the *investigation* and *statement* of the condition of affairs that caused this failure.

The Indian Territory possesses the possibilities of a great State. Her area is 30,000 square miles. Her deposits of coal are enormous and of untold millions of dollars in value. Building-stone, equal, if not superior, to the best Cotton Wood Falls limestone of Kansas, and Longmeadow freestone of the East, is found in abundance. The supply of asphalt is practically unlimited. Although largely a prairie country, the river bottoms are filled with valuable timber, while in some portions are large areas of pine. The entire country is well watered by the Grand, Arkansas, Canadian, Washita, and Red Rivers. In the north-eastern portion the streams and brooks are as clear and limpid as in northern New England or Michigan or Colorado. The rainfall is usually so plentiful that a drought, causing a loss of crops, seldom occurs. The population is estimated at 465,000, of whom 400,000 are whites, intruders who have no legal right in the Territory. There are many towns, some having a population of 5,000 and claiming twice as many; towns provided with electric light, fine hotels, large business blocks, and elegant residences. No one has a legal right to the house or lot he

occupies; it is merely a title of occupancy, not of possession, and yet real estate agents thrive as they do in the States. There are six lines of railway, running daily twenty-four passenger trains and a large number of freight trains. The country is beautiful beyond description, and its resources, the development of which has scarcely begun, are almost beyond comprehension. I travelled in and near the Indian Territory over 1,300 miles by rail, and 300 miles in a carriage in the country at a distance from railways. After having travelled for days over the beautiful prairies, along the river bottoms in the midst of heavy timber, among the coal mining towns, over mile after mile of fenced pastures dotted with thousands of fat cattle, by fields of corn and cotton almost boundless in extent, I understood full well why the white man was here in such large numbers.

The Indian in the Indian Territory will soon be a "man without a country" unless the United States steps in to aid him in the preservation of his domain and the maintenance of his property and political rights. The land, grass, timber, coal, etc., are nominally, and originally were, common property; but, if you are looking for some marked instances of "Wealth against Commonwealth," come with me to the Indian Territory, and remember when you enter the Territory that all of this vast domain with its tremendous natural resources belongs to the *Indian*, and that this property is all held (theoretically) in common. But whom do you see? *White men, white men everywhere.* The scarcest object is an Indian and this in the *Indian Territory*, set apart by solemn treaty obligation for the *Indian*. You see here and there large gangs of men cutting, curing, and pressing hay, and loading it into freight cars for shipment to Kansas City and Chicago. You hear the sound of the woodman's axe and the crash of the lord of the forest as he falls to the ground, and anon the whirl of the saw and the hum of the planer and other machinery preparing the timber for use in the States, where it finds a market. Now and then you pass a long line of cars heavily laden with coal. Here is a string of coke ovens. Yonder a stone quarry or a vast deposit of asphaltum is giving employment to busy hands. Then you come to square mile after square mile of fenced pasture with innumerable herds. Here in the rich Arkansas bottoms is a field of a hundred acres of cotton, and another of a hundred acres of corn. The cotton will yield a bale to the acre and the corn fifty bushels or more, and all this without a pound of fertilizer. The bottom is three miles wide and the soil black, deep, and rich. This property all belongs to the Indian, but it is white men who are cutting and shipping his hay, white men who are felling, manufacturing, and shipping his timber, white men who are mining and shipping his coal, white men who are handling his stone and asphaltum, white men who are harvesting the corn and cotton from his rich acres, white men who are pasturing his beautiful waving prairies and shipping the fat herds to the stock-yards of Kansas City and Chicago. It is the white man who is omnipresent. The common Indian is well-nigh an alien in the land of his fathers.

He is a *rara avis*, about as hard to find as an Irishman in Ireland or a Yankee in New England.

As all these extensive operations are illegal, it may be interesting to see how this condition of affairs was brought about. The territory occupied by the five civilized tribes was ceded to them by the United States more than sixty years ago. It was to be held in common and for the equal benefit of all the Indians of these tribes. The land, the grass, the timber, the minerals, were for the common use of all. They could not be bought or sold. Among Indians, as among other races, there are men more able, more scheming, possessing in a greater degree than others foresight, business ability, and selfishness, and a greater desire for money. Such an Indian would say, "This tract of land, miles square, is mine." Some white cattle-man agrees to fence it and pay the Indian so many hundred dollars a year for a term of years. In some instances an enterprising citizen, a citizen either by birth or marriage, has in this way taken possession of a large tract, fenced it and stocked it with cattle. The legislative bodies have established rates of royalties to be paid into the national treasuries: a quarter of a cent a bushel on coal, a dollar a thousand on logs, fifty cents an acre on hay, to be paid to the Indian claiming the right to cut the hay, and twenty cents a ton as royalty. A certain sum yearly is charged for the "permit" to occupy a residence or business lot in town. All these operations are plainly illegal and in violation of solemn treaty rights and obligations which provide that the land shall be the common property of all the Indians; and each tribe respectively is a party to the treaty as much as the United States.

The extent to which monopoly has been carried is alarming. The common every-day Indian, honest, quiet, shrinking in his nature, and, as a rule, living by himself away from the town and railway, is being crowded to the wall. Young men are bitterly complaining, as they ride over the wide pastures of the Indian and white cattle-barons, that the land is all taken up, and they can find none upon which to make a home and start out in life. In one nation there are 3,000,000 acres of land, and 1,300,000 acres are controlled by 61 individuals. The following would be amusing were it not alarming because of its truthfulness. Some twenty years ago there came to the Territory a white man from a neighboring State, whom we will call H. H. Carbon. He wooed and won a dusky maid, and thereby became a citizen of the tribe to which his wife belonged. He was bright and shrewd, and saw and seized his opportunity, and has become during these two decades a man of property and influence. A few months ago an entertainment was being given in one of the towns in the coal-mining district. The well-known farce, "The District School," was the feature of the evening. When the teacher called the class in "jogryfy," she asked who could bound the Choctaw Nation. Johnnie raised his hand, and as soon as recognized, jumped up and said, "The Choctaw Nation is bounded by a barbed wire fence with H. H. Carbon inside of it." The laughter that followed showed that Johnnie's reply was the sentiment of the

community. I have given this instance because such an incident will indicate the exact condition of affairs much better than the statement of a person consciously or unconsciously (but necessarily) colored because of his personal interest in the continuance of present methods, or the pathetic plea of a paid Indian or white attorney before some committee in Washington, who pretends to be so concerned, when before Congress, about the welfare of the common Indian and the fulfilling of solemn treaty rights and obligations. The weeping attorneys are pulling at the teats on one side of the Indian's cow and the monopolists on the other side; and when the milking is finished, they get together by themselves, drink the milk, curse the Dawes Commission, and laugh in their sleeves at the Indian, who takes care of the cow and keeps the rack well supplied with fodder.

When I asked a white man in the Seminole Nation to give me a definition of an Indian of the present day, he promptly replied, "An Indian is a trustee of the title to the land in the interest of the white man." He thoroughly understood the situation.

The record of corruption and crime, as given by the Dawes Commission, I firmly believe. I thought it incredible, when I read it; but I have paid special attention to these two points, and do not hesitate to say that the picture has not been overdrawn.

To one who only looks on the surface, the statement of the Commission that life and property are insecure, and official corruption is common would seem untrue. At first I found it difficult to get people to talk. But after a while, when I made known that I was a representative of the Indian Rights Association and that I was after the truth in the interest of the Indians, and upon my personal assurance that I would not in any way use their names or localities, the evidence came; and it is evidence from reliable sources.

A permit for a railway to go through one of the nations was obtained only after paying money. The council in session wanted \$30,000, but the railway attorney finally got it through for \$7,000. The innocent reader need not think this money went into the National Treasury.

An Indian who cannot get credit was appointed as a judge. He will not pay his bills and is a general dead-beat.

The boödle business is denied only by the delegations who visit Washington. When the Dawes Commission first reported and stated they had failed in their attempts to negotiate, they were twitted about not *coming down* as the railway syndicates do.

Money will buy admission to the citizenship rolls. An Indian woman told me that upon her return she paid \$200 to get her name put upon the roll, from which it had been stricken because of several years' absence in the States. An official told her that she had gotten through the lower house all right, but it would take \$200 more to get through the upper. She declined to pay the money, and will put her case into the hands of the Dawes Commission, who will see that she has justice.

A company was organized to run a railway through two adjoining

nations. There was a provision in the charter, granting the corporation every alternate section of land on either side of the railway for a distance of six miles through the richest coal land. It would have given millions of dollars to the railway, but when the common people of one of the nations heard of it through work done by the Dawes Commission, they said if this provision was retained in the charter, they would repeal it with their Winchesters. It was necessary for the two nations to agree. Only one had acted, and as the other failed to agree on account of the powerful Winchester argument, the railway corporation did not receive a present of a magnificent setting of black diamonds, whose estimated value was ten millions of dollars.

An Indian was eloquently pleading for the rights of the poor common Indian, but upon investigation, it was found that he was at that very moment himself controlling eight thousand acres of land.

A reliable white man informed me that fifteen men control, in one of the nations, one million acres of land.

An Indian judge stated that he could get the chairman of the citizenship application committee to call a meeting of the committee by paying \$20 if he had plenty of whiskey, otherwise \$50 would be necessary.

The method of paying the large sum of money received from the sale of the famous Cherokee strip was corrupting and demoralizing in the extreme. There are nine districts in the Cherokee Nation, and a payment was made in each district. It is common talk, that nobody pretends to deny, that the Cherokee officials having the payment in charge, agreed to locate a payment at Vinita, a bustling and thriving town, if the citizens would pay them \$2,500. After much hard hustling, the sum was collected and paid over to these unselfish and patriotic citizens of the Cherokee Nation. A payment was accordingly located at Vinita, accompanied by its inevitable train of evils. At another place of payment the sheriff rented the courthouse for immoral purposes. The upper floor was given up to gambling, and the lower — where gathered Indians, Negroes, low whites and lewd women — to drinking, carousing, and fighting. After two nights, the lower room was closed up, complaints were so numerous; but the room above was kept running. Gamblers, fakirs, two hundred lewd women, from each of whom the sheriff collected tariff, and thugs generally, camped for days a few miles from this place of payment, and strove in every possible way to get the money paid the Indians. When the sheriff was remonstrated with for the wicked course he had pursued, he said: "Well! the present order of things is not going to long continue; the land will be allotted, and the form of government changed, and I am going to make as big a haul as possible." A prominent Cherokee, a man of intelligence and refinement and who loves his people, said with reference to these payments, that the loss to his tribe in moral status could not be overestimated. "It was simply appalling. It would have been better for the Cherokees if they had never received this money. Nothing can compensate for the loss of a woman's honor."

In one nation three families control 30,000 acres of land. In some instances, a poor man with a large family has to get along with a few acres; in some rare instances, six or eight. Almost everybody is preying upon the country. Very few seem to be praying in it, or praying for it. I met, in the Cherokee Nation, a bunch of horse-traders, so-called, but really a bunch of dead-beats, living off the Indians' country. They would camp a week in one place, and then move to fresher pastures. There was a nondescript company of twenty-four human or inhuman white folks,—or would have been white, had they been clean,—of all ages and sizes, and of both sexes. They had six wagons, twelve work horses, and thirty trade horses.

In one of the nations there is an organized association, the object of which is to obtain citizenship for its members. Large numbers of intruders have joined this association. The head of the association assesses the members, and he makes a fine thing out of it. He has his salary and Washington expenses. He poses as the great factor in securing the creation of the Dawes Commission. But the Commission is looking after the interest of the Indian, while the association is trying to rob him. I rode some distance with a full-blood Indian, who said there was corruption everywhere. He thought allotment would be best, if the Indians could be protected and the land secured for them. He did not understand, until I told him, why the Commission was in the Territory. He thought it was there to get the intruders on the roll of citizens. This is one of many instances that might be given to show how persistently and relentlessly the Commission is misrepresented and maligned.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

ADDRESS BY HON. H. L. DAWES.

Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen.—Mr. Meserve has relieved me of very much which ought to have been said about the Indian Territory, and in a much better manner than I could have done if it had been left to me.

The Dawes Commission (as it goes by that name in the Indian Territory), when it was announced to them that they were about to be investigated, were glad enough to find into whose hands it was committed, for they felt that they would be safe in the hands of any one so intelligent, so faithful, and so persistent in pursuing the right as Mr. Meserve. I will say for myself that, although investigation sooner or later overtakes most public men, it did not reach me till rather late in life; and I must confess that when the charge was made that I was lacking in respect to the rights of the Indian I rather took it to heart.

I shall devote myself, for the little time I have, entirely to trying to relieve those people who were properly enough sensitive at the idea that something was going to be done by me, and by those associated with me, to violate the treaty rights with the Indians.

I think that a stranger, studying the character of our country, would hardly be surprised at anything so much as to be told that there was in this country, under the common Constitution of the United States and under the same flag that floats over its capitol, still another people, claiming under this very authority an independent power to govern and control itself, without regard to the government or laws of the United States. If he should seek further for the reason, for the authority under which such a claim of independence is based, he would be puzzled far more to find either reason or authority in the Constitution or in law for such a condition of things. He might wonder how it could be, how it were possible, that there could be carried on here any *imperium in imperio*; how there could be another nation within this nation, yet independent of it. He would want to know why it came about, and by what authority it could be built up, by, or under, or through the same Constitution. If he sought it in the fact that it was a small community that had grown up incidentally, and of so small relative importance that it did not matter anything, he would be mistaken, for it has a domain of 31,000 square miles,—four times as large as the State of Massachusetts, and two-thirds as large as this grand State of New York. Ten Rhode Islands and Delawares put together could be placed inside of it, and still there would be room.

If he should inquire whether it might not be because of the peculiar character of the people in this independent Territory he would still be mistaken. Since I have been in public service I have voted upon the admission into the Union of thirteen or fourteen States made up exactly of such a community as this is. The two States of Dakota were one Territory made up of whites and Indians in almost all respects like this. The State of Minnesota, the State of Wisconsin, the State of Utah, the State of Nevada, the State of Oregon, the State of Washington,—all of these States were made up exactly of the same kind of community and people. It was not for that reason.

Was it because there are but few of them? Well, of these thirteen or fourteen States there was not one that had as many inhabitants in it when it became a State, after it had gone through the pupilage of the Territory, as are now residents in the Indian Territory, a population of from three hundred and sixty to three hundred and seventy thousand.

Can any one give a student of our institutions any answer why it is then that, of all the territory in the States we have in the Union, there has been left this one, neither a State nor a Territory of the United States, with no State or Territorial government at all, inside of this Union, at the same time under this Constitution and this flag?

There is no answer to this question in law or in the Constitution,

much less in the possibilities of continuance. It grows out of the belief of a large portion of the people of the United States that somehow and in some way they have bound themselves to let it be so; the belief that the United States has abdicated authority over this people. If it is really and rightly so, it is to be respected and adhered to so long as public safety will permit *and no longer*.

I respect those people who sent Mr. Meserve to the Indian Territory. I respect the sentiment that became anxious and solicitous lest we should be at work violating the treaty rights of these people. But I for one am unable to come to the conclusion that we ever did, or if we ever did we had the power to, abdicate our authority over any one foot of the territory governed by the Constitution and the flag of this country. I am happy to be able to believe that I shall show you, from the books, that we never attempted to do that, and I want to say to you that, if we had, it was beyond the power of this government under the Constitution to do it. The Constitution is the measure of the power of every branch of this government. The Constitution says this and this only about the territory of the United States, "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States."

Congress must make the rules, Congress must govern the territory. No other authority exists in the government to govern or control any foot of the territory of the United States outside of the District of Columbia except what I have given you, which requires Congress to do one of two things: make all needful rules and regulations concerning it, or else dispose of it,—one or the other. They did dispose of this territory. They granted the titles to these lands to these people for a purpose; but the rules and regulations concerning it, the government of it, they not only never did sell to them, but they never could have sold, if they had undertaken it. Mark you, it is *Congress* that must do this. The Congress of the United States has never attempted to do this. Whatever was done was in a sort of treaty not made by Congress, made by the Executive with these people as if they were a foreign nation, and there was not a jot of authority in the Constitution for them to set up a government over a portion of the people of this country that shall be independent of the United States.

But they disposed of the title to the land, and for what purpose? They conveyed the title to these nations for the benefit of the nations. Was it that the nations could sell it and dispose of it and make money out of it? Did the nations take it as you and I take a conveyance of sale? Not at all. They put it in the hands of these nations as *trustees for each and every one of the citizen Indians*. It is not worth while to go back of 1866, although the original arrangement was made seventy years ago, before this people had any idea that there could be such a thing as individual ownership by an Indian. That is why the title was put in the tribe or nation for the use of the Indian and not in the individual Indian. Land in severalty is a revelation of thirty years afterward. They took these people

away out into this country, which was then six or seven weeks distant from civilized life, to make an atonement for the wrongs inflicted upon these nations in the States from whence they took them. They said to them, You may do as you please out here.

At the time of the Civil War these Indians went to war with us, and they broke up by this the relations which had existed before 1866. After the war the United States and these so-called nations made new treaties and established new relations. Afterward it came to be revealed that the way to advance civilization with Indians was not to isolate them but to put them on their own feet,—to make individual citizens of them.

Every one of these treaties made since 1866, contemplates two things,—first, that they shall hold this land strictly for the use of each and every Indian, share and share alike; and secondly, they provided that the old system should pass away. It was provided that whenever they chose they might take land in allotment, and the United States would survey and allot the land for them at its own expense; and that whenever they chose they might establish Territorial government and legislate upon subjects prescribed whose scope and limitation depended on the approval of the President, subject also to the Constitution and laws of the United States. Provision was also made for United States courts in the Territory, post roads, post-offices, and United States mails, and railroads under the United States laws. A perfect surrender of autonomy, if it ever existed. Then they stipulated how the land should be held.

From a single treaty made with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, who held their land jointly, I read as follows. The same thing is more or less clearly expressed in all the treaties of 1865–66:—

REVISION OF INDIAN TREATIES.

(Page 276. Lines, 12278–12287.)

TREATY OF JUNE 22, 1855, WITH CHOCTAWS AND CHICKASAWS.

And pursuant to an Act of Congress approved May 28, 1830, the United States do hereby forever secure and guarantee the lands embraced within the said limits to the members of the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes, their heirs and successors, to be held in common; so that each and every member of either tribe shall have an equal, undivided interest in the whole; provided, however, no part thereof shall ever be sold without the consent of both tribes, and that said land shall revert to the United States if said Indians and their heirs become extinct or abandon the same.

That is what the United States solemnly guaranteed they would do; and when they do that and restore to every one of these poor Indians his equal share in every foot of that land and in every one of those coal mines and of those vast possessions, the end has come. Those who hold power there will unloose their grasp and have no further interest in opposing any proposition that will bring these tribes into harmony in their own relations and in their relation to the government of the United States. That is what this Commission has been importuning the United States at one end, and the

Indians at the other, to do. That is what those who hold the power to gather the fruits of their iniquities, grasping them with greed into their pockets, have resisted to this day. This Commission has asked for the violation of no treaty obligation, however questionable might have been the power to enter by treaty into any such relation. They ask that these treaty stipulations may be enforced. They were charged from the beginning to say to these people: "We want none of your lands. Our desire is that you shall do this yourselves." Every word that we uttered was taken down in shorthand and reported to the President of the United States. Of every communication we made to them a copy was sent to the Executive. In every one of them it has been made plain that we were there to present to them the reasons why this condition of things, so graphically reported by Mr. Meserve, could not continue in the midst of these people and in the midst of this government. It is our conviction that this condition grows worse and worse every hour that it continues. The courts all around there are filled up with trials of men for murders committed in the Indian Territory. One judge, who has been there ten or fifteen years, has sentenced something like one hundred men to be hanged for crimes committed in that Territory. There is no description that can compare with the reality; and it was our duty to impress upon them that a change must come, and we showed them the way. We showed them how their fathers in 1866 contemplated the having of this land in allotment. We have not troubled ourselves about the Territorial government or about their becoming a State in the Union. We knew full well that the moment they took their land in allotment and each one had his own possessions and came to know the value of his own home, all the rest would follow. He would be for having a government, law, and protection, and he would become a part of the United States and of the citizenship of the States like all the rest. That was our duty, and we have adhered to it.

I am glad to say to you that the light is breaking in upon them. The Congress of the United States imposed new duties upon this Commission last winter, after being convinced that we had not violated any of the treaty rights of the Indians and that we were not departing from the path of justice. They imposed on us the duty of settling forever this question of citizenship, and there are now pending before the Commission, that are to be decided by the tenth of December, the final judgments of the Commission upon 7,300 cases of claimants for citizenship in that Territory. They see that the end is coming. The men who have the grasp there begin to see that they cannot tell where they will be when the end comes, and they propose to try the experiment of negotiating with us now. At this moment the Choctaw Nation, which a year ago came within one vote of passing a law making it treason to negotiate with us, has this fall at its election chosen a chief in favor of allotment. The Creek Nation, which has upon its statute-book a law making it a penalty of death to petition the United States for a change of their government, have appointed a Commission, at the head of which is

General Porter, whom all the men who have had anything to do with Indians know. Even the Cherokees, bound up more than any of them in the grasp of these men who have taken everything that is valuable, have appointed a Commission to confer with us; and stalwart Bushy Head, who was relegated to private life from the chieftainship some five years ago because he was in favor of allotment, was the man appointed at its head. It has been impressed upon them that the Congress of the United States is going to take this matter in hand if they do not choose to do it themselves.

But suppose they have an independent government now. Who made it? The government of the United States made it, and if the government of the United States made it, it can unmake it. While the property conveyed to these people is a vested right that can never be taken from them, the political status is not a vested right. There is no political condition that is a vested right in this country. It is constantly being changed by the power that made it, and the power that made whatever independent authority there is there was the United States, and the United States has the power to resume it.

Now there is another way out of this. These nations hold their title—as I have read to you—in trust, for the use of the people. What have they done? They have misappropriated the trust. They have taken that use from the whole people, and have put it in the hands of a few for their own private use, and what is plainer in a court of equity than that when a trustee violates a trust he may be removed?

There are many ways out of this, not only to absolve ourselves from attempting to violate treaty obligations, but to take to ourselves some credit for enforcing the right. It is in behalf of the poor Indian despoiled of his heritage, not of the white man, that we were sent down there; and it is in behalf of the Indian that we plead to have his possessions allotted to him either by his own act, or by the government of the United States, or by some court in equity.

I ask this Conference, at whose hands those at work for the Indians have received so much support in times past, to understand that you have approached now what seems to me the most important of all the questions that confront you. Here is this vast territory belonging to fifty-four thousand Indians, less than one-fourth of whom have any participation in it. All the others are driven off. I appeal to you in their behalf. Set them in the possession of their rights and then the remedy will be worked out after that. Give them, each one of them, what belongs to him, and he will see to it that what is necessary under the laws of the United States he will have.

Dr. LEMUEL MOSS.—If I understand it, the United States in conveying this land no more alienated its authority to legislate there, than when conveying a quarter-section to any individual.

Mr. DAWES.—Precisely. I do not suppose the conveying of the land conveyed the right of government. It is a distinct, separate right. The soil I may own, but I have no right to govern myself be-

cause I own the soil. The Indians claim that, in addition to the conveyance of the land, the power of government was abdicated to them by the United States.

President GATES.—Our whole treaty system has regarded the Indian as a foreign power. That is a humbug which is giving way gradually.

Mr. DAWES.—It has been forbidden by statute, and is no longer possible.

Mr. WELSH.—It may be desirable to explain why the Indian Rights Association undertook the work which was carried out, and has been reported by Mr. Meserve. I want to say first how heartily and completely I concur in all that Senator Dawes has said, and to remove any impression that that investigation was undertaken in anything like a hostile spirit. It was not. I was absent in Europe last spring, and upon my return to Philadelphia I found that one or two members of our committee had become somewhat disturbed over this question of the Indian Territory, and had taken the view that possibly the rights of the Indians were being overlooked and disregarded. I stated to them what had been the general attitude of the Association from the beginning, and what had been the views of such men as General Armstrong and Mr. Painter, and that the whole condition of affairs there was an anomaly which must come to an end soon, and that although I had not followed the movements of the Commission recently, I had no doubt their work was in the line of that idea. But this feeling was strong and had to be met. A number of newspapers had taken up the question, and had attacked the position occupied by the Commission. A gentleman connected with the Philadelphia Press had made statements that the allegations of the Commission as to the amount of crime existing in the Territory were not well founded. I felt that an investigation made by a perfectly fair man might be of value. I suggested that we send some one out to look over the whole field and report as to the actual state of the facts; that, while my general views were what I have stated, it might be well to look into the matter. I did not send our general representative Mr. Leupp, because his views were clearly like mine. I did not wish to send any one whose mind was made up in advance. I looked over the list of suitable men, and thought no one could be better than Mr. Meserve. I knew of his experience, of his entire fairness, his high character in every way, and I asked him, on behalf of the Indian Rights Association, to undertake this work. He did it, and has made the report, the substance of which has been read to you, and which, I think, has had a marked effect upon the minds of those who have heard it.

Mr. SMILEY.—I presume many of you have been flooded with reports hostile to the Dawes Commission scattered by men interested in the preservation of the present condition of things. A great deal of money has been expended in collecting testimony against the Dawes Commission and circulating it over the country; and they have inveigled many prominent men, who did not understand the situation and who feared that treaty rights were to be vio-

lated, into putting their names to statements which are not correct. These hostile reports have done no harm except where people did not know the facts; there they must have done harm.

Gen. EATON.—It is in the interest of these three hundred thousand people who are preying upon the Indians in the Indian Territory to send out these documents assailing the Commission. They emphasize the idea that the Commission proposes to break faith with the Indians. “*We* are the faith-keeping people,” they say. But we have seen here this morning that the proposition of the government, of the President, of Congress, and of this Commission, is to keep faith with the Indians. It is a movement in favor of the sacredness of treaties and the sacredness of human character and of those great rights and privileges for which this government exists. My thanks are tendered to those gentlemen, and to Senator Dawes especially, for showing us this. There has been an attempt made to have the country believe that they were trying to get rid of treaties. No, no, it is an attempt to execute treaties; and I feel deeply grateful for having it shown that these gentlemen aim to keep the treaties solemnly made with these people.

Bishop WHIPPLE.—I desire to make a practical suggestion. Those who pity and love the Indians know that Senator Dawes is the last man that needs an apology for any of his work. But there is one fact of which I am sure the great body of the American people are entirely ignorant; namely, that these Indians forfeited all of their rights when they engaged in warfare against us during our late Civil War. They were received back into treaty relations under entirely different conditions. That is the very crux of this whole matter. Now I propose this,—that the business committee shall prepare a statement, embodying what has been said by Mr. Meserve and Senator Dawes, and put it into the hands of the friends of the Indian, that they may use it where it will do the most good. Familiar as I am with Indian wrongs, I have never had my heart more deeply stirred than in listening to Senator Dawes and to Mr. Meserve; and from my heart I can only say, God be praised for raising up such men to do his work.

Dr. DENNIS WORTMAN.—Senator Dawes says the national government has made each Indian nation trustees for the individuals of that nation. When the present government methods in the Territory are overthrown will the present proprietors of mines and those who hold property there be dispossessed? Will all the land be divided among the Indians? If so, what becomes of the proprietors of industries located on these lands? Will the retirement of the national trustee affect the rights conferred by the trustee before his retirement?

Senator DAWES.—The whole matter is full of difficulties and perplexities. Take the mining interests. There are millions of dollars honestly and fairly invested in the coal mines by outsiders. A law was made that any citizen Indian who would discover a deposit of coal should have the exclusive use of a mile all round it with power to lease it. So they went to Pennsylvania, where there are experts

in coal-mining, and got these experts and then went out and told these Indians where to discover coal, and they discovered it and leased the land to capitalists. The Indian never could mine coal alone. It requires hundreds of thousands of capital, and this capital has come from Pennsylvania and elsewhere and been invested honestly in these mines. It would be rank injustice to destroy all that property. It has got to be the work of negotiation and equitable disposition. The lands belong to all the Indians, not to the half dozen who have discovered where the coal mines are. The same is true of the town sites. Large towns of five thousand, three thousand, and two thousand inhabitants have been built by the whites on the land of these Indians, and vast sums of money spent upon them. I cannot tell you how it shall be adjusted. I only say to you what I have said to these men, "We will sit down with you, and we will try to work out a solution of this question that shall be not only just to you Indians but just to those men whom you have invited here and who have invested their capital in your work." All the South-western country depends on those mines. Millions of property are involved in the question. How it shall be settled I wish I knew. The Commission is trying to make secure every man's rights in that Territory.

Capt. PRATT.—If those who have charge of it will provide me with the matter and will send me lists of names, I will publish Senator Dawes's address on this subject, and distribute it without any expense to this Conference.

Mr. MESERVE.—In my full report I go into the solution of this problem according to my ideas, and append a copy of the Curtis Bill, introduced by Mr. Curtis, which passed the House, and was before the Senate when Congress adjourned.

President GATES.—A government that brought so many States through the period of reconstruction can safely be trusted to work its way through this difficulty.

Dr. FISHER, Pittsburg.—We can let our sympathy go to the innocent white men who have gone to the Indian Territory. That is part of the problem. It may be very difficult; but I think that side of the question might be emphasized. While Bishop Whipple is undoubtedly correct, I believe the whole question rests upon the argument which Senator Dawes has made, that there has been no disposal of the power of the United States to control that Territory. It rests with the Constitution. It is not because they have engaged in civil war. It should be kept before the people that we are not breaking treaty rights, but enforcing them. The power of this government over every portion of this Territory was settled by the Civil War. It was settled for the Indian. It was settled for the South. We must keep that before the country. But in regard to this great question which incidentally arises in the minds of men, we must keep also this thought, that there are innocent men who have developed this property; and, while the real estate may be of benefit to the Indian, we must consider it in the way of what it would have been to him if it had not been developed. I do hope this Commis-

sion will go on, and that there will be allotment of land, and that we shall get rid of this state of affairs.

Mr. GARRETT.—While confessions are going on, I wish to say that I was one of those who were very desirous for light on this subject as to whether any treaty has been violated. I feel deeply grateful to Senator Dawes for his very able and powerful exposition of the subject this morning. He has shown that under the Constitution of the United States the treaty-making power had no authority to surrender the sovereignty of the United States, and that occurrences since have completely authorized and legalized the action which is now proposed. I feel quite satisfied with his statement of the case. Not only has the fact that the five civilized tribes having entered into the Confederate service during the war placed us in new relations to them so that our old treaties were set aside, but the trust has been so violated that there are now separate grounds for the proposed action. I repeat, I feel grateful to Senator Dawes.

Rev. Dr. H. A. STIMSON.—The government of the United States is itself a trustee. In all its legislation back of the specific act lies the recognition of the sacred trust that it shall always do that which shall tend to the permanence and safety of the nation, and it shall only do that which is in the interest of public morals. These two primary conditions underlie every act of this government, and they are indisputable. As a result of the action of this government in the past, there has arisen a condition which is only a concentrated condition of that which has existed in all Indian tribes,—described by the word “impossible.” Three times in our history we have found ourselves in that condition: once in regard to slavery, then in regard to the Mormons, and now in regard to the Indians. We hesitated in regard to slavery. Men were deterred by fear of violating a constitutional right and ignoring those conditions which lie back of all law, those which grow out of the condition of safety and public morals. At last we were compelled to break through all the meshes of intricate legislation in order to create a system of government, a condition of government, under which the nation could live; and we did it. Practically we have done the same thing in regard to Mormonism, and that is exactly the condition in regard to the Indian Territory. I lived for some years not far from the Indian Territory. A friend of mine who was there said that again and again he had been compelled to spread his arm over his wife and child and hold them in bed, lest, if they sat up, they should be struck by the shots fired from the street by drunken men, who wanted to drive them out because they represented religion and education. Such a condition of things is impossible. Any man who lived in the West when the Cherokee Strip and Oklahoma were opened must recognize that, no matter what were the treaties, any legislation which would put the people under conditions in which such scenes could occur must be wrong. When these conditions assert themselves, no matter what the word spoken is, no matter what the act of the Executive has been, it becomes the duty as well as the right of a Christian nation to wipe out impossible conditions, and to create conditions which

make possible civilization, the safety of the government, and the maintenance of public morality. Because of this I believe the time has long since come when the friends of the Indian ought to ask that every right and every privilege demanded for any Indian as an Indian be set aside that he may ask every right and every duty required of him as a man. When we do that we are on a firm foundation.

The next address was by Mr. Herbert Welsh.

INDIAN AGENTS, WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THEM?

ADDRESS BY MR. HERBERT WELSH.

I think that in approaching this subject perhaps it would be well for us to remember the general conditions which brought about the agency system. I will endeavor to sketch those as I saw them, and I think that perhaps the great majority of those present will agree as to the general facts expressed. We must remember that the Indians by the gradual occupation of their country were brought into a state of greater and greater friction with the whites. Constant conflicts ensuing, it was found necessary to limit them to reservations. This was a necessity at the time from which it would have been impossible to escape. The game was rapidly disappearing. It was necessary that a great majority of those who had subsisted upon the buffalo should be temporarily fed some other way. These people were entirely separate from us in every respect. They were in the condition of the primitive people of the stone age. That represented a high state of civilization which was flowing all around about them, and pressing upon them in a way which would have been utterly destructive. So the creation of the reservation, the evils of which we have clearly seen, was a necessity. It was necessary that some definite line should be drawn for a time between various Indian tribes and the surrounding people, otherwise they would have been destroyed as we see even now in some instances is the case while the system is being abandoned. It was necessary to keep them from liquor, from the broils and troubles which spring up between them and the whites, so that we may look upon the reservations very much as the temporary nursery of the Indian. It stood to the Indian for a given period as the nursery stands to the child. A nursery is a good thing for a while, but we do not keep our children there indefinitely. That, I think, is a fair analogy.

Now how is the government to be represented upon this area of territory, which seems to me precisely like an island completely surrounded by a sea of white civilization? What are we to do? We have put there a representative of the government, an Indian agent. We have given facilities for missionaries to do the work there in

trying to build up the character of the Indian. We have introduced a school system which is reaching a very high organization as compared with its condition twenty years ago, and for which we are spending a large sum of money. We have then these various forces of civilization working upon the Indian within the limits of the reservation.

The next most necessary thing to do was to ask the government to introduce a system by which its employees might be persons of the best intelligence and personal character, so that the enterprise undertaken by the government might be successful. We therefore asked that the merit system might replace the spoils system in the Indian service. We recognize the reservation as only temporary; and I, for one, think that in reviewing the past history of the Mohonk Conference some of us have been disposed to exaggerate and over-emphasize the real difference which existed among the friends of the Indian on that subject. I do not think there were any friends of the Indian who anticipated holding the reservation as a permanent thing. There were persons outside who represented this view. It was maintained by such men as Dr. Bland of Washington and others, who did feel that the reservation should be permanent, that a wall should be built up between the white men and the Indian. But there were no friends of the Indian known to me—and I will refer you to our reports—who took that view, that it was to be a permanency. We recognized that that sea of white civilization was beating on the shore of these island reservations and that the reservation was bound to diminish and disappear. We asked from the beginning that the Indian's character should be built up by the Church getting hold of his heart and life, that his knowledge of industries should be built up by his being taught to cultivate the ground, and in other ways that he should be strong enough to stand when the change came. We hoped that a better class of Indian children would be brought up who should go to our great Eastern schools. I think our conception from the beginning was a system which would use the reservation simply as a temporary nursery with the idea of getting rid of it as soon as we could adopt a system which would get rid of it.

You will remember how this Conference was in favor of breaking up the great Sioux Reservation, and stopped the first effort to sell half of it for inequitable terms, and obliged the Commission charged with that duty to sell it equitably; and how, with our co-operation and help that great reservation has had about half of its territory taken from it. We looked upon these reservation schools and the Eastern schools as mutually helpful. We never anticipated any antagonism in these two lines of work. It was, after all, the same work which was going on in various localities, the great Eastern schools dealing with as many children as they could, giving them the higher training and better knowledge, then sending them back under circumstances which were decided in each individual case to lift up the remainder of their people.

We felt that it was necessary to break down the old spoils system

by which each party used places among the Indians and in the service generally as spoils. We worked hard for the introduction of the merit system. Finally, we got it. We got at first 700 school teachers and superintendents brought under that system, so that those who were placed in these positions should not be selected for partisan reasons, but for fitness to do their work. I think every one will have to acknowledge that, whatever faults there may be in the details of that system, it is infinitely better than it was before. It is far better that a teacher shall be appointed not because Senator So-and-so desires it, but because he is capable of doing the work. I think there is a great concurrence of opinion on that subject.

We have worked along on those lines, and now we have not only got the merit system introduced, but largely extended over the service. So far as we can look at the results, they are good and wholesome. The new method is opposed in many cases by persons who have gone in under the old system, and sometimes new employees are made uncomfortable; but I think it is the general testimony that there is an advance.

In reference to the agent himself, we do not want a system built up which shall keep the agency as a permanency, with an agent whose power is maintained from year to year. We desire that, as the surplus lands are sold, as the Indians are brought to a clearer conception of civilization, the agency shall pass away. But, in the mean time, it is desirable to get good agents who shall, as quickly as possible, bring the Indian to a degree of civilization at which he shall be able to do without the reservation. How are we to do it? We have shown that we are able by asking the various Presidents to act upon the general principles of Civil Service Reform, to adopt the merit idea in practice. That means that they should not turn out an agent because he has been put in by the previous administration. If an agent is doing good work he should be supported, and if he is not doing good work he should be turned out. We desire that he shall be a good, faithful man while there. That is all we ask. We ask that they shall be appointed according to the spirit of the Civil Service Reform. We should be very thankful to Mr. Secretary Hoke Smith for a great many advances in that direction. There were several cases where he retained men who were put in by his predecessor, and several cases where he reappointed men who had been turned out of office. Major Steele, I think, was one. So there is a recognition of that principle. I do not see how we can depart from those general lines. This is not the enunciation of a new policy. It is the steady pressing forward of the old policy for which Mohonk has always stood.

Take the speeches made yesterday and the facts brought forward by such speakers as Miss Collins, Mr. Young, Bishop Whipple, and Bishop Gilbert. I think those speeches show the great moral work which is going on in reservations, which is going on in those sections of country where the Indians are kept by themselves, so that we may feel that most valuable work is being done there. How is it to be continued? By studying the facts of the cases as they

come up; by following up our regular policy; by keeping our hands very carefully on the facts as they develop; by getting a sound, true theory; by looking on the reservations as a temporary necessity but one that cannot be altogether dispensed with at present with safety; by following the idea that surplus lands should be sold. I should like to see them sold as fast as possible.

Another important thing that we must do is to prevent the destruction of the Indian through the selling of fire-water,—the “devil’s blood,” as the Delaware Indians used to call it.

Then the work on the reservation should have a definite relation to the work which is being done in the East. Captain Pratt told us last night that a large number of his pupils had to be sent back. He regretted it honestly and truly. But that is the great fact that we have to face. If it is true that they have to be sent back for one reason or another, then we must try to make these reservations while they last as good as possible so that the returned Indians who go to them shall have a chance there. How? By keeping in close contact with them, by finding out their difficulties, by taking up the little difficulties at which Miss Collins hinted, and by systematically trying to remove them. It is an evolution, not a revolution, that must be looked to to take the reservation out of existence.

I think when the new President comes in, that the way in which we are to carry forward the Civil Service idea in the appointment of new agents, must be very largely by public opinion in favor of reform. That is the most powerful means. In all the ways open to us we must go to the new President and say to him, “Now those who call themselves the friends of the Indians have built up this degree of civilization in the treatment of the Indians and they have created a certain structure of public sentiment, and we ask now that the goodly edifice shall not be destroyed.” I do not believe any one will dare to destroy very much of the edifice which has been built, and we must press upon those lines. I think in this connection, there is no new policy that should be formulated. What is needed is a certain radicalism on conservative lines. The different sections of the work must be brought into closer relation. Let us do our work harder with the old tools that have proved serviceable.

Dr. Hailmann has written that there is an increasing union of sentiment between the Eastern and Western schools. He is the representative of the great advance in the Indian work. His report will produce a great impression on your minds. You will feel that it is the report of a very wise, thoroughly-trained man with a deep knowledge of human nature seeking to take the newest appliances for the civilization of the Indian. Notice one of the things he has done; that is, to bring the Indian schools into closer contact with the whites. Wherever those schools have been lifted up to a high enough plane to justify it, he is trying to bring them under the care of the educational institutions of the States in which they are. Do you not see how the question is continually in process of solution, and how many of those difficulties are melting away, and how these people are being gradually brought into closer connection with our national life?

This is nothing new. It is like the gospel. The interest of the gospel of Christ lies in the profound wisdom there is in it. The more we study it the more we find that it has in it all the conditions of human life. We are inspired by that wisdom, led along those lines. These are the lines which we should follow out. Let us follow them to their conclusion. Let us not only say that the reservation is to be broken up, but let us put fire and spirit, and life, and thought, and hope, into the whole machinery of the Indian work, conserving what we have got and asking the new President to keep that and give us something more to boot. That is the way in which the island reservation shall be merged in the general commonwealth sea which beats about it.

Mrs. A. S. QUINTON.—I want to indorse what Mr. Welsh has said. He has epitomized the sentiment and work of the Indian Rights Association. Just that spirit and line of work has been that of the Women's National Indian Association. Because we were women some have thought that we must be sentimental. When we sent our petition asking for land in severalty, for education and for citizenship for the Indians, in 1881, we did it with the object of destroying the reservation system. That was the impulse and prayer under it all,—to destroy the system by giving individual property and the individual holding of land to the individual. You remember that measure did not become law until 1887. The idea is now with all workers for Indians that the reservation should be destroyed, root and branch, at the first safe moment. I believe that it could be done in a few years; sometimes I have thought in three, sometimes in five; but I do believe it could safely come soon if the constant change of agents among Indians could be avoided.

We rejoice unspeakably in the harmony of the views of all friends of the Indians. It does not always look harmonious as to methods, but the ideal toward which all move is the same. All believe that the Indian is a man; and our work is all in the line of helping him to cease being an Indian that he may become wholly a man. The work of our Association in every part of the country from Maine to Florida has been on this line.

We have not done much school work as an Association, because we believed the government could and would do that, but we have done some in destitute places. One of our schools we have just turned over to the government because it had outgrown our financial ability. It had forty-one boarding and forty day scholars now costing \$4,000 a year. Its work goes on under the same superintendence; and it is, as before, a Christian school, and it teaches citizenship as well as industries, and is doing just such work as you have here heard about from the missionaries, the churches, and the industrial schools. It is doing the same kind of work that is done in the schools in the East: as, for instance, in that noble institution at Carlisle. Not on so grand a scale, of course, not with so grand and broad a success, but on the same lines, because the grace of God is everywhere in the hearts of Christian teachers, and the work of his children meets everywhere like results. We here are all working

toward the same ends and with the motive of doing away with the reservation system at the first possible safe moment, in order that all Indians may, as soon as possible, become United States citizens and Christian citizens.

MR. ALFRED HARDY.—The school at Fort Defiance never succeeded because of continual strife between different factions on the reservation, between the agency employees and those connected with the school. This will continue in my opinion as long as the agency remains where the school is. The character of those about the agency does not improve the tone of the school. The men are often profane and loose in the presence of children, and it is almost impossible to keep the children from loitering around those places where they hear the sort of talk that you would be ashamed to have your children listen to. It is my hope that in the future the government will remove the agency to another part of the reservation. There is a place about fifteen miles north where it will be more central for the people. It will necessitate drawing supplies fifty-five miles instead of thirty, but it will get the children out from under the influence of bad surroundings. As to agents, I believe that the Indians have more respect for the missionary men than for the civilians, but I believe it requires a man of the best capabilities and of high moral principle and sterling qualities in every way to be an agent on that large reservation, which is as large as Massachusetts and Connecticut together. It includes the Moqui reservation, which is ninety miles to the west. The government allows the agent but one clerk, which requires the agent to be on duty almost continually, and he has no chance to get out on the reservation and study the different camps and know the conditions of the people or what is best to do for them. He has to be at his desk from morning till night and sometimes till ten or eleven at night. The best people that he has to help so far as the education of the people is concerned are the field matrons. The field matron is an excellent adviser and counsellor. The field matron is the right hand of the agent. She it is who understands the condition of every location within fifty miles, and she will take ten times as much interest in it, and will make twice as much effort to find the best conditions as any farmer will. I believe she will teach more farming, too.

I should like to say a word in regard to the distribution of tools and instruments. I hoped that Commissioner Browning would allow the agent through the field matron to distribute to the people in her immediate vicinity the necessary tools that were needed by those people. He said it could not be done because the field matron is not a disbursing agent. She was well qualified to distribute them, and could have done it at a saving to the government. They are doled out helter-skelter, some getting what they do not need and others fail to get what they do need.

Rev. Mr. TURNER.—I spent eight weeks with the Indians this year, visiting some of the north-western tribes, the Oneidas, Santees, Winnebagoes, Omahas, Crow Creeks, and others. I came back very much encouraged by what I saw. It is true there was much

that I wished had been different; but many of the things that I saw that were wrong were not always the fault of the Indian.

I was encouraged by the work that the government schools are doing on the reservations. There has been great improvement in the past few years. There are better buildings, and they are better equipped; there are better teachers, and the system of teaching in most of the schools I have visited emphasizes the importance of the use of the best methods. The parents are now glad to bring their children to the school. There was a time — and not very long ago — when the agent, in order to get the children into school, was obliged to withhold the rations from the family. That is no longer necessary. For not only are the children brought promptly on the opening day, but the Indian is taking a pride in his reservation school and its improvement, and at the same time appreciating more what it means to send his children to such advanced schools as Carlisle and Hampton. I was glad to find in one of the schools a large dairy which is managed and worked entirely by the Indian girls, who are taught to make butter and cheese, and to take the proper care of the milk and the cream. No machinery is used, so that when they go back to their own homes, they can do just what they did at the school. The good results are already seen. Some of the homes have their own dairies and are making their own butter. This means a great advance.

At Crow Creek I saw that the Indians were making efforts to support themselves. The government has built a large flour-mill there, equipped with modern machinery. The agent, Dr. Fred Treon, promised the Indians that if they would cultivate their acres and raise wheat, he would buy it of them at a good price, grind it at the mill, and issue it back to them in flour instead of purchasing the flour from outside. This has greatly encouraged them to till their land. This year the agent has bought 7,000 bushels of threshed wheat from them, paying them fifty cents a bushel. They are invited to visit the mill and examine the process by which the wheat becomes flour. The agent also told them that if they would raise cattle he would buy them: and this year he will purchase 100,000 pounds of beef from the Indians, paying them in cash. Now what do the Indians do with this money? Many of them are using it in the improvement of their homes, in buying farming implements that the government does not supply, in providing their wives with sewing-machines. Some have bank accounts. When you can get an Indian to be thrifty, industrious, economical, and saving, you have done a great deal for him.

This is a reservation where the ration system is continued. It seems to me that what the Crow Creek Indians need is to have this ration system given up. If not all at once, then a part each year, till they are rid of it. Many of them have shown that they are able to take care of themselves, and others are equally able. Give them a few more cattle, fence the reservation so that the cattle will not stray away, and the Indians will not need our flour or our beef, and their manhood will be the better developed.

Among the Winnebagoes I saw much to make me sad. The chief purpose in all education is to make true men and women. The head and hand cannot be educated at the expense of the heart. Character building is the supreme thing. The Winnebagoes need heart culture. Not long ago the Omahas were among the most advanced Indians. They were pointed out by the friends of the Indian as those who gave us the most encouragement. But to-day it is not so. When they were in this hopeful condition, missionary work was in full force there; but they began to decline just as soon as the missionary work was withdrawn. While I appreciate the good work accomplished in the reservation schools, and what the government is doing through its officials in the interest of the Indian, yet I believe that the progress of the Indian is largely due to the indefatigable labors of the men and women who have gone out there to establish the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ.

I cannot tell you how I have been impressed by the returned students, who have come from schools where Christianity has an important place in the life of the pupil. Those of us who visit the reservations and see things just as they are, must admit that there is a painful element of truth in the charge made of returned students going back to the blanket,—which generally means the vices of the white man,—and yet I have found that very few of them were Christians. These young Christian returned students are almost invariably lights in the community and in the household. They are in sympathy with the missionary and his work, and are always ready to aid the agent and school superintendent in furthering any good work. They are willing to talk with you and to act as interpreters. They stand ready to receive and help the students who are returning.

Christianity brings ideas to the Indian that the school cannot, though the school may be Christian. This is seen particularly in the treatment the wife receives from the husband. She assumes a new place and new duties.

The Indian is a proud man. This is a noble quality. But when it is not properly trained and governed, it makes him a selfish man. The unchristianized Indian needs instruction in humility and self-sacrifice. He has not learned the meaning of "Bear ye one another's burdens." He thinks too much about himself; and one who thinks of himself only, soon forgets principles of righteousness and loving kindness. Teach him that there is something better to think of than himself, something better to live for. Teach him to live for God, and to guide his life by the law of Jesus Christ, and his advancement is assured.

Miss COLLINS.—Our Indians are perfectly capable of raising a large amount of the cattle killed for beef and issued to them; but the Great Father in Washington does not think they are capable of killing them, so the cattle have to be driven a long distance to be killed and dragged about over the dirty ground, and then hauled back to their homes. This is the work of the government which helps to keep them like little children. If an Indian can raise beef, he ought to be intelligent enough to butcher it at home. Let the

cattle be issued once in three months on foot, and let each man be responsible for his own beef. The Indians are now far enough advanced to take this responsibility, and they would be kept at home by this means, instead of staying around the agencies, which is now most demoralizing.

Mrs. CLINTON B. FISK.—Chaplain Turner recalled to my mind a question which is asked me often by the members of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist church, whose servant I am, "Which would you do, educate or Christianize first?" My reply invariably has been, let them go hand in hand. I never turn my feet toward this mount of generous hospitality and of the widest justice to the down-trodden, but I wish that I might be able to say to you what the women of my society are trying to do for the Indians. But they are trying to do their duty as in the sight of God. And they are not only doing their duty by the Indians, but by other down-trodden people. An allusion has been made to the way that the Fourth of July was spent among Miss Collins's Indians. Our missionary women in New York spent the Fourth of July in superintending the actual scrubbing of the bodies of the Polish women and children who were held at Ellis Island. I feel that I am only their steward; but I pledge to you my own fidelity in missionary work, and the fidelity of the Methodist women who honor me with their chairmanship.

Judge CHARLES B. HOWRY, Assistant Attorney-General.—My estimate of the value of the noble work of this Association is so great I will respond to the invitation to offer to you a few suggestions which I think may be of service respecting the protection of Indian funds. My connection with the care of these funds is official, and began three years ago under a law that threatened the complete destruction of the funds of some of the Indian tribes and the serious impairment of the funds of nearly all of the tribes, including the civilized nations of the Indian Territory. This law provided for the payment of the depredations of Indians upon the property of white men, and is known as the Indian Depredation Law. In its inception it was unjust in that it was not reciprocal in its operation. As intended originally for passage the bills introduced in Congress contemplated that, for all acts of spoliation upon the property of the individual citizen by the Indian and the individual Indian by our citizens, that suit might be brought against the Indian tribes and the United States for the depredations of the Indians, and suit might also be brought in favor of the tribes against the United States for the depredations of white people. This scheme was not carried to final passage. After a most interesting debate in the Senate, participated in particularly by the New England Senators, that clause of the bill providing for the payment of the Indians for the depredations of white men was dropped; and the bill, as finally passed, provided for the payment to citizens of the United States for all acts of spoliation upon property committed by Indians after an adjudication by the Court of Claims on suits authorized to be brought by the act of Congress.

After the passage of this law, nearly 11,000 suits, aggregating in round numbers \$44,000,000, were claimed from the Indian funds. The great question immediately arose whether Indian tribes were liable for what individual members of the tribes or bands had taken or destroyed in time of war, and whether the law merely contemplated provision for payment for the trespasses, robberies, and thefts of individual Indians in times of peace. This question has been in the courts for several years. Innumerable side issues have sprung up along the lines independent of these vital considerations. Many technical questions have also arisen; but it affords me pleasure to say that since last winter, after litigation participated in by several thousand claimants, the results have finally been determined in the Supreme Court sustaining the views of the Department of Justice, thus disposing of probably 5,000 of the claims against the Indians, aggregating perhaps \$22,000,000. The Supreme Court, Justice Brewer delivering the opinions, decided that the Depredation Act of Congress meant only the trespasses, robberies, and thefts of individual Indians, and did not apply to acts of taking and destruction in time of Indian hostilities. So far so good. But amendments are now pending to this law, intended to evade the decisions of the Supreme Court in the test cases which have settled the meaning of Congress. It may well be understood that, in the pressure for judgment in so many cases, I have necessarily been obliged to be like the Irishman at the Donnybrook Fair,—ready to hit anything in sight; and so much so that a distinguished Senator, in a spirit of friendly interest, once informed me that if I undertook the defence of depredation claims, and pursued the policy that I had mapped out in their defence, a conspiracy would rise up to break me down. I am still here, however; nor have I been broken down for merely discharging public duty according to law.

I am an executive official, and, therefore, not in position to offer advice to Congress. But I think I can with propriety tender some suggestions to this Association which may be of value respecting the protection due to the annuities of the Indians.

In the first place, the law, as I have stated, is partial in its operation. In the second place, it is a law that admits of great imposition in the provision for the payment of stale claims growing out of transactions occurring many years ago. Without entering into particulars as to the vigilance to be applied to the defence of claims so old, I may state that upon one occasion I happened to have my morning correspondence before the House Appropriations Committee, which brought me information that an assistant in California reported that he had taken a stage ride 150 miles to ascertain facts with reference to a little claim for \$2,100, with the result that he had scaled the amount to \$600, and along with the same mail brought me another report upon a claim which probably disposed of a demand for \$60,000. These instances of imposition, however, ought not to affect the speedy determination and payment of just claims for the depredations of Indians; for there are undoubtedly many claims essentially just and proper under the law as it has been construed,

and I have earnestly endeavored to arrive at the truth in each case as it has arisen, and acted accordingly. But the United States should furnish means enough to put competent workers in the field for the purpose of examining every claim on the spot. More time and means should be used to investigate for the defence. If this association will give its attention to the legislation of Congress which threatens the integrity of Indian funds for depredations occurring from twenty to fifty years ago, such attention may do the Indian tribes much practical service. Undoubtedly there has been, and will continue to be, criticism against the Department of Justice for the vigorous defence of these claims, and I am not unaware that I am under constant criticism on this account; but when I leave this field I hope to leave behind me at least something useful to people who have none to defend their rights but those assigned to this duty by the government.

Bishop WHIPPLE.—I am glad to have a chance to perform a duty that I should like to have performed years ago. The person whom I have in mind was one whom I dearly loved, one not of the Episcopal Church. At the time that General Grant divided the Indian agencies between the different religious bodies, as we had the only mission among the Ojibways I naturally expected that we should have the appointment of an agent. I was informed, however, from Washington that the American Missionary Association had asked that they might have the agency of Minnesota. When President Grant sent me that word, I said, "I am perfectly content to give up our claim." They appointed Rev. E. P. Smith. Naturally, being of another communion, I watched him; and I know more of his administration of Indian affairs than of any Indian agent in the United States. If there ever was a faithful, devout, earnest disciple of Christ, it was E. P. Smith. Accusations were brought against him and I defended him. When persons suggested that I had better not put my head in chancery I said I should be ashamed of my manhood if I hesitated a hair's breadth to defend a Christian man of another communion because it might bring me into trouble. I was in Baltimore, something of an invalid, when all these accumulated troubles were heaped on the head of E. P. Smith. I telegraphed him that I would go to Washington to see him and say good-by, but I was not well. Upon that he came over to see me. As he entered the room he threw his arms round my neck and kissed me and said, "Bishop, till God calls me home I will pray God to bless you because you have defended me against false accusations. They have stolen my character and I shall die with a broken heart." He went to my uncle, Rev. George Whipple, and said, "I have been falsely accused of that of which I was not guilty; give me something to do." And my uncle said, "The only work we have at this time is to send a special agent to Africa." And he went there and died of the fever. As there are those here who loved him, and as a cloud has rested over that name, I tell you here in the sight of God that I honestly believe that a truer, more faithful servant of the Indian was never employed in this country. I am glad at this time to bear my testimony to one who has gone to the other home.

I wish to say one word more. My good friend, whom I love as a brother,—and thank God that there is a Herbert Welsh to fight these battles,—has spoken with reference to the appointment of agents. From my own experience I can say that personal appeals to the President are the best ways in which you can secure what you want in this matter.

Adjourned at 1.25 P.M.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Night, October 15.

The Conference was called to order at eight o'clock by Mr. Smiley in the absence of Dr. Gates, who had to leave. On motion of Mr. Smiley, Mr. Philip C. Garrett was elected president for the remainder of the Conference.

The subject of the evening, Education, was then taken up, and a summary of the forthcoming report of Superintendent Hailmann, an advance copy of which had been sent to the Conference, was given by Mr. Welsh. As the report can be had in full by applying to Dr. Hailmann, the abstract is here omitted.

Mr. Smiley said that he hoped some effort would be made to secure the reappointment of Dr. Hailmann.

Miss Scoville was introduced as the grand-daughter of Henry Ward Beecher, and was asked to speak ten minutes.

MISS SCOVILLE.—I am sure all the teachers who attended the Conventions this summer would indorse all that has been said of Dr. Hailmann. His work was broad and strong, and each one of us felt that we had received individual help in our work.

This is my first Mohonk Conference, and I came to listen, not to talk; yet, when your chairman asked me to tell you something about my summer among the Indians, I thought I had something to say. But I have learned, as I listened, that all that I have learned this summer you have learned long before.

There is only one thing that I *think* I can tell you something new about, and that is those Sac houses Mr. Leupp mentioned. I thought of them when one of the speakers yesterday said that often when we are discouraged it was because our own plans were failures, and we should remember that they are of no importance save as they build character. I believe that those houses stand for character. Let me tell you the story as I learned it on the reservation.

After the Black Hawk War the Sacs were removed into Kansas. And one party, called the progressive party, stood for the white man's plans; and the non-progressive party, the Foxes, as they were called, stood for the old way and claimed that from the white men they got nothing but vice,—that to be a white man's Indian was to be a bad Indian, and to be a good man was to follow the Indian way. That was the worst period of our Indian policy, and they were right in their opinion. They left the tribe, purchased the land in Iowa with their own money, and went there to be *good Indians*. They rejected the white man's house, the white man's dress, the white man's civilization, the white man's God, and the

white man's vices. How have they succeeded? They have lived surrounded by white people, but they have lived as Indians. They have supported themselves, receiving but little money from the government; they have lived carefully, and have worked hard in their way, making mats and baskets, weaving, and working in silver. To-day there is one white house, and that is a log house that was built by the government for the interpreter. For twelve years there has been a mission among them, but there is not one Christian on the reservation. Why? It is the policy of that mission—so one of the gentlemen told me—not to learn Sac because it encourages the people not to learn English. But English these people have rejected, and therefore they have no gospel. Their houses, which they have been forced to build of boards, they build as high as the gables; but, rather than make white man's houses, they make the gable-ends in the old way of mats and bark. It was not because it was too hard work to make them of boards. They are willing to work, but they are not willing to imitate the white man. And they have rejected the white man's vices that they said they would reject. It has been said that because they are surrounded by good whites there was no liquor. They have had good agents; but the white men told me that these Indians themselves give up to the law any man who sells liquor on the reservation. The family relation is preserved. They boast that there is not a half-breed under fifty years of age in the band. They earn their living as Indians; they dress as Indians; they speak as Indians. As Indians they stand and hope to die. One of the greatest Indian workers said to me that the Tama Sac Reserve was the most discouraging spot on the face of this earth. It is discouraging, but can we not utilize the character that is held there? Is it discouraging to find that the Indian has the character to stand that way? Cannot we use that character for civilization and religion?

Dr. JAMES M. KING.—It has taken many years to discover that the same process by which you can convert an Italian or a Scandinavian, or any immigrant who has come from a monarchical form of government, into safe citizenship must be applied in preparing these natives for loyal citizenship. The only power that will transmute the dangerously heterogeneous elements of our population into a safely homogeneous citizenship, is the free common-school system of education. I believe this to be true so far as elementary education is concerned, and I believe we are learning the lesson that under the leadership of Christian men and women the instruction which we give to our common citizenship in the government schools is accomplishing this end. Apply the same methods to make a good citizen of the Indian that you apply to make a good citizen out of your own child and you will be successful. Instruct the head with proper intellectual teaching and instruct the heart with the teaching of the Nazarene, and you have solved the Indian problem.

Secretary C. J. RYDER.—The first time I went out to the Indian Territory I saw a man so peculiar in his dress that I should like to

put him before you. He was typical of the condition. He had on buckskin moccasins with ornaments of beading and buckskin leggings. Round his tall figure was a close-buttoned Prince Albert coat which had shiny seams, like a minister's coat. There were holes in his hat and he had eagle feathers in one of the holes. He walked down the street with great dignity and I saw him plunge into an open door of—a Christian minister's house? No. Into a public school? No. Into the open door of a saloon. In that Indian nation which we were trying to bring out of barbarism there had been planted this institution of hell and over it floated the stars and stripes. I was once abroad when I saw the dear old flag fluttering, and I went across the street and stood under its shadow. How much it meant to me in that foreign nation! And the memory of the days of the war came to me and my heart filled and my eyes. But I confess to you, Christian friends, that when I saw the flag indorsing and permitting that awful iniquity in the Indian Territory I was almost ashamed that that flag was my flag.

In the first place, we must save the Indian from the evil influence of wicked white men. This is so self-evident and has been said so many times that it has become commonplace, and yet it is the nub of the whole question. After I had made a visit to several Indian reservations some months ago I was walking down the streets of Boston and met one of the editors of the *Advertiser*. He said to me, "How is Mr. Low getting on?" I answered, "Mr. Low would get on a good deal better if Mr. High would let him alone." The protection of the Indian from systematic outrages perpetrated by the government through corrupt agents is increasingly effective. The failure still, however, to get decent legislation to keep him from the encroachment permitted under our white man's government is gross and startling.

I was in Washington at the last meeting of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and I cannot get the impression out of my mind that was made on it when there came from the Ponca Agency that aged Indian, La Flesche. He stood there and pleaded that Congress should pass the bill to prevent the sale of liquor to his people. I remember his opening sentence: "I am an Indian, but I am also a man. Firewater corrupts and degrades me, not because I am an Indian, but because I am a man." It was a disgrace to us that that bill was not passed.

In order to bring the Indian into civilization we must civilize Congress and the white men who come in contact with him.

But, again, we must remember also that the Indian is an important factor in the Indian problem. He will never become a white man, and it may be better that he never should. The racial peculiarities of the Scotch, the Irish, and the English are distinct and definite. Each retains his own peculiarities when he becomes a part of our body politic. This is not weakness, but strength, political and sociological. The same is true with the Indian. He must be treated physically, mentally, and morally as an Indian if we would better his condition. I have been much interested in studying cer-

tain psychological facts and questions concerning the Indian. What is the content of the Indian mind? What does the Indian child bring to the school before he begins the study of books? What has the Indian learned as a race during his wild and wandering life?

It seems to me in the first place the Indian must be to some extent a logician. The logical faculty may be assumed. As a race he has been reasoning all his life from effect to cause. When hunting, or on the war path, he must determine from the footprints of the animals or men certain facts concerning those that made them. Is this moccasin print in the sand of the river that of a friend or an enemy? Which way was he going,—to an attack, or was he fleeing? This has been a constant process in the mind of the Indian during centuries. We can assume, then, that the logical faculty, at least in embryo, exists in the Indian's mind.

When I was at Oahe the last time, a young lady was to go to the East (an Indian girl), and it seemed to us that it would be well to have her recite an address which she proposed to give in the East. So she stood in the little chapel before us, and her opening sentence was not unlike that of the Indian in Washington, "I am an Indian and I am a Christian." In dealing with these people and in providing them a system of education we must recognize that they are Indians, and we must do all possible to develop that already possessed by the Indian mind.

Then, again, we must develop and not crush the nobler moral instincts planted by nature in the Indian heart. I cannot see how it is possible by force to take children from their homes without violating the love of the Indian mother's heart. This is a natural, moral instinct. Parental love is perhaps the highest that exists in the untutored mind, planted by God. It cannot be rudely treated without irreparable loss to the Indian. The violent and rough way in which agents and others have forced children from the Indian tepees and trampled upon the love of parents have not been civilizing forces, but those making for savagery. Compulsory education of red and white children we all believe in. The methods that I have seen adopted, however, in Indian homes have been enough to stir the blood in a frozen heart. Our Anglo-Saxon race would have risen in armed opposition to the methods sometimes employed by government in getting children from Indian homes if such methods had prevailed toward white people. That this parental love is deep and abiding in the hearts of the Indians no one familiar with them can doubt.

A pathetic illustration of this came to my knowledge when I was at our American Missionary Association hospital some time ago. A Christian woman was the physician there. Among other patients was a little brown Indian baby, very sick. The doctor took me into the ward where it was and showed me its condition, and told me that there was no hope for the poor little fellow, that he was going to die. "But," she said, "we can make him more comfortable while he lives." As she talked with me about this baby, which was in her

arms, I heard a rustling at the window, and there, pressed close up against the panes, were two brown faces, a man's and a woman's, the parents of this little baby; and it was their only child. They had brought him into the hospital that he might recover from his disease, and they had planted their tent outside; and there they had heard the moaning of the baby, and had come to see what was being done for him. It was their brown faces that were looking in. The doctor said to me, "Don't you think that when they see this baby tucked away in its nice clean bed I can go out to them in their tepee and tell them better of the Great Physician, who came to heal not bodily diseases alone, but soul disorders?" We have got to appeal to this natural instinct of maternal and paternal love, and not crush it out in dealing with this great problem.

It has been most delightful to hear from dear Bishop Whipple during the sessions of this Mohonk Conference; and I have been almost converted to the Episcopacy. I am positive that the doctrine of apostolic succession is true, and that the spirit of the beloved apostle has breathed itself into the heart of our honored bishop. As Bishop Whipple and his associate bishop told of the work in Minnesota during the many years that are passed, our hearts were thrilled, as they always are, with the account of that wonderful work. The element in it that most impressed me, however, was the generosity of the Indians and their frequent responses to appeals for support and enlargement of the Christian work among their people. And this accentuates another natural instinct of the Indian.

The Indian is instinctively generous. An Indian woman in the old life would never keep two shawls. If she came into possession of more than one, she would divide with her more needy neighbor. Of course we must develop the desire for possession, or "land hunger," as political economists call it. But, in doing this, we must not crush out this natural instinct of generosity. It is to be directed in wise and wholesome channels of civilization and Christianity. It is not to be annihilated. The occupancy of a certain amount of land in severalty by one Indian means the exclusion of every other Indian from the same holding. This is contrary to his tribal instinct, and violates his innate principle of generosity. Gentleness, deliberation, and great care, are necessary, or we shall rob the Indian of his large-hearted generosity, and make him only a hard, grasping, selfish money-getter, such as are all through our country among the white men, and a burning disgrace to our race.

I am rejoiced to say that it is possible so to direct this natural instinct of benevolence as to turn it into wise and wholesome channels. Let me read you the contributions of an Indian church on the prairie, consisting of sixty-two members. This is the contribution of a single year. The church is made up almost entirely of Indians, with a few faithful missionaries sprinkled in. The following is the record of their yearly gifts: To the work of the American Missionary Association, \$246.07; to the American Board, \$76.26; to the Congregational Home Missionary Society, \$46.42; to the Col-

lege and Education Society, \$15; to the Sunday-school and Publishing Society, \$13.75; to the Dakota Native Missionary Society, \$140.44; to Burrell Chapel Building, \$15.09; aiding Bazile Church, \$6.72; making a total of \$559.75. In addition to this they contributed largely to their own self-support. It is a tremendous sacrifice for these Indians, who never have a dollar that they do not need, thus to pour into the Lord's treasury this magnificent offering. Professor Frederick B. Riggs, who is following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather in his splendid work at Santee Normal Training School and on the prairie, wrote me of this fact; and it melted all our hearts in the American Missionary Association office as we read it. This record shows that this natural instinct of generosity need not be crushed nor violated. It may be turned into proper channels and prove of greatest blessing to the Indians as a whole in their noble struggle toward Christian civilization.

I sometimes doubt whether army officers, who naturally look upon the Indians as a "subjugated enemy," can treat them with such gentleness and patience as are necessary to develop these intellectual and moral qualities which the Indians possess to the highest and best degree. I have witnessed so much that is harsh and rough and inconsiderate, not to say brutal, during the past twelve years that I have doubted whether the Indian problem could be settled under such conditions. The problem before us in the Indian field is not to subjugate and dominate a terrorized people, but to lift up the ignorant and superstitious and pagan until they shall stand on the plane of intelligent citizenship and of Christian consecration, of pure, self-reliant manhood and womanhood. That this is being done through the quiet work and self-sacrificing lives of the missionaries of the various churches on these prairies, no one familiar with the field can doubt. A most interesting proof of the influence of Christian truth upon the dullest Indian mind came to my knowledge some months ago when I was West. As I rode over the prairie one day an Indian reached up his hand, and said to me, "How!" and we shook hands. I noticed that he had only a part of a hand; part was gone. It had been shot off in fighting on the pagan side at the battle of Wounded Knee. He lived in his village seventy-five miles from any Christian mission; and he had come out to hail us, to see if we had anything that told about Jesus in the Sioux language that he could give to his people. He said, "I have found Jesus; and he is so dear to me that I want to tell the other people of my village about him." God works along lines and in ways that we little dream of. His spirit had found its way over the prairie, and this soul had been born into the kingdom of God. With the earnestness and faith and love and joy of the new-born soul the world round, he was reaching out that he might bring his own people to see the same blessed experience. When this is accomplished universally, it is *the solution of the Indian problem*.

I have in my hand a preamble and set of resolutions drawn up by the members of the Dakota Indian Missions under the care of the American Missionary Association. A copy of them was sent to the

Commissioner of Indian Affairs and is now receiving his attention. I desire to present them here that they may be referred to the committee on the platform, and, if it seems wise, the matters to which they relate may receive attention in the platform. The tenor of the resolutions is to urge a uniformity in the methods of keeping records of marriages among the Indians, and a demand for greater care on the part of the agents in the adoption of intelligent and honorable methods by them in granting divorces. I submit these resolutions to the Conference.

I desire to correct an impression that perhaps was received by some who heard me last night. I have been asked whether I meant to say that I did not believe in the outing system. I am heartily and entirely in favor of that system. I believe that it is an important factor in the solution of the Indian problem. But I know also that the great mass of the Indians are residing and will continue to reside for many, many years in the places where they now are; and, since they are there, the gospel of Jesus Christ ought to be sent to them.

The resolution was referred to the business committee.

Dr. FRISSELL.—It would be a good thing for this Conference to make an appeal to the Christian Church to support missions. It is a shame that such work as Bishop Whipple's and that of the American Missionary Association are not better sustained. I am beginning to feel that it is not worth while for us to send back Indians into the West where there are no Christian missionaries and churches, nothing to help them to stand when they go back.

I have been very grateful for what has been said here. We have been helped through these days. I am glad of the unity that prevails here. I do not believe Mr. Smiley understands how much good it does us to be here, because he gives us a chance to look over the whole field and to understand our relation to the whole; and that is a grand, fine thing. We understand better what the other workers are doing and can adapt our work to theirs. We learn to appreciate better what the bishop and Miss Collins and the others are doing in the West. If we do not appreciate the work of others it is a shame. Hampton has always had the missionary idea. General Armstrong, who was born in the Hawaiian Islands, was the son of a missionary, and when he founded a school it was with the idea that the young people should go out not merely to live for themselves but that they should be leaders of their race. It would not be possible in such a school and such a founder to have any other ideal than that the young men and women should be the leaders and teachers of their own people.

Now we feel that, just as we have seen men like Booker Washington sent down to help the Negroes, so we need to send to the West young men and women who shall be such leaders there. This is what the Indian race needs. The whole creation groaneth and travaileth waiting for the redemption of the sons of God. I believe

that is what the Indian race is waiting for, to be led out of ignorance and superstition. The great thought at Hampton is to make men. We do not care so much about making scholars, but we want to make men who will stand when temptations come. And we have been able to make some men and women and send back into that Western country who have stood and who have become leaders to their people.

There are greater demands upon us now than ever before. We begin to feel that we must have better industrial and academic teachers than we have had in the past. We should feel grateful to God that he has raised up such a man as Dr. Hailmann. I have been at some of his conferences, and I have seen his grand army of teachers. They are earnest, thoughtful, faithful men and women, And he is calling upon us at Hampton, and on Carlisle, to furnish him people of the Indian race who shall be as good teachers as any of the white race. We have therefore decided on an advance normal course. Our training is not sufficient; and we mean this next year, with Dr. Hailmann's advice, to start this course so that we shall be able to send out well-trained young men and women as good as any from the normal schools of the North or West.

We must have equally good industrial teachers. We must have Indians at Hampton and Carlisle who will become thoroughly trained mechanics, who will understand about physics and higher mathematics. We are going to open next month a trade school, the Armstrong and Slater Memorial Trade School, and we hope in connection with that to train these young men. We are also trying to make better agriculturists. We have fifteen acres of land for an experiment station. We believe the solution of the Indian problem is largely in the cultivation of the land.

And most of all, we must give them training in the Christian religion so that when these Indians go back to the missionaries they may go as helpers. So we must have the spirit of General Armstrong and the devoted spirit of Captain Pratt in every one of these Indians.

I am now going to ask a young Indian to speak to you. He has learned the machinist's trade and has made a steam-engine, a very excellent piece of work. He will tell you what he thinks of industrial training and what it can do for his people. I introduce Mr. Samuel George, a Seneca Indian from the State of New York.

Mr. SAMUEL GEORGE.—I was born and raised in the western part of the State of New York, but the most valuable part of my raising was at Hampton. I went there a boy, four years ago, with little education; but, if I live to see June, I shall leave with a trade certificate. This will prove that I am capable of earning good wages anywhere as a machinist. Others have done it and I can do it too. There is Charles Dixon who is working on the New York Central; there is another in a machine shop in Detroit. Others are in Massachusetts, Ohio, and New York. Working with the hands is one of the chief ideas of Hampton, and it is an idea that every young man should have. To have a trained hand as well as a trained heart

and head is a great thing for young people. When one enters a shop at first it is discouraging, because we have to do the lowest and smallest things first. But that is the way, to begin at the bottom. When we build a house we begin at the bottom and lay the foundations first. Why can't we Indians, with our quick eyes and skilful hands, be of some value to our country the same as any other citizen? Of course, if we seek to do our best, we can. The New York Indians who have graduated at Hampton have done well at trades and as teachers. Three have gone out West. One young man is drill-master in one of the government schools in Colorado. One young man is teaching in Dakota and another in Nebraska. None of these things could have been accomplished if Hampton hadn't trained them for their work. A great many people have wrong ideas about the New York Indians. They think they need no help because they have civilized surroundings. But they are badly mistaken. I was one of those Indians surrounded by civilization, and I know if I had not come away I should never have learned a trade,—not because I was lazy, but because there was no trade that would make me of value to anybody. Now I am going to stick to my trade and be a self-supporting citizen of the United States.

President Smith of Trinity College was asked to speak.

President GEORGE WILLIAMSON SMITH, of Hartford, Conn.—I have been interested in Dr. Jackson's report of work in Alaska, and have read with great satisfaction that the natives have been treated as men. The Territory is of enormous extent, and a very large part of it is left without any courts or representatives of the United States Government. On the north-west coast a revenue cutter appears for about ten days in the summer, and the captain exercises such authority as circumstances call for. The rest of the year authority is unknown. There are mission stations up and down the Yukon River, at long intervals, and also along the coast, even above the Arctic Circle. The most interesting to me are those at Point Hope and Point Barrow. At Point Hope there is a medical missionary, who, with his associates, also maintains a school. The character of the instruction is rigidly defined by the circumstances in which they are placed. The children cannot be taught farming because there are only about six weeks in the year without frost; and only the surface of the ground, for a few inches, is ever melted by the summer sun. There can be no industrial training in wood or metals, because there are no forests and no metals in the neighborhood. Such simple industries as are possible have already been perfected by the natives to meet the necessities of their condition. The school work must be intellectual and evangelistic,—not industrial. The children are bright and anxious to learn. From one of the schools I have seen letters written by boys and girls who had been taught only fifteen months which were expressed in better English than letters written by Japanese who had studied our language for eight years. Now, please remember the difficulties under which they labor. For

half the year they have to study altogether by candles or lamp-light, as there is hardly the ghost of a day for six months at a time. It is so cold that the thermometer is generally in the neighborhood of sixty degrees below zero in the winter; and, with all the appliances that can be furnished, the discomfort is very great.

The chief difficulty arises from the fact that there is no government officer there, and consequently no protection for persons or property. There are white men there,—outcasts who have fled from the law,—and they are free to plunder and maltreat the natives at discretion. A few years ago, one of these men taught the people to distill rum from the molasses which they obtained from the whalers in exchange for furs and whalebone. In a very short time several murders were committed by the natives, who are naturally peaceable and gentle. These whites have also infected the people with loathsome diseases, which threaten to exterminate the neighboring tribes in a few years. A gentleman just returned from a visit at Point Hope reports that it is useless to maintain that mission, as there will be none to teach in less than seven years. The Indians in our older territory are almost in paradise compared with those in the dark places of the earth. But the spirit of Christ has moved one here and one there to go out from among us to seek and save the lost; and there, as elsewhere, the love of Jesus has touched the heart. In the simplicity of missionary work in Alaska, in its restriction to spiritual interests, the production of Christian character may be directly sought. The higher purpose is constantly kept in view. They have but little to hope for here; but they may secure in the end a better inheritance,—even an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away.

I thank you for permitting me to say a word for those noble Christian men and women who, in the midst of comfort, have remembered the Eskimos above the Arctic Circle, and gone forth in the name of the Redeemer to carry the glad tidings to those benighted souls.

Miss M. E. Ives was asked to speak.

Miss IVES.—For seven years I have worked for Indians in my own quiet way. I organized the young people's department with the idea of instilling into them a love of the Indians, that they may know them better and feel interested in them. I have often wondered whether I was doing more good for the Indians or for the white people. I hope I am building their character as well as doing something for the Indians.

From the first I have felt a great interest in the government schools. I have been in close touch with them. Within the last few years I have taken to sending Christmas boxes to the Indian children. Last year I sent eight thousand Christmas presents to the Indian children in the schools. They went from all over the country, from forty States of the Union. The young people have made sacrifices to get these presents, and they have packed them

themselves and so have come into personal touch with the Indians. They send directly to the schools and hear from them in return. We have also furnished agricultural supplies and helped field matrons. If any one here can interest young people and would send to me for an address for a Christmas box I shall be glad to send it.

ha. QUESTION.—What do you put in the boxes?

ia. Miss IVES.—I put in useful things, also games that they can use in winter during the study hour, which they are trying now to make a pleasant evening hour. I put in dissected maps, pictures, and books with simple reading. We also send dolls and knives and toys that children like. One lady said if I would send soap and combs, the children would be delighted.

Miss SPARHAWK.—A few years ago I talked to a little Indian meeting in Cambridge. There were three Indians present, a young man and two Indian girls. The young man was working in Cambridge. He had been setting type at the University Press and the girls had been at a Boston School. I wanted him to speak, but I did not dare to tell him beforehand for fear he would have time to make up his mind and would not do it. So when he was called upon he came up to the desk and looked round over the audience and the first sentence he said ran thus, "I am a Cambridge man." That man worked till his eyes gave out, and then he did anything that came to hand; but that was little, and he decided to go back to the West where he had land. I have heard from him there. He has been farming and has built a house and is living on the outskirts of the reservation. An old uncle keeps house for him, and he raises vegetables of different kinds. They have had to watch to keep the bears from the corn, but he was hopeful and happy. He asked to have some papers because he wanted to know how the Boston people felt about politics. I thought it might be a good thing to send campaign literature out there, and I asked the Republican Club to do so. The two girls were at the Boston High School. They were Carlisle graduates. The teachers were kind to them and they won the admiration and friendship of these teachers and of the girls in the Young Women's Christian Association where they boarded. The superintendent there said it was rare to find such girls as they were. They graduated at the school; and it would have delighted you to hear the applause as they came forward to take their diplomas. This acquaintance came about through the Indian Library work which is sending reading to the Indians.

The Indian Industrial League has been established in the hope that it will lead Indians to help themselves. Not long ago there came a letter from two young Indians on the Oneida reservation, one a graduate of Carlisle, and the other had been there. They were very anxious to do something for themselves. They wrote that they had an opportunity to buy a steam-engine which could be used for the threshing of wheat and running a saw mill; that they could buy it on instalments for \$1,000, and that if we would lend them money, they would pay interest. So the League has lent them \$75 for a year at 3 per cent. If they pay it back we shall have it for

some other use. If not, they can probably have the use of it longer, but the wife wrote me that some days her husband had earned fifteen dollars. I ask you to help our League.

President Taylor of Vassar was asked to speak.

PRESIDENT TAYLOR.—One of my theories of education is embodied in that vital word of Rousseau, when speaking of a youth, "*To live* is the profession which I would teach him." While it may be that our modern education may fail to produce better results, regarded merely intellectually, than the older education did, I think perhaps we may well ask ourselves if, nevertheless, we have not learned something in the direction of a broadening of theory that augurs well for the future. Our education formerly was often designed but for one or two or three professions. As we broadened our views, we came to see more and more clearly that not only the mind and spirit must be built up, but that the physical system also needs building; that through it are the gateways of intelligence. We have learned that if men are to be educated, we must begin with their hands. We must begin by training them industrially if we are to be able to educate their brains to the utmost. When we go to the West, which is pushing the best educational methods with more power and breadth than we are in the East, we find in many more schools than in the East this industrial idea underlying the whole scheme of the school. They are educating youth physically as well as mentally and spiritually. It seems to me strange that as we go on there are still so many who keep believing that man is principally mind. We may be justified in scepticism on that point. Certainly boys are not principally mind.

I have seen Hampton; and the man who has seen that school with some attention has had a beginning of an education. I remember, too, at the great procession at Chicago which inaugurated the World's Fair, the most impressive part of the procession was that brigade of Captain Pratt's boys; and as they marched down the street splendidly drilled, but not with guns, bearing implements of all sorts of industrial pursuits, that the cheers rang out for them continuously. There was nothing like it in all that great procession. That struck the chord of the right idea of education. I am not sure but it is going to revolutionize our ideas of professional education. I ask whether we are right about the education of ministers and teachers, of those who are certain to enter professional pursuits? Are we wise to begin with anything but industrial training? The same question may be asked for the Negro, for the red man, and for the white man. Begin by training their hands, teach them to see straight, to act with accuracy, and then there is some basis for a broader intellectual training. I believe that the greatest mistake that has been made in the education that has been so widely diffused among the colored people has been in the direction of forgetting this point. There has been a vast improvement, but a great mistake has been made in forgetting that there is no use in training these

men as teachers unless they can be the industrial leaders of their people. That is the only way to lift up the race. It is the men who have trained their bodies first, and their minds and their spirits side by side with these,—it is such men who have become the leaders of their people. In that sense intellect should be disciplined. The intellect which is cradled in a well-trained physique finds its highest utterance in the expression of a well-trained spirit. The word of President Robinson, of Brown, recurs to me, “A disciplined intellect asks no favor but that of God.”

Dr. WARD.—One of the finest things and most hopeful things that have been said here, was said by Mr. Frissell when he told us that he proposes to have at Hampton something more than a lower industrial education, higher normal instruction for the Negro and Indian. I believe that we want industrial education, but we want also the higher education which will give us teachers. It will be a great error in Indian education if we conclude that their leaders must be white men; if we conclude that their best education shall be education which shall instruct the hand and shall teach them to be mechanics. Of course we want just as far as possible to bring them out from the old relations and their old connections into the great mass of our community. I have no doubt Captain Pratt is right, and we all agree with him. But so long as they are where they are, cramped and cribbed, cabined and confined by government, shut up in that way, it will be an unfortunate thing if we cannot give them leaders who are of their own race; and leaders are always men who are trained not so much in hand as in brain. We want thinkers and scholars, men of highest education. Dr. Taylor is no doubt right in what he says about the physical education; and he is also right in his own practical way in the education of the brain. He is not conducting an industrial school. He is giving us leaders among our women; and Indians and Negroes want leaders in the same way. I rejoice that Hampton is seeing that we must bring forth teachers with intellect, with cultivated brains. I rejoice when Indians get industrial training; but I rejoice a hundred times as much when they come to Harvard or Yale and prepare themselves to be of that class who make leaders; for it is the higher education, the higher culture, that always has force in the world. That is my doctrine.

On motion it was voted that the usual Washington committee should be appointed, consisting of President Gates, Mr. A. K. Smiley, Mr. Philip C. Garrett, General Eaton, and Dr. Ward, with permission to add to their numbers if necessary.

Adjourned.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 16.

The Conference was called to order at 10 A.M., after morning prayers, Mr. Garrett in the chair. Miss Collins asked leave to present to Mr. Smiley on behalf of the Sioux a stone pipe of peace.

MISS COLLINS. — It seems to me very fitting, since Friend Albert has done so much for us, that we, as a tribe who were once considered the greatest warriors in the land, the Sioux, but who now are coming to know the blessedness of peace, should come to this Conference bringing with us the pipe of peace which has been used in the council and in the camp, and around the home circle in our Dakota land. Take it, Friend Albert, it comes to thee from the Land of the Dakotas. I give it to thee in the name of our Indians, your friends and mine.

MR. SMILEY. — The world is full of surprises, and this is one of them. This pipe is a most acceptable gift, and I thank thee and the Indians who sent it. It is especially appropriate as coming from them, for when I was appointed on the Board of Indian Commissioners seventeen years ago, the first place I went to visit was this very Sioux reservation on the Missouri River; and that is the place where this Conference was born. We met there Bishop Hare, Dr. Williamson, Dr. Strieby, Dr. Ward and others, and we had a three days' conference with the Sioux Indians. At that time I said, "Friends, all of you come to Mohonk." And so we started this Conference. This pipe is made of a very choice piece of stone, and I shall value it most highly.

MRS. KINNEY. — I want to ask a question about the Narragansett Indians. They bring forward a grievance of two hundred years' standing. They claim that they have been cheated out of 130,000 acres of land. I do not know that their claim would have any standing in the court, but they seem to think it would. They tell me that they have had several lawyers looking into the matter who carry it a certain distance and then stop as soon as the money gives out. If any one here knows anything about the Narragansett Indians I should like to hear from such person.

Dr. Joseph Anderson of Waterbury, Conn., was asked to speak.

DR. ANDERSON. — It is a great thing to be born late in the ages; we get the best of everything. And it seems to me a great thing to be born late into the Mohonk Conference, for a similar reason. I feel

that, while I have lost various things in not becoming acquainted with you heretofore, I am experiencing certain pleasures and novelties which you cannot now experience. I came to this country in my childhood and grew up without the sense of having any special place in the world. I had neither brothers nor sisters, nor had I uncles, aunts, or cousins within thousands of miles. After twenty years I returned to my native land, the north of Scotland, and there I soon came to feel that I had a large place in the world by virtue of these connections. On this first visit to your Conference I have a similar experience. I have been interested in the Indian question for twenty years. During this time I have met many who seemed to care nothing for the Indian, and few who had any great interest in him. I come here and I find hundreds whose interest in him is deep and abiding, and I feel like congratulating myself and them upon the work they have been doing.

My work has been on different lines. My interest has been largely ethnological and philological. I was directed to the scientific study of the red man through my connection with a society which proposed to divide up the whole realm of science and literature among its members, one taking one subject and another another. I chose ethnology as my special field, and it is interesting to me to look back and see how many things I have learned in this way, and how they have deepened my affection for the Indian. It was in an interview with an ethnologist, a good many years ago, that I heard of that man in California who prided himself upon a necklace which he exhibited, made of the teeth of Indian squaws, which he had knocked out of their mouths with the butt of his pistol. Do you wonder that this aroused in me a strong sympathy for the Indian?

It was in that same interview that I was told of certain white men (Christians, so called) who had placed pocket handkerchiefs in contact with the bodies of persons who had died of smallpox and had sent these handkerchiefs out among innocent Indians that they might become victims of the same disease. This aroused my indignation at white men's wickedness and sympathy and sorrow for the objects of their cruelty. These things made a great impression upon me. I began to look into the Indian's history and life; and as I went on in my studies I could not but conceive a growing respect for a race whose achievements were so great,—a race that had developed, for example, such languages as those of the American Indians. The Indian languages number not one or two, but hundreds, some of them standing high in the records of the world's philology. A gentleman asked me at breakfast to-day which of these languages best deserved preservation. It reminded me of the little girl into whose home triplets had come, who asked her father anxiously which one of them he intended to save. I should hate to have any of these languages destroyed, but I suppose many of them must become extinct. The time will come when our only knowledge of most of the Indian languages will be derived from the text-books and translations we have made. When I hear such languages as the Cree, beautiful in its music; or the Ojibway with its

elaborate verb-forms; or that spoken by the Nez Percés, bearing the stamp of intellect; or the stately and classical Dakota, or the Mohawk with its sixteen personal pronouns; or the Mexican, which in its vocabulary spreads out like a great flowing river,—when I think of these products of human ingenuity, it seems hard to decide which should be destroyed out of the world's knowledge. Let us preserve them as far as we can; and let us remember that the more diligently we explore them, the more we shall be convinced that here was a remarkable people, a race which while the nations of the old world were busy with wars and tumults was trained in a quiet way by divine Providence on this Western hemisphere for results which we have not yet begun to appreciate. So, too, when I look at a stone axe and know that it may have been begun by a grandfather, handed down unfinished to his son, and brought to completion after many years by his grandson, thus representing in its symmetrical outline the work of two or three lifetimes, and all this done with a little stone hammer; when I remember that the Indians had no tools but tools of stone,—it brings before me the patient work of these people extending through the ages. We cannot but have respect for a race that has come through such difficulties, physical and spiritual, as the red race has encountered; and we must feel that such a race has better things to come.

And when it ceases to require our philanthropic care it will still present itself as a subject for our thoughtful investigation. A vision rises before my mind which, if our worthy host be willing, may be realized at some day not very far off,—a vision of a magnificent structure built of these mighty rocks, adorning one of these lofty hillsides, substantial, fire-proof, attractive in every way, containing within its solid walls a museum to match that of the Smithsonian Institution, and a library into which have been gathered the tens of thousands of books and pamphlets relating to the American Indians. That building will be known to all America as the Smiley Institute of Aboriginal Research.

MR. GARRETT.—This Conference has under its care the legal needs of the Mission Indians at California. I will ask Mr. Joshua W. Davis to speak to us about that.

MR. DAVIS.—Ten years ago, after the return of Professor Painter and another member of the Mohonk Conference from an investigating tour in California, and on a report made here as well as to the President of the United States, five thousand dollars was raised for the defence of the Mission Indians against the aggressions of the water companies and the land owners adjoining the reservations. That fund has been in use in the defence of the Indians since then, and several suits have been prosecuted and settled in favor of the Indians. There is still one suit remaining, brought by the owners of Warner's ranch seeking to dispossess the Indians there of their land and thus secure the control of water there. That suit has been before the Supreme Court for four or five years, having been decided

in favor of the Indians in the District Court and appealed. The claimants are wealthy and have sought to tire out the friends of the Indians, but we have not wearied yet and will hold the defence still. There is danger that, by delay, our witnesses, the aged Indians, will pass off the stage and we shall lose the advantage of their testimony, as it is claimed that this testimony shall not be received in the form of deposition; but we do not relinquish the hope that that suit will yet be determined in favor of the Indians.

There is another in which there is hope of a full settlement under a compromise. It is a similar case respecting possession and water. And there is still one other case which may cause us to go into court, which we are trying to avoid because the expense is too great. We have still \$518 remaining out of the \$5,000.

The agreement with our attorney on the Warner's Ranch case was for a definite sum for the struggle until it should finally close, and there will be therefore no large claim on this remaining fund from the attorneys, but the court expenses on the Warner's Ranch and the new case will require this amount of money and possibly more.

Dr. Dreher, president of Roanoke college, was asked to speak.

Dr. DREHER.—When I came here first five years ago I listened with fresh and eager interest. When I returned four years ago I wondered if I should be as much interested, and found I was. The third time I was even more interested, and so my interest grows. For twenty-six years we have had Indians in Roanoke College. Not very many have completed the course and taken a degree (only three), but a great many have taken the partial course. The first one went to Yale afterward and is now a clergyman. Three years ago one was the valedictorian. Last year we graduated another who expects to be a lawyer, taking a post-graduate course. Several who have studied with us occupy prominent positions in the Indian Territory. We have been encouraged to believe that good work has been done for them in our institution. We feel a deep interest in the Indian question.

Mr. Garrett stated that Mr. Albert Smiley would be placed on the Law Committee in place of Dr. Austin Abbott.

Mrs. Quinton was asked to speak.

Mrs. QUINTON.—The law proposed by Commissioner Browning was very important. It made it a penal offence to give or sell strong drink on an Indian reservation or to an allotted Indian or to an Indian citizen anywhere. It passed the Senate year before last, but last year failed. I suppose it is enough to say that all friends of Indians can help secure that greatly needed law by corresponding with, and earnest appeals to, our Representatives. It strikes me that is the place for real work.

There are two things specially needing to be done for Indians; first, to give them always the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, to help

strengthen missionary work, and to occupy the destitute fields in order to get the leverage that lifts in all right directions. Then we must help to control legislation by correspondence with those who represent us in the government. I wish the members of Congress could be flooded with original, personal appeals, and letters on the subjects needing immediate attention.

May I give you two pictures? Take the case of the Omaha Indians of Nebraska. They were well forward on the path to citizenship and civilization and the hopes of their friends were very bright in regard to them. The sellers of strong drink on the edge of the reservation came among them and they fell. They were fine men and women naturally, but they yielded to temptation. Then there came the withdrawal of the mission. Strong appeal has been made to their own manhood and womanhood, but a great deal of outside help is needed also.

Again, take the case of the Mission Indians in California. Their situation is full of difficulties. The seller of strong drink locates just outside the reservations and quickly takes all that the Indians can earn in a year. It does seem as if Christian men and women should use all their influence to right this state of things. We have here heard of Indians who themselves have strictly enforced temperance legislation, but all are not so wise and strong, and it is our duty to help to do the needed legislative work for their defence.

Mr. Galpin, formerly connected with the Indian service, was asked to speak.

Mr. S. A. GALPIN, of Connecticut.—It is many years since I have had much to do with the Indians; and yet, as I listen to the story that is told here, it seems to me as if the problems were the same now as then. I remember very distinctly a trip I made to the Indian Territory in 1875, when the government and the religious bodies were co-operating more closely than now, and when the agencies there were under the control partly of the Orthodox Friends and partly of the Hicksite Friends.

At that time the salaries of the agents were distinctly less than now, each one, no matter how difficult or exposed his task, receiving from the government \$1,500 per annum. The Friends, in order to secure competent agents, in many cases supplemented their salaries by contributions from their own funds. Under the efficient supervision of Agent Miles, at the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency were started many of the experiments which have since come into so general use in the Indian schools, and which have proved of such value. It was Agent Miles who, in order to give his Indians work, decided to do all the carting of his supplies by Indian labor, although he was thus compelled to "receipt" for them at Arkansas City, the then nearest railroad station, and so assumed personally the risk of loss and damage during the 150 miles of wagon transit. It was at this agency also that our good friend Mr. Seger, who is, I am informed, still active in Indian work, made such a success of

his industrial school. When this school was first started, the Arapahoes joined readily; but the Cheyennes, who always looked down upon the Arapahoes, refused to send their children. After the Cheyenne chiefs, however, had seen the enthusiasm of the children themselves, and the manifest success of the school in its school herd and its kitchen garden, their attitude changed. They begged for the places which they had previously refused, and showed their earnestness by offering to give even as many as ten ponies, if thereby one of their children could be admitted. If the promise of those earlier days could have been realized, and there had been no disturbing outside influence, both of these tribes would by this time be entirely independent. As a matter of fact, however, when the inevitable change in officials came, so that Mr. Miles and Mr. Seger both left the service, their successors failed to maintain their influence over the Indians; and, in some way which I do not clearly remember, the interest of the Indians was dulled, the school herd was divided and eaten, and the bulk of the tribe still remain a charge upon the government.

The truth is that our government is not a Christianizing or civilizing agency. It does not seem to me that it will ever succeed greatly in Christianizing or civilizing the Indians. It is organized for general purposes and not to carry on a distinctly missionary work. Such work can be done better by an agency more flexible, and not operated under a general law,—a law beneficial, perhaps, in some cases, but distinctly harmful in others by reason of its lack of adaptability. The work is missionary work and individual in its character, and our good friend from Hampton was entirely right in advising us to appeal less to Congress and more to the Christian people of this country. It is quite time that the Christians of our land should recognize the missionary character of the Indian work, and settle themselves in earnest to do it by agencies of their own,—earnest, faithful, flexible, and persistent.

Rev. J. E. Roy. — I was out among the Crow Indians last month, and was glad to see the field of Custer's battle, and the monument which the government has put up, marking the spot where 246 men fell,—without a living creature to tell the story, except Curry, the scout, who ran away. I found the agency ten miles up the valley, and everything seemed to be in the best order under the government. They have a good school under Christian and devoted superintendent and teachers. I found a missionary at the American Missionary Association, Mr. Burgess, who had been there three years. He was greatly encouraged. He had secured a home and was allowed to use the school-house for a Sunday-school in the morning. There are about one hundred scholars. At the evening hour he gives them a Bible reading. Now that the contract system has passed away, in the process of evolution, this seemed to me a possible way by which the government and the missionary processes might go together without any union of church and State. The agent was favorable to the missionary. The school was prosperous,

as the Sunday-school and the evening services were. Mr. Burgess goes out during the week to the camps and preaches to the people by an interpreter. He commands the respect of the people at the post, and of the Indians. He came from Scotland originally. He studied for three years in the Moody Institute in Chicago to prepare himself for this work.

Dr. JAMES M. KING.—As the representative of "The National League for the Protection of American Institutions," I wish to make a brief report with reference to educational matters, so far as the action of Congress is concerned.

This Conference has taken step after step until, two years ago, it asked all the religious organizations to withdraw every application for government money for Indian education. All the denominations withdrew by the action of their highest legislative bodies except the Roman Catholic. The same appeal was made to them and in precisely the same phraseology, and a very interesting discussion in good temper took place between the authorities of that Church and those making the appeal.

This is the final action taken on the Indian Appropriation Bill at the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress: The House of Representatives, by a vote of 93 to 64, provided for the immediate discontinuance of all appropriations for sectarian Indian education. This met with opposition in the Senate, and, as the result of repeated conferences, the following became a part of the bill.

And it is hereby declared to be the settled policy of the government to hereafter make no appropriations whatever for education in any sectarian school: Provided, that the Secretary of the Interior may make contracts with contract schools, apportioning, as near as may be, the amount so contracted for among schools of various denominations for the education of Indian pupils during the fiscal year 1897, but shall only make such contracts at places where non-sectarian schools cannot be provided for such Indian children, and to an amount not exceeding 50 per cent of the amount so used for the fiscal year 1895.

This work, initiated by "The National League for the Protection of American Institutions," and largely carried on for six years by this Conference, has finally reached this stage. I want to say a single word of exhortation in view of the results here secured. The appeals that were made last night, and especially by the president of Hampton, ought to be taken to heart by all Christian people and Christian organizations; and if the Christianising influence is to be extended, hand in hand with the educational efforts, it must be the result of the private contributions from those who believe that the Indian must be Christianized as well as educated. Personally, I want to express my gratitude for the unanimity with which this step has been taken by the different religious organizations. I want to say also that since this movement began, sectarian appropriations have been prohibited in the Constitutions of every new State admitted into the Union; and a number of the older States, in revising their Constitutions, have inserted such provisions, so that now twenty-six of the forty-five States have in their organic law declared

against the practice. Forty-two of the States have Constitutional provisions protecting the school funds against sectarian aggressions. It is believed that the time is not far distant when the remaining States will make such provisions, and when the proposed Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States will become a part of the organic law of the land.

General Eaton was asked to speak on education in Alaska.

Gen. EATON.—The report of education in Alaska shows decided progress, although the government has not advanced the appropriations that are necessary. They have 1,088 pupils in the government schools. They have had great difficulty in keeping the appropriations up where they were before, and it is especially necessary to have pressure brought to bear on the members of Congress to secure the needful appropriation. Dr. Jackson, who usually reports to us from Alaska, has been detained or he would have been here with his annual suggestions.

The reindeer herds have increased and they have now four stations. The plan is to create two permanent places where they will gather reindeer and train the herders, and from these places they will send out, as they have already begun to do, to other stations the products of these herds. Some of the missionary stations are now receiving benefit in this direction. You see the common sense in this movement. It lies behind all possible development for that region of country. We must learn the lesson of Northern Europe in this direction. This plan needs your co-operation and help. If it is carried out as Dr. Harris and Dr. Jackson planned it, it will furnish a means of support for people all over that region.

It should be said that Dr. Jackson tells in a private letter of finding the people at one of the mission stations at the point of starvation, but he was able to furnish supplies until their own came. The general work of education there demands your attention. Dr. Harris has asked advanced appropriations for it: instead of that they have cut down the appropriations. If you will sustain the Bureau of Education these people can not only be made self-supporting, but they will be of benefit to commerce and civilization. The great demands of humanity and Christianity will be met, and at the same time there will be a contribution to the commerce of the world.

I was greatly interested last evening in listening to the results in those things that we were struggling over years and years ago. I cannot tell how my heart swelled with gratitude when Bishop Whipple put before you the commendation of Mr. E. P. Smith. He was in the Bureau of Indian Affairs when I was in the Bureau of Education, and I suppose I knew more about his troubles than any other man in the public service, and I have always felt the injustice done him; and in a certain sense I had to suffer with him. I happened to be present with the Secretary when one of those assaults was made upon Mr. Smith, and because I had the means of witnessing to the truth I was pursued not only in public but in private.

The animus of that assault cannot be known or cannot be stated here; but it becomes us all, each in his place, to understand the facts in such matters, and, when a public officer is unjustly assaulted, to be able to defend him. Mr. Smith was one of the purest and most devoted men we have ever had. I was glad to stand by him.

Sometimes it is said that there is no longer need of going to Mohonk, that the Indians are now getting on by themselves. One of the greatest statesmen I ever knew once said that it was important to keep before the people aspirations. When I listened to the excellent report on education I had this feeling,—that there was now before us a clear enough view of what is yet to be done. All of the Indian youth are not yet in the schools, but there is still need for this Conference to hold up aspirations before itself and before Congress.

Senator DAWES.—Can General Eaton tell us the legal status of Mr. Duncan's settlement on Annetta Island?

Gen. EATON.—The island is held on the communistic plan, and he may be said to be the chief of the tribe. He has done a most wonderful work there, but there are no personal rights except the occupancy of the houses, and they are having difficulty already over the invasion of miners. Certain minerals have been found on the island, and Mr. Duncan has been trying to secure protection in Washington.

Senator DAWES.—Mr. Duncan, then, had merely permission to occupy the island.

Gen. EATON.—Yes.

Senator DAWES.—The trouble is that the moment the gold miners appeared there, there was danger that the miners would oust him. I do not understand, unless some change has been made, that he has anything more than permission to occupy that island.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—Are there not men appointed by the government whose business it is to ferret out the whiskey cases on the reservations and prosecute them? I thought we had at one time a man appointed by the Department of Justice. I should like to know certainly about this because it will make some difference in our work.

Miss COLLINS.—Is not the Indian agent authorized to do it? It is so with us. He takes every means to ferret out the cases, and I have seen cases where men have been arrested and tried who are now in prison.

Mr. SMILEY.—The agent does it in California.

Dr. FOSTER, Secretary for New England of the American Sunday-school Union.—The American Sunday-school Union has been doing a large work among the Indians for years. This is a Sabbath-school organization working on undenominational lines. One of its superintendents, the late Rev. Dr. William P. Paxton, with his missionaries, has organized over one hundred schools among the Indians in the Indian Territory. This is a great work and is deserving of recognition. It is conducted in this way. Missionaries go

out and find one or two Christian people who are willing to support and manage a school, and then bring together the children and organize a school. Thus, in a quiet and effective way, a missionary work is set in motion and carried on. Of course this is not feasible where the Indians are still heathen and apart from Christian influences; but where they have been touched by the gospel, or where there are Christian workers among them, it can be done successfully. We have come to a point in our experience among the Indians where there would seem to be an opportunity for larger work of this kind. There are many Christian Indians scattered through the tribes who have been educated in Eastern schools and they have carried back with them more or less gospel conviction and purpose, and it would encourage their own Christian life and purpose if they were to undertake such work as this. If money could be secured for the support of a missionary of suitable character, an Indian if possible, the American Sunday-school Union would be glad to send him out to start union Sunday-schools in places where there is no missionary work carried on at present. In this way great good could unquestionably be done where nothing else would be likely to be so effective.

Mr. SHELTON.—The Indian policemen have been spoken of. It was my privilege when I was on the reservation to see them in the experimental stage. We do not realize what it means to be an Indian policeman, to be clothed with the authority that they have, to be sent out thirty, forty, perhaps sixty or seventy miles without any support of any kind to enforce law and keep order. I think that every agent I have ever asked has spoken well of them. I have inquired, "Did you ever know an Indian policeman who abused his authority?" The answer would be, "Never." "Did you ever know one to make unwise use of his arms?" "Never." "Isn't it a little dangerous to give a man such authority as he has with his small amount of education, to give him arms and send him out with so much responsibility? Isn't there danger that he may make a personal use of it?" I have never found an agent who knew of any such case. I think this ought to be known and put on record in behalf of the Indian police. It is a tribute to the Indian character. It is a proof of the strong manhood and self-contained power of the Indian that we should recognize. In that most unfortunate attempt to arrest Sitting Bull, when the policeman received the order to make the arrest he started out having first bade good-by to his family and friends, assuring them that he might be going to certain death and yet not hesitating for a moment to carry out the instructions of the government and the fulfilment of that which he had sworn to uphold. I wanted to say these words for the Indian policemen.

Mr. RYDER.—I have here a preamble and resolutions drawn up by the Indians with the purpose of sending them to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. A copy is now in his hands. I want to read them, and move that they be referred to the Business Committee.

Oahe, S.D., May 28, 1896.

HON. D. M. BROWNING, COMMISSIONER INDIAN AFFAIRS:

Dear Sir,—The Mission Council of the Dakota Mission, representing the Indian work of the American Missionary Association, at their annual meeting at Oahe, S.D., desire to express their conviction of the importance of a better regulation of the marital relations of the Indian people. As the home is of more importance than the land on which it is, so laws governing the formation and continuance of homes are more important than those concerning land. This matter is too important to be left to the individual judgment of an Indian agent, however wise. We think the Indian Department should make and send out to its agents the proper instructions, thus making the rules uniform and impressing upon the agents and the Indian communities more strongly the importance of right marriage relations. There has existed a want of uniformity in dealing with different parties on the same agency; and Indians in improper relations and of immoral character have been allowed to hold positions under government to the discredit of the service and the injury of the community.

We believe that Indians should come as soon as practicable under the marriage laws of the State in which they live, but in many cases this cannot yet be done. Meanwhile, for the transitional period, we would suggest that the Department make regulations which shall include the following:—

1. That Indian agents conform as nearly as possible to the law of the State in which their Indians reside in dealing with matters of marriage and divorce among them.
2. That the system of granting licenses for and making a record of every marriage already instituted on some agencies be uniformly carried out in all where Indians are not yet under State laws.
3. That the process of divorce in case of those who have been married in accordance with Indian custom, where necessary as a last resort, be deliberate. That six months intervene before final action, and at least a year before remarriage of guilty parties.
4. That no polygamist, nor licentious person, nor one not legally married, be allowed to hold any office under the government in the Indian service.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed by)

J. G. BURGESS, *Moderator*,
P. W. REED, *Secretary*,*of Indian Council.*

C. J. Ryder, New York.

Dr. FRISSELL. — For a number of years we have had New York Indians at Hampton. Captain Pratt has had a number, and we have felt that good resulted from this. The government at Washington has refused permission to Captain Pratt and to us to receive more of the New York Indians, on the ground that when they spoke to the authorities of the State the answer was that New York could take care of its own Indians. The truth is that New York doesn't do it. These Indians who are surrounded by our civilization need the help that we can give them, and we think it would be a good thing for the government to allow them to come to Captain Pratt and to us. I should be glad to have this Conference express itself on this subject.

Miss COLLINS. — The foreigner who tried to eat an orange by biting through the skin did not like it. He did not know what was inside: and those of you who know the Indian only from the outside are in much the same condition. You do not know the real Indian. I am speaking of the Sioux.

My work has been largely missionary work among the Sioux. When I was sent out I used to go from house to house and read a

passage and pray and sing with them, and thought that was missionary work. But I find that we have to begin at the very bottom, on the dirt floor. We find the people in their tents, and in a great many cases knowing nothing about a higher civilized life. They know only that they are hungry; and, if it is possible to get something to eat, they will. They also know that there is a life outside of the reservation, for some have seen it; but a great many cannot understand it. We must bring this great outside world to their knowledge. We must bring into their homes higher ideals of the duties of the wife and mother and father and sister and husband and brother. We must teach the woman who has a husband with a quick temper, and who is apt to speak harshly when he goes home hungry, that if she is quick to say something sharp in return, it will be much better to have his supper ready for him; that is the best thing to have awaiting his return home. That is missionary work, one part of the gospel teaching which goes into the daily life. But it is beautiful to see in the best Indian homes the courtesy and dignity and fine manners of these people. An Indian child is taught from infancy that he is a child. They have not come up to the latter-day doctrine that the children are the kings and queens of the home. The children stand back and the father and mother come forward. In an Indian home the little child is taught to be polite to his elders always. One morning when going past the chapel I saw an Indian chief, Grindstone by name, passing by, when a little boy of seven or eight years of age, who had been in the day-school a little while and was beginning to be civilized, called out in a free and easy way to him, "Hollo!" and the old man stopped and said, "My grandchild, what right have you to speak to an elder person until he speaks to you first?" That is the way the children are trained. The Indians easily believe in the gospel of Christ. They have themselves no God of love, yet there are people who say to me, "Is it worth while to go among these people, who have such beautiful characters and who already believe in the Great Spirit, to do missionary work?"

My friends, did you ever realize that the Indians have no God of love; that the Great Spirit simply means to them the Great Unknown; that they offer sacrifices, not to gods made with men's hands, but to the sun, moon and stars, the trees and the waters; that they bow down to stones and call them grandfather, that they may propitiate them, that they may prevent sorrow and death and danger? And when we hear of that wonderful maize dance, what does it mean? It is that the Indian feels that he must make gifts to the gods so that his crops may not be destroyed, that he shall not starve; and what does the sun-dance mean? It means that they may sacrifice their own bodies that they may propitiate the gods. For this reason they cut their flesh and dance round the pole from the rising to the setting of the sun. And if they do not fail, they consider that they are the favorites of the gods. Do not such people need the loving gospel of Jesus Christ? When they hear of the sorrow of our Saviour's life on earth, when they hear of his suffering and death, it

brings tears to their eyes and many are ready to accept that gospel, because God so loved them.

I have here a medal which comes from an old Indian man nearly ninety years old, who said to me when he was dying, "Take this, Winona,"—the name by which the Indians call me. (These medals were given to Indians who were loyal to the government during the times of trouble, and those who rescued white prisoners). He said, "I have kept it all these years. Now I am dying, I am going to leave my old wife, and I have no children. There is no one to take care of her. I have kept this medal because the Great Father gave it to me. I do not know what it means, but I think perhaps it means that when I am no longer here the Great Father will take care of my wife, and I wanted to show it to him and tell him that I prized it."

It is sometimes said that the old people are not worth trying to save. "Let us take the boys and girls and educate and care for them, and let the old Indians die." Dear old Wounded Head, a man who had fought many battles against his enemies and who knew nothing of Jesus Christ until within a few years, when he was over seventy came into my house one day trembling and weak, and I gave him a lunch for him and his wife; and, when they sat down to eat, I left them alone, thinking they would rather eat by themselves. When I went back they had not eaten, and I said, "Why do you not eat?" He said, "We do not know how to pray, and we know that Christians ask a blessing, and we should like to have you bless the food." So I asked the blessing, and they ate. His hand had been wounded, and, though I am not a surgeon, I bandaged it as well as I could. He lived six miles from me, and when he was sick I would go to visit him. One day he said, "When you do not come to see us it is as if the darkness closed in about us." It was not I who was light to him, but it was the gospel which I carried. I read to him of that land where there would be no more hunger and no more thirst. He said: "Read that chapter again. Tell us again of that land where there are clear waters and beautiful trees and fruits." You who live in this part of the country do not know what it means to think of a land where there is always clear water and where there are trees and fruits. We in dry and barren Dakota understand it.

There are many of these old people for whom the darkness has fled away and to whom the light has come in these last days, and their influence is wonderful over the young people.

It has been asked why it is that in the last few years the Omahas and Winnebagoes and some other tribes have gone back to the old-time dance. One cause of this return is because our Indians have been allowed to go into shows to exhibit the old savage ways. The white people like to look at them, and these things ought not to be allowed. Those Indians who have been exhibiting their savage life are going back to the old customs in every single case.

We have a work to do as Christians. Every denomination represented here should have missionaries somewhere among the Indians and should see that these missionaries are furnished with money to

carry out their work. If we do our duty the work will grow, but we must have the church back of us. And the churches must do their missionary work themselves and not ask the government to pay the expenses.

We have all we can do to direct the Indian wisely on the reservation because of a great many questions that come up. It has been my policy never to antagonize the agent or any government employee. I think it far better that our Indians should suffer wrong rather than be led to constantly think of their wrongs. It is bad for them to dwell on these wrongs. When an Indian comes and tells me that he has been insulted by an employee, I say, "That may be true, but don't you know that in our line of work we are trying to help you up into a position so that by and by you will not need an agent? You are going to be able to take care of yourselves, and we will not waste our time and strength in quarrelling about what the employees at the agency do. We will learn and study and work for the uplifting of our people so that we may not have these employees but can take care of ourselves. We must learn to be men and stand alone."

I have never antagonized the school superintendent, or the teachers employed on the reservation. I have stood by them as far as I could, and when I cannot defend them conscientiously I keep still. And yet I have no doubt that I have often been spoken of as that meddlesome missionary who ought to be sent off from the reservation.

In regard to the *election* of judges of police courts, instead of appointing them, it might be worse than it is now; we might become civilized enough to be bought up, and something worse might come of it. But it does not seem that it could be worse than it is now, and it might be better.

As to the superintendence of schools, Dr. Hailmann could be general superintendent and the agency superintendents be responsible to him. I think Dr. Hailmann is doing excellent work. I believe that he is a Christian man and that he is interested in the Christian work of the missionaries. I only spoke of having a superintendent on the reservation because we have a condition of things there which a man in Washington cannot understand and cannot look into from such a distance.

Mr. SMILEY.—It is very evident that Miss Collins has had a great deal of experience with the different traits of Indian character. I should like to ask about their honesty, for instance.

Miss COLLINS.—Recently I had a talk with one of the traders. He is a good friend of the Indians, but is not at all sentimental. I said to him, "What do you think of the honesty of the Indian in settling his accounts in the store?" He said, "Just before the time that the Sioux were to receive the money payment which the government has begun, in payment for the ponies which the government had taken away from them, that were shot in the Custer battle, I trusted those Indians to the amount of about thirty thousand dollars, and carried it on my books. After the Indians received

their money I did not lose a hundred and fifty dollars on the whole transaction, and that I lost from a half breed who did not live on the reservation." The Indian is an honest man. There is nothing he dislikes so much as to be considered dishonest. A man rarely steals anything. If a boy does, he brings disgrace on himself. I remember one case when a boy saw a bright towel on my window and carried it home, and the mother came back, and the child carried the towel. The boy was trembling and frightened, and the mother said, "Here is my boy. He stole a towel out of your window and I have made him bring it back. I do not want to bring up a boy like an old woman who will steal." I must say that our civilization in some respects will do away with a part of this old feeling. It is a hard thing to say, but when they deal with many men who are constantly dishonest and try to rob them they will learn dishonesty. They will learn that the white man does not expect every man to be honest. The Indian is far from perfect, but he has the making of a manly man in him.

As to his religion, the Indian is naturally a very religious man. All their dances are religious dances. The smoking of the peace pipe is a religious act. The tobacco and willow bark are prepared in the centre of the room on a clean spot, and there is one appointed to fill this pipe, and that one must have clean hands and pure heart. The pipe is filled and handed to the guest of the house. It is lifted with a motion to the four winds. That is a prayer. It is smoked a little by each one and is then laid down. It is worship. You never see an Indian with a pipe or cigar in his mouth till he learns it from white men, never. An old-time Indian does not care so much for tobacco as you think. He cultivates a taste for it as he becomes civilized.

If a man makes a vow he keeps it. There is on record one man who made a vow and failed to keep it. He had a brother-in-law very sick, and he vowed that if he got well he would never again eat wild turnip; and his brother recovered. He kept his vow for many years; and then he failed to find game and was almost starving, and there was nothing to eat. Finally, forced by hunger, he took wild turnip, and from that time whenever he pulled up tipisini it turned into a ghost of a turnip. And they say, "You see what would happen to our people if they should break their vows."

The love of Indian parents has been spoken of. Just as I came away from home I was travelling over the prairie and met a man and his wife, and they seemed to me very sad. There was no smile when they met me. I asked what was the trouble; and they said, "Our only little baby is lying in the box in the wagon. We have been visiting friends and it died." And they were travelling eight days and nights to carry this little body to bury it at home. They do love their children. One of our young men, when his child died, walked for many, many miles with the dead body of his baby on his back, to carry it to the reservation for burial. There is nothing to me more beautiful than the love of the Indian father and mother for their children. They never correct a child. They never punish

or strike a child. I have never known a father or mother to whip a child, or give any kind of corporal punishment, but the children are expected to obey. They are expected to be manly, and the very worst thing I have ever heard a father or mother say when provoked was, "You are very unmanly." There is no way of scolding the children in Dakota, or of swearing at them, and they never would raise an arm to strike a child; yet we have obedience in the home, and the children pay the parents the most loyal respect. I never heard an Indian child call its father or mother by any nickname, not even "governor." They always speak of them as "my father," "my mother." And in the presence of the children no one ever speaks the name of the father or mother to him. If, for instance, the child's name is "Many Buffaloes," you must say "Many Buffaloes' father and mother." When I was new to the work and did not understand this, one of the children was once crying, and I said, "What is the matter, what are you crying about?" And he said "George Grindstone said my father's name right before me." It was a terrible insult to him. There are many such things that we do not understand, but the children are brought up strictly and are taught to obey all of these rules.

Let us save all this respect if possible. It seems to me that in our government schools, and in mission schools, too, there is a great mistake in compelling the little girls to speak too loud at the first start. It is very mortifying to them. There is no higher compliment that you can pay to an Indian girl than to say, "She is a good girl, she is very wise, and she never says anything."

MR. JENKINS.— Do you speak of Indians in general or only of the Sioux?

MISS COLLINS.— I am speaking of the Sioux. I have been among them twenty-one years.

QUESTION.— Do you need any locks to prevent stealing?

MISS COLLINS.— I have never had anything stolen. I lock my door for the reason that the Indian has grown up without doors, and he has no idea of knocking at any one's house; it is not always pleasant to have them walking into your house without your knowing anything about it.

QUESTION.— Is there not a law that beef shall be issued to the Indians from the block?

MISS COLLINS.— The beef is butchered by the Indians and not issued from the block.

QUESTION.— Could not the use of soap be encouraged by the field matrons? Or could not the field matron have the power given to her to distribute soap?

MISS COLLINS.— She can and does encourage its use. If things work smoothly on a reservation, there is no trouble. The agent will respect the field matron's wishes in this respect and issue soap where the field matron thinks it will be used. But all agents are not so wise, and soap is often given to non-progressive families and not to progressive ones who need it and would use it. Many agents do

not wish to have suggestions made to them, for is not an Indian agency a little monarchy?

Dr. HENRY HOPKINS. — Something was said last night of the discouragements which come from the lapsing of pupils who have come back from the schools in the East. It occurred to me that the Indian is not the only man who comes under this law of the reversal of type. It is true, I believe, that the English lord and the Harvard graduate are the most desperate kind of cowboys in the West, who, as a rule, are generally a pretty clever and good sort of fellows. If the Indian does sometimes go back to his old surroundings and become worse than he was before, it is only a part of the development of our universal human nature. I remember to have heard that General Miles said of Sitting Bull, after he had had an interview with him under a flag of truce, when the old chief had a thousand armed warriors behind him, that Sitting Bull was a very religious man. He said that in the interview he raised his eyes to heaven and said, "God Almighty made me an Indian, but He did not make me an agency Indian, and I do not intend to be one." I think we all applaud that sentiment. The average idle Indian at the average Indian agency is certainly not a person to be envied, and any of us would prefer to be Sitting Bull with a thousand braves behind him, rather than be that kind of an Indian. It seems to me we need to make Christian environment the watchword of our endeavors. If we do not destroy the Indian languages as a part of the knowledge in which we are interested as scholars, we do want to do more toward breaking down the organized barbarism of the Indian, so that we shall be able to do for him what needs to be done. Dr. Bernardo, who has done such a wonderful work among the street Arabs of London, says that there is almost no case where, if there be an environment of loving care, the whole character of the child may not be changed. I hope that all the efforts that are being made by Captain Pratt in this matter of putting Indians out among farmers, where they will be away from the old life and in new circumstances and surroundings, may receive our thought and care.

Mr. WILLIAM HARKNESS, of the Brooklyn Board of Education. — I have always been puzzled to know why Indians should be kept on a reservation at all. If you would take any number of people and place them apart from the rest of the world it would be pretty hard to civilize them. If you could only distribute the Indians among the people of the country you would probably solve the problem. I was interested in what Miss Scoville said of the hatred of those Indians for the whites. Why should they hate the whites? Because they have been ill-treated by them. We must gain their confidence and love before they can feel that they are a part of us. Why should clothing and food be given to Indians?

Mr. SMILEY. — They are furnished by treaty.

Mr. HARKNESS. — But why should they not be made to work and earn their own living? That young man who spoke here impressed

me very much. He says he is an Indian; but more than that he is a man. He has fitted himself to support himself in a machine-shop. Isn't he much more of a man by so doing? Why shouldn't the Indians be scattered about among the people? Why should they be kept together any more than any other class of people? I do not see how you are going to civilize them if you keep them away from civilization.

MR. GARRETT. — Mr. Harkness is a good disciple of Captain Pratt. That is exactly the position we all take.

DR. YOUNG. — Miss Collins's wonderful testimony about the Sioux could equally well be given of our Indians. An Indian who would steal is beneath the contempt of the race. In one of my long journeys with my dog trains we had occasion to make a *cache* in the fork of a tree. When we came back my Indians looked at it and said, "Somebody has cut a piece off." I did not think so, but I did not argue it. About two weeks later an Indian came in with a fine haunch of venison, which he threw down, saying, "That is for you. It belongs to you. When I was out hunting and I did not get anything for three days and I was very hungry, and I saw your *cache* and I knew it was the missionary's, the friend of the Indian, I pulled it down and cut off a piece of the pemmican and tied it up and put it back, and now I have brought you this venison." He had brought it sixty miles on his back!

When the Indian becomes a Christian he makes a good one, full of missionary zeal and fervor. I only wish we could get these men off from the reservations and settled as citizens of the land. We must keep in them all the good qualities they have; but we have in Christianity all these beautiful things,—respect, love, tenderness, honesty. We must bring them up to this high plane.

Birth Session.

Friday Night, October 16.

The Conference was called to order at 8 P.M. Mrs. Eldridge was asked to speak.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—I find the general characteristics of our Navajo Indians are very much like those of the Sioux. You can but respect them for their sturdy independence and their good working qualities, of which we make a great deal in speaking of the Indian. But I am sorry to say that we have the same differences in our Indians that we find among our white people. As you know, we have good white people, and we have indifferent white people, and we have bad white people; and those classes are represented among our Navajoes. They are very tender to their children, and the children are kind to the old people. They take excellent care of them so far as their means will allow. Years ago the Navajoes were very cruel when they were fighting. Not long since, in riding with one of our policemen far out upon the reservation, we came upon a cave to which he called my attention. He said that many years ago when the Apaches were fighting us they came over here and stole our sheep and our children, and we fought them. In this cave fourteen Apaches were found. They would not surrender and we roasted them. "Oh," I said in horror, "how could you do it?" And he said, "You must remember that the Mexicans were roasting us and the Yutes were killing us."

A year ago this month I was invited to go to the Cinza Mountains. It was strange to find there orchards. After travelling forty-eight hours we came to a natural gateway of stone. We passed through this gateway and found ourselves entirely surrounded by forests and a large peach orchard where we could see that the trees had died down many times and then grown up again from the roots. The trees were loaded with fruit. I asked who planted the trees, when a man who must have been nearly a hundred years old said, "Our great-grandfathers did not know who planted them." It was very fine fruit. They told me of a legend they had among their people that many, many years ago people came in there who went by the name of "The Man-who-drags-his-coat-tails." Evidently it must have been the monks. They told me that silver and gold were found in the mountains and that the able-bodied men were held as prisoners and put to work in these mines. At night the men were kept in stockades and the next morning put back into the mines to work. After they had worked many years they said to the rulers, "This is more than death," and they planned an insurrection. They said that

these men were killed and their bodies thrown into the mines, and it was walled up. Perhaps something of this tradition has reached the ears of the white people, and that accounts for the recent attempt to get hold of the Cinza Mountains.

I should like to speak of the death of one of our old people when we first went among the Navajoes. One of the friendliest of our visitors was a man nearly one hundred years old, bowed almost double. He was riding a burro, looking up his horses, which are the principal wealth of the Navajo man. He was very friendly to us, and came often to the mission, and I think that a great deal is due to him in our being able to get hold of these people. He was exceedingly intelligent. After a while he was taken very sick, and his sons came to us—bright, intelligent men—and said, "Our father is very sick, and we wish you would come to see him." So we went down and carried him little comforts; and we said to the sons, "We think your father is not going to live: he is very old, and cannot last many days." The elder son took care of the father during the daytime, ministering to him tenderly, and the younger son cared for him at night, holding him in his arms because he could breath better. At last the old man died, and they came for me. I went down to the camp and found them in a hogan,—a circular house without any roof. While their expression of grief was sincere, there was not the wailing that we find among some tribes, nor any great noise, but one could see that these boys and the women loved the old man. I asked what I could do, and the older son said to me, "You loved our father, and he loved you. He was the friend of the white people. Now, our Navajo way of caring for our dead is bad. We carry them away and put them in the caves of the mountains, and the mountain lions find our dead and they are destroyed. We love our father, and we want you to give him Christian burial. Bury him in the way that you bury your own dead. It is two days since we have eaten food, and our little ones are very hungry, and we should like to attend to this duty as soon as possible." We went to some of our white neighbors who did not love the Indians very much, and we had to be persuasive with our tongues and our purses before we could show them how to dig a grave for the old man. At last it was dug. We had no lumber for a coffin, but we went down with our wagon to the hogan where the body was, and the younger son very reverentially came in. Their hogans always face the east. But, according to their ideas, it would not be right to take the body out through the door; so an opening was made on the west side of the hogan, and the body was taken out through that and laid upon the wagon, with the fine blankets and the silverware that he had, and the bridle, and all the treasures which he had. These were all laid upon the wagon, and we were to drive two miles to the mountain where the grave was dug. As we went from the camp the cries of the people whom we had helped was something very sad to hear. I could but think that these people in their ignorance had no knowledge of the future. No word had been spoken to them of the future; and yet one could see, from

the preparations they had made for him to enter another life, that they must have some conception of a future life.

When we reached the grave, the younger son got down into it and made a bed with the blankets and skins, with the saddle for a pillow. Then the body was laid in and covered with more of the beautiful blankets, and the silverware was put in, and, as the grave was filled, the beautiful burial service was read; and I think I never saw a more reverent company than was gathered for the first Christian burial among them. The followers of this man to-day are our best men. They are hard-working people, and they have learned something of what there is beyond the grave. We are hoping great things for our Navajoes, because they are such good workers and because they are trying to make homes for themselves. The great Indian question we hear so much about can be settled easily if we put ourselves in the place of these Indians, and ask that they be treated just as we would want others to treat us were we in their places.

A telegram was read from Miss Sibyl Carter, expressing thanks for the message sent to her.

Mr. DAVIS.—The suggestion has been presented to you by President Gates and some other speakers, and a similar plea has been often made by the Indian Rights Association, for us to impress special points upon our Congressmen. Permit me to state the result of one very carefully made plea to a wide circle. I felt that the appeal should not go from Philadelphia alone, or from Boston. They would exclaim, "Those sentimentalists in the East and Friends in Philadelphia!—such appeals are a matter of course from them"; and they would then quietly lay the matter aside on the desk, I would not say in the waste-basket. I therefore wrote to gentlemen in various parts of the country and asked them to unite in a special effort to reach Congressmen. Among the various replies were several to the effect, "You will remember that the most efficient person in Congress, on Indian matters, is Senator Dawes, to whom I have sent your letter"; and I heard from Senator Dawes that his mail was considerably increased by the appeals that I had sent to Ohio, Illinois, and elsewhere, to have their own Congressmen reached. Such a failure to apprehend and do some earnest work for the cause with their own people, was then, and is often, very serious.

There needs, also, to be more confidence that you can do something. Many have answered such appeals by saying that they had no personal acquaintance with Congressmen; to which it is fair to reply, "Supposing one has no personal acquaintance, we must have some friends who have. Secure their influence and do not let it rest with one alone." Appeals made to the overtaxed members of Congress will be overlooked on their desks unless there is some more individual earnest influence brought to bear.

Ex-Senator DAWES.—I have had as much experience in this matter of petitions as most people. One of the Western senators came

to me one day with two postal cards, one from California and one from Boston. On the back of each was printed in identical words the same request; and I had to explain that a very able and efficient newspaper in New York had printed ten thousand of these, leaving a blank for the name, and had sent them out to different parties to distribute. When a member of Congress gets a printed petition, especially on a postal card, he doesn't read it through. A man once came to me in great distress about a provision in a bill which was going to ruin him and all his neighbors. He satisfied me that he was right about it and he wanted I should tell him how to get others interested in it. I said, "Go to some friend of every member of the House you can, and ask him to write in his own hand just what he wants his member to do, and sign it and send it on to him." In about a fortnight one member after another from different States came to me and said, "What does this mean? Half a dozen of my constituents have been writing me, asking me to do this thing." The result of it was that the thing was done. If a man will write what he wants in his own hand, and will not get it printed or put on a typewriter, and will sign his own name to it, his Representative will be exceedingly glad not only to read it but to give it a favorable consideration if possible. There is too much machine work about getting up petitions in these days, and they have lost much of their force in consequence. Another mistake is that of pouring them in upon a man already right, overwhelming him, and overlooking those who need to be urged to do the thing desired.

Mr. GARRETT.—During the past year, three gentlemen who have heretofore taken a more or less active part in our Conference have died. We miss them all. Captain J. G. Bourke, whose brilliant addresses and papers will be remembered by many, died in a hospital in Philadelphia. Rev. Mr. Harding, who long represented the *Springfield Republican* here, has also died. And we feel the loss especially of Dr. Austin Abbott, who has also passed away. For years he was one of the most active members of the Conference, and his gentle manner and strong counsel, especially on questions of law, will long be appreciated. It seems eminently proper that a resolution should be adopted by the Conference; and Dr. Foster has prepared one on which Dr. Cuyler will speak.

The following was then offered by Dr. Foster, who moved that it be printed in the records:—

This Conference this year greatly misses the genial presence and wise counsels of one who has been identified with it from the beginning. Dr. Austin Abbott, who has been called from earth during the year, was deeply interested in the welfare of the Indian and showed his interest by constant attendance at these meetings. His legal learning and practical good sense caused him to be greatly appreciated on these occasions and to be pressed into service. He was often a member of our business committee, aided largely in drafting our platforms, and was eagerly heard on the floor of this Conference. In all legal questions before the Conference his opinion was well-nigh decisive. In social relations we found him a man of a warm heart and of earnest Christian character.

The conclusions reached by this Conference were shaped in no small degree by his counsels, and whatever influence the Conference has had in improving the condition of the Indian is due as much to him as to any one member of this body. We are glad to record our indebtedness to our departed friend for his untiring and able efforts in promoting the work of this Conference.

Dr. CUYLER. — I second the proposal. It seems to me that at almost every gathering we are called to lament the departure of some who have been active participants in the blessed work for which we are assembled. At the last meeting the distinguished brothers stood here side by side, with their earnest faces, their active brains and their large hearts consecrated to the work of this Conference. Through the last day or two we have felt what a gap it is that we have not had the brothers Abbott with us this time. One of them, Dr. Lyman Abbott, told me at the beginning of the week how much he regretted that an important engagement prevented his being with us; but alas! the eloquent voice of his brother Austin will never be heard here again.

Austin Abbott came of a family that was famous through two generations. His father, the Rev. Jacob Abbott of Boston, was widely known as a popular author. His name appears on the title-page of two hundred books as author or editor. But after all, his greatest work was in giving to this country those four noble sons. Benjamin Abbott, one of the three, became an eminent and successful practitioner and writer in the law. Lyman Abbott, as you all know, has made Plymouth Church visible and audible all over the continent. It still speaks out for God, for justice, freedom and human rights. Rev. Edward Abbott is well known in his own denomination as the rector of St. James's Church, Cambridge, and widely known outside of it as the editor-in-chief of the *Literary World*. Austin Abbott, the fourth brother, was born in Boston, I think in December, 1831, and at the time of his lamented departure was little more than sixty-four years of age. About forty years ago I first became acquainted with him. He and his young wife were in New York, and they came to my church, although they did not unite with it. I remember my acquaintance with that bright, earnest, unsophisticated fellow and his wife when they first came. I only regretted that his change of residence took him away. I received his first book, "Conecut Corners." He had an idea then of giving himself to a literary life; but God had a greater work for him to do, a wider and deeper far. He very soon grappled with the weightier matters of the law, and his fine strong intellect found full room for activity, not only in practice, but in preparing many valuable volumes which have become standards for the legal profession.

But it is not of Austin Abbott as an eminent pleader or writer of the law that we commemorate him to-night. Rather we think of him, not as one who taught the law, but as one who practised the beautiful gospel. It is not Austin Abbott, the eminent legal writer, but Austin Abbott, the lover of God and of his fellow creatures, who won our hearts and won his place among the reformers and philanthropists of our country.

You remember how he came here year after year, how he put the whole force of his legal knowledge and of his enthusiastic devotion into the deliberations of this body, and it may well be said no man exerted more power on this platform and in these annual deliberations than Dr. Austin Abbott. Let us therefore think of him to-night as one who loved the Indian and labored for him, who gave the very best of himself to better the condition of the Indian. All that he did, he did from sheer, pure love. I suppose as a lawyer he received his fees for what he did; for what he wrought for humanity he received a more precious coin, the heart coin that the Almighty gives to those who do unselfish work for his glory and the cause of humanity. Good friends, that is the only coin worth having. It is Almighty God's gold standard that never can depreciate. And now when the good man is taken away many of you may have observed the tributes paid by the public press and by Christian men and philanthropists throughout the country. It was the tribute paid to the noble, fearless, earnest, and devoted laborer for God and humanity. Good friends, it is a very pleasant thing to be admired, it is a very pleasant thing to be honored; but it is an infinitely grander thing to be loved. Austin Abbott went down to his grave loved, and his name is embalmed in the hearts of many of God's people over our country, and by more than one of those poor fellow-countrymen of ours on the frontiers, who will remember the name of Austin Abbott as one of their unselfish and devoted friends. There are many who would rather thus write their names on humanity than on marble that may perish; who would rather write their names on human hearts, though that heart be behind a black or a red skin, but a human heart that throbs with gratitude to its benefactor. And so to-night it seems that the departed have come back to revisit us. It is not those that we see with the eye that we behold to-night. It is another group that we behold with the inner eye of affectionate memory. I see in this room to-night Rutherford Hayes and Samuel Armstrong and Clinton B. Fiske and Austin Abbott still mingling in spirit in our deliberations; still saying to us, "Brethren and sisters, be of good cheer. We have gone, but the cause remains. Men die, but the work goes on. Be of good cheer, for, by and by, it is our heavenly Father's good pleasure to give us the kingdom."

The resolution was then passed by a unanimous rising vote.

Mr. HOWARD M. JENKINS.—In the warmth of the discussion this morning I felt as if there was something that I might have added to its bulk, if not to its value, but it is difficult to go back and revive the interest one felt at the time. I was much impressed, however, with the remarks that were made by Miss Scoville and Miss Collins and Dr. Young,—their uniform testimony to certain strong and honorable qualities of the Indian character. It awakened in my mind two lines of thought which I want to suggest. One is moved to ask whether, after all, it could have been a huge mistake for

Columbus to make his voyage, and whether the whole contact of the white race with the red has been a catastrophe. Because, as you study the question, the Indians seem to have had, from the very first time the whites came in contact with them, qualities which command our respect in the highest degree,—qualities which the contact of the white race with them has rather served to destroy than to enhance. One fact may illustrate this inquiry: so far as we have any evidence, there was not among the Indians north of Central America any knowledge whatever of the manufacture of any intoxicating drink. That is my own impression from what I have read, and I have talked here with our friend Dr. Anderson about it, and I believe it is safe to say that they had no intoxicating drink. The most notable gift, therefore, which the white people of Europe brought to these red people of America was that of intoxicants; and the account of their intercourse with us is the same story of drunkenness and demoralization, from the beginning of the seventeenth century so far as the English races are concerned, down to the present time. The Indians had at all times an appreciation of their own situation and an understanding of the misery and wrong which drink wrought, and they constantly asked that it should be kept from them. If you will read the records of the Colonial time, you will find there how again and again the Indian chiefs begged that rum might not be brought among them. Answer was always made to them, “We will try.” But the cupidity of the white men, and especially the traders, was such that it was not then kept away, and it has never been kept away since.

Supposing all this to be true, I think the testimony to these admirable qualities of the Indian character ought to be encouraging to all friends of the Indian work, for it is certainly helpful to the desire to lift these people when we find they have these strong characteristics commanding our respect. I would adopt the suggestion made this morning, that, if we can bring to them our civilization in its civilized form, and our Christianity in its Christian reality, we can preserve among them these high qualities. It is to such end as that, I should hope, that the influence of the friends of the Indian can be and will be more intelligently and satisfactorily directed. We lose a great deal in all governmental attempts to improve the Indians by the failure to have consecutive and consistent administration. And all that government does must be done on broad lines and by general rule, and to some extent in a mechanical way; while the efforts of good people, such as are represented here from year to year, can be more flexible, and to a certain degree more intelligently applied to the maintenance and the conservation of those native valuable qualities which still survive in the Indian. I never have read of the Indians from the narratives of trustworthy witnesses, old or recent, without feeling impressed that in *some* ways they seem to have had better native qualities than the whites. It does seem to me that their fidelity to their engagements is greater than our average; and as to the one great offence that has always been charged to them,—cruelty and blood-thirstiness,—if you will

read the annals of our own race in detail, from the time when the white people came here, you will find that the cruelties they practised were equal to anything that we know of the Indian.

The three resolutions which had been presented to the business committee were read by Dr. Ward and adopted (page 95).

The platform was then read by Dr. W. H. Ward, who prefaced it with the following words :—

Dr. WARD.—In moving the adoption of this platform, allow me to say a word. There is a difference between a man of shifts and a man of principles, between a politician and a gentleman. The man who has principles has a guiding star, something which he can follow, something which will give him direction, while a man that has no principle has no pole-star. I suppose that one principle which controls us is our trust in truth; and I suppose that the liberty of truth, and the liberty of discussion and of free thought, and the trust in the power of truth are about the first lessons that one needs to learn. John Milton, in his Speech in Defence of the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing, has given us that principle in the best form in which it has ever been put upon paper. It is one of the best pieces of English prose that exists. I would have every young man read it at least once a year. One who has learned the principles which are expounded there better than anywhere else in the English language has learned a lesson of the utmost importance,—that the free discussion of truth can be trusted.

There is another very important principle, and that is the unity of the human race. That principle lies at the bottom of this platform. It takes a good while to learn that principle. Against that principle is the whole custom of caste, is the whole thought that a man must be put under foot because he is not like us. That is something different from the solidarity of the human race. That is accomplished by commerce as men come into relation with one another. I am glad that the first history gives us the name *Adam* for the first man, a word which means *man*, and this includes the human race. Then we have the second Man from heaven, introducing into this human race, this one human race on the earth, the spiritual power, the divine life that comes down from heaven. And as by our origin we are all one, so through the divine life which comes to us from Jesus Christ we are also one; and we have the right to demand that one race shall not be treated differently from any other race, for we are all brothers of one family.

I am not one of those who believe that the difference between races is anything essential. There are differences between individuals. One has larger brain, larger power, larger capacity, than another; but that is no reason why he should not give the other the same privileges, so far as the latter is able to use them. But we must remember that, if the red man or the black man or the yellow man, as man, may differ in the amount of ability, may have a different amount of brain, yet the kind of brain is the same; the same power

resides in it as in some large Caucasian brain. We have been told that if you take an Indian infant and put it in your home, and it grows up there, it will be to all intents and purposes like your children. The environment makes the difference. The difference is not in the nature of the soul that is there. If you take your white child—and many and many such a child there has been—and in infancy put him in an Indian home and let him be brought up with Indian children, he will grow red at heart in his sympathies and feelings as the Indians among whom he lives. I have seen such a man among the Arickarees. I believe we are all of one sort, if you come to the mind and heart. It is the environment, the surroundings, which make the difference.

So we hold fast to that principle, and we have got to apply it, and apply it in all those great concerns which govern us in our relations one with another. This principle must govern our treatment of the Indian. What do we do for our own children? We give our children such an education as will fit them for any sphere of life to which they may be called. We do not have a special Caucasian education. We want no special Indian education. We want to give the Indians the education which will make them good citizens. We cannot give the best education to every one, red or white, but we must give the choice Indian man a choice education. The same principle applies to citizenship. There is not to be a different kind of government for the Indian from what there is for the white man; and this is what we try to express in this platform. Just as soon as possible, put the government of the Indian on precisely the same plane as that of the white man. Why? Because he is a white man; because he is at heart a white man. When he gets the education and the surroundings of the white man he will be a white man.

Some years ago I was visiting the Arickarees and Gros Ventres with a friend, and I was told that, twenty years before, a United States soldier had come to see them and had made a speech, and he told them that in twenty years they would be white men. That twenty years was almost finished, and they were thinking that the time had come when they were to be white men. Like them, we want to understand that the Indian is to be a white man, treated like a white man, because of this one great central principle that I want to have put before us and fixed in our minds, according to which we are to guide our conduct in every dealing with them. So we are to give them such a government as we have. Let them have a free government without putting them under the bondage of dealing with the agency system.

One thing more; and that has to do with religion. The Indian has the right to just the same religion that we have. Not only is he to have the white man's school and the white man's government, but also the white man's religion. We are to understand that it is not part of our duty to try to preserve something about their customs or their manners because it is picturesque or peculiar or odd as a specimen in ethnology, something to keep as a sort of living museum to

be sent about the country in a show. We are to give them our civilization, we are to give them our religion, and we are to teach them to despise that which is low and that which is degrading.

And now let me say in reference to this platform, I believe it is such as this Conference desires to embody. At least it appears to put into form the principles by which this Conference is guided,—this central principle of the unity of the human race applied to the Indian race just as we apply it to the white race. And here I say, dear friends, we are practical. They may say that this is not practical. A practical policy requires that we should accommodate ourselves to this or that condition. But to let a bad condition continue is not practical politics, it is not real statesmanship. What we desire is that we should go forward in a straight line, what we must do is something practical and wise, and we must hew by the straight line of this great principle of the unity of the human race.

The platform was then read, section by section, and, after some discussion, in which Miss Sparhawk, Senator Dawes, Mr. Lippincott, Dr. Ward, Mr. James Wood, Mr. Jenkins, and others took part, was adopted as a whole as follows:—

LAKE MOHONK PLATFORM.

We, the members of the Mohonk Indian Conference, in this its Fourteenth Annual Meeting, gratefully recognize the progress made by our country during these years in the intelligent comprehension of the Indian problem and its equitable solution. The Century of Dishonor we trust is passed. The Indian has friends to watch over his rights and bring him the blessings of education and religion; while our government, in its legislative and administrative branches, seeks the same object. The main principles are settled, and the main lines of policy have been adopted. It is admitted that the Indian is a man; and it is coming to be admitted that he must be treated like other men. Our government is seeking to give all Indian youth an English education; the spoils system has received a deadly blow; and we are trying, as fast as is prudent, to put every Indian family on its own allotted land. But the right direction already secured needs to be maintained, and, while on the road to self-protection and citizenship, the Indian requires the protection of law, and the guidance of those who love him because he is a brother man. Accordingly we make the following recommendations:—

1. That the tribal system be abolished everywhere as soon as possible, and the Indian incorporated into the citizenship of the States and Territories.

2. That, accordingly, Indian agents be dispensed with wherever possible, especially where the Indians have been settled on their own allotments; and that, where it is necessary to retain an agent, preparation be made for his withdrawal in every possible way.

3. That legislation should protect the Indian against the land-grabber, the gambler, and the liquor seller; and particularly that

Congress should pass the liquor bill approved by Commissioner Browning, or some other bill equally stringent. We further recommend that special attention be paid to the subject of marriage and divorce among the Indians, so as to bring their family relations under the laws of the States or Territories within whose bounds they reside.

4. That the Indian agents should not be removed because of a change of administration.

Further, we commend the admirable methods of the present Superintendent of Indian Education, and we desire that he may be retained to carry out the plans that he has inaugurated.

5. That the Indian schools be incorporated in the school systems of the several States and Territories, the United States paying the expense of the education of the Indian youth so long as they are the wards of the nation.

6. That the work of surveying the reservations should as speedily as possible be completed, so that Indians may be enabled to locate their claims.

7. That Indians on reservations should not be allowed to connect themselves with shows travelling about the world to exhibit the savagery from which we are trying to reclaim them.

8. That the anomalous and deplorable conditions in the Indian Territory should be remedied. Convinced that this can be done with justice to all parties, we desire the speedy passage of the Curtis Bill which passed the House at the last session, with such modifications only as will promote its efficiency and enable the Dawes Commission to introduce the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes to the full rights of American citizenship. The utter failure of these tribes to protect the rights of citizen Indians in the tribal property lays upon our government the obligation to enforce the fulfilment of the trust which the tribal governments assumed in behalf of the individual members of each tribe; and the duty of protecting life and property in the Territory devolves upon the United States.

9. That it is of immediate importance that the natives of Alaska be put under the protection of organized Territorial law, and be prepared for citizenship.

10. That co-ordinate with the work of the government in providing the best facilities for the intellectual and moral training of the Indian must be that of the preacher and teacher of religion. We therefore urge all Christian people to vigorously re-enforce the work carried on by their missionary societies during this brief transition period until the Indian shall be redeemed from paganism and incorporated into our Christian life as well as into our national citizenship.

The following resolution was then presented by Dr. R. S. MacArthur, with a brief address :—

Resolved, That the hearty thanks of this Fourteenth Indian Conference be extended to Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley for their abounding, considerate, and delicate hospitality. Our honored host and hostess have given year after year

rare profit and pleasure to large numbers of consecrated toilers in remote missionary fields, and to many earnest workers in various forms of humanitarian and Christian endeavor. We hope that soon a just solution may be found for the Indian problem, but frankness compels us to say that we cannot without sincere solicitude contemplate the dissolution of this delightful Conference. From this hotel home have gone out influences in connection with this Conference, and more recently from the Arbitration Conference, which are girdling the globe, and which are already a great blessing to America, and are fast becoming a benediction to the nations beyond the sea.

The resolution was seconded by Dr. Bruce, and unanimously adopted.

Mr. Smiley thanked the speakers cordially, though he said he had repeatedly tried to get the Executive Committee to drop that feature of the Conference. He believed that great progress was being made in Indian affairs, but that the Christian people of the United States must not let go. "As soon as you get the Indian to become a Christian, you have settled the whole question in regard to his industry and his morality," said Mr. Smiley, "and I do not believe it can be settled in any other way."

Mr. Garrett closed with a few words of congratulation on the work that had been accomplished, and, after the singing of a hymn, "God be with us till we meet again," the Conference adjourned at 11 P.M.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

- ANDERSON, REV. DR. and MRS. JOS., Congregational Church, Waterbury, Conn.
ARBUCKLE, MR. JOHN, 315 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
AUSTIN, MRS. L. C., 891 Prospect Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
AVERY, MISS MYRA H., Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
BARROWS, MRS. I. C., *Christian Register*, Boston, Mass.
BERGEN, MR. and MRS. TUNIS G., 127 Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.
BRUCE, REV. and MRS. JAMES M., Associate Pastor Memorial Baptist Church, Yonkers, N.Y.
CAPEN, DR. and MRS. F. S., Principal Normal School, New Paltz, N.Y.
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
OF
FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
1897

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
1897

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PREFACE.

THE never-failing hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley made possible another Lake Mohonk Indian Conference, the fifteenth, which was held Oct. 13, 14, and 15, 1897. There were a few who thought that the time for discussing Indian affairs was almost over, but the reports and addresses showed that there is yet much to do before all the Indians of the country shall have their rights. The spirit of the meeting was hopeful and sympathetic, and the speeches from workers in the field were full of cheer.

One copy of this report is sent to each member of the Conference. If other copies are desired, application may be made to Mr. A. K. Smiley, Lake Mohonk, Ulster County, New York.

Boston, December, 1897.

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THE FIFTEENTH LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 13, 1897.

The fifteenth session of the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference began Wednesday morning, October 13, 1897, assembled by invitation of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley.

After morning prayers Mr. Smiley spoke as follows:—

I am overwhelmed with joy to see so many people gathered here to consult upon the best interests of the Indian. I am pleased to see so many of the veterans, some who have been with us at nearly every session; men who have been the leaders in shaping legislation for the Indians, and in directing Christian efforts for their elevation. We have much wisdom concentrated here with regard to the right conduct of Indian affairs. I hope to live to see the time when Indians, as good citizens, can take care of themselves. But I do not suppose that I shall, for it is not in a day that we can raise a feeble race.

My thought in forming this Conference was to get a company of men together who knew what they were talking about, that they might confer, and then act in harmony. It had sometimes seemed that the different denominations opposed each other, and the government opposed them; but times have changed. There seems to be now a general consent to work together. Members of Congress and men of affairs have not time to give to a close analysis of these questions. They must look to the intelligent Christian sentiment of the country for guidance and support. I think this Conference has had a great influence, and I hope the meeting this week will still further add to the help of the Indian, and promote the good of the race.

Mr. Smiley then introduced Mr. Philip C. Garrett, of Philadelphia, as the presiding officer of the Conference.

In taking the chair Mr. Garrett spoke as follows:—

I appreciate to the full the compliment paid me, and I am glad you, ladies and gentlemen, do not appreciate as I do the deficiencies of the new incumbent; however, I shall claim your indulgence.

We accept again the boundless hospitality of our host and hostess for the purpose of discussing questions pertaining to the welfare of the Indians.

In the moral gloom of Washington, amidst the political wrangles, and in the tangle of red tape there, it seems as if this question were to last forever, and as if all the complications that attend it were there to stay perpetually. But here we have a clearer atmosphere, and sometimes we are favored with a glimmer of the dawn; for “jocund day stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops.”

I do not feel at all discouraged as to the Indian problem; I do not suppose any of us do. We seem here to have a glimpse of “the good time coming” when right, not might, shall rule the world.

As we look back on the century of dishonor and conflict, and then look at the present condition of things, and regard the quiet and peaceful progress toward civilization which is silently going on among the Indians, we have every reason to thank God, and congratulate ourselves, and look with hopeful confidence to the future, expecting the full realization of all that this Conference stands for. I do not feel sure that even the gray-haired veterans will not live to see the desire of their hearts, and be satisfied in the practical accomplishment of the civilization of the Indians, and their incorporation into the body politic of the United States. It does not seem to me so very far distant.

This Conference, not congress nor convention, but simply conference of the friends of the Indian, so brilliantly devised and carried out by our friend Mr. Smiley, seems, in the providence of God, to have been one of the chief agencies in bringing about a great revolution in public sentiment and legislation, and I think we have present in this room the five people who have been the principal factors, the agents in God’s hand, in effecting this change. It is an interesting thought, and should inspire us as we enter upon our work this year.

And now we are ready to organize by appointing our committees.

On motion of Mr. Herbert Welsh, Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, Mr. Joshua W. Davis, and Miss Martha D. Adams were elected Secretaries.

On motion of Mr. C. F. Meserve, Mr. Frank Wood, of Boston, was elected Treasurer.

On motion of President Seelye, Rev. Addison P. Foster, D.D., of Boston, Rev. C. J. Ryder, D.D., of New York, President

William F. Slocum, of Colorado, President C. F. Meserve, of Raleigh, N. C., and Mrs. A. S. Quinton, of Philadelphia, were elected a Business Committee. The Chair stated that the Publication Committee would consist, as last year, of the Treasurer and Secretaries, unless there were objection, and it was so ordered: Mr. Frank Wood, Mr. J. W. Davis, Mrs. Barrows.

General Whittlesey was asked to make the first address.

SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

BY GENERAL E. WHITTLESEY, SECRETARY BOARD OF
UNITED STATES INDIAN COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. Chairman and friends of the red men.—The first subject of importance is the matter of education. The appropriations for Indian schools for the year 1897, the fiscal year ending June 30th, were \$2,517,265; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, \$2,631,771.35,—an increase of \$114,506.35. In addition to this, treaty provisions for the support of Indian schools amount to about \$600,000, making a total for this purpose of about \$3,231,771.35 for the current year. This seems like a vast amount for the education of between thirty and forty thousand school-children, but we must remember that in addition to instruction in intellectual and industrial pursuits it is necessary to provide for a large proportion of the Indian scholars their food and clothing for the entire year, so that the amount of over three million can be wisely expended. It also includes the construction of buildings, furniture, and the facilities for carrying on the school work. I think you will find when Dr. Hailmann, the accomplished Superintendent of Indian Education, addresses you, that Indian education is on a better basis now than it has ever been before.

The enrollment in the government schools, numbering 234, was, during the year 1896, 17,789; in the year 1897, 18,670, making an increase of 881. The average attendance in 1896 was 14,365; in 1897, 14,954,—an increase of 589.

I should say in passing that the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs has not been given to the public, and I have gathered these statistics from various sources, such as were available to me. I think they will be found substantially correct.

In the contract schools, numbering 38, the enrollment in 1896 was 4,429; in 1897 it was 3,124,—a decrease of 1,305. Several contract schools have gone out of existence; some have gone into the hands of the government. The average attendance in 1896 was 3,787; in 1897 it was 2,760,—a decrease of 1,037.

In the public schools of the various States, so far as I have been able to learn, the enrollment in 1896 was 413; in 1897 it was 303,—a decrease of 110. The average attendance in 1896 was 294; in 1897 it was 194,—a decrease of 100. But it should be said that from a number of State public schools, where now Indian children are received with white children, no reports have been available.

In the mission boarding schools there was an enrollment in 1896 of 835; in 1897 of 692,—a decrease of 143. The average attendance in 1896 was 736; in 1897 of 589,—a decrease of 147.

The aggregate enrollment in all the schools in 1896 was 23,572; in 1897 it was 22,799,—a decrease of 773; the decrease being in the contract and mission schools, and an increase in the government schools. The average attendance in 1896 was, in all the schools, 19,262, and in 1897, 18,497,—a decrease of 715.

The total number of schools of all grades—government, contract, and mission—is 289; of these, 234 are government schools. There has been an increase of 11 during the last year. About ten or twelve contract schools have been purchased by the government. The non-reservation schools have been enlarged, and their facilities greatly extended.

For the 37 contract schools the government made a grant in 1896 of \$257,928. For the current year the grant for these schools is \$156,760. Of this amount \$2,700 is granted to two Protestant schools, and \$150,760 to Catholic schools.

Many improvements have been made during the year,—improvements in ventilation, in heating, in sewerage, in lighting, in water supply, and protection from fires. There are now invested in the Indian school plant by the government between three and four millions of dollars.

The most elaborate new work undertaken during the last year was the organization of boarding schools on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations, where a most complete plant has been erected, with facilities for 200 pupils each. At the exhibit at Nashville 23 of our Indian schools were represented, and great interest seems to have been taken in this exhibition.

The next step of great importance, which we have considered every year at this Conference, is the allotment of land in severalty to Indians. During the past year 34,156 patents have been issued, 801 allotments approved, and 492 received but not finally acted upon. The total number of allotments that have thus far been made is nearly 60,000. In order that these allotments of individual farms should be available for the support of the Indians who hold them, it is necessary that many of the reservations should have irrigation provided. This has been done to a considerable extent on quite a number of reservations,—at Fort Hall, Crow Creek, Yakima in Washington, for the Utes on Tule River, for the Mission Indians in California, for the Moquis in Arizona, on the Cheyenne Reservation in Wyoming, for the Utes in Colorado, for the Pimas and the Shoshones in Nevada.

As the result of the long-continued and partially successful efforts

of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, allotments will be begun before long to the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and possibly to the Creeks.

One or two things I may mention as encouraging in the history of the past year, besides what I have already stated, as to the educational and allotment work. One is the law, approved Jan. 30, 1897, for the suppression of the liquor traffic among the Indians; not only those on the reservation, but among Indians who have received their allotments. Some prosecutions have been successfully carried through against violators of this law, and it is believed that great good will result from it, though in some regions it may be difficult to find juries who will convict the offenders.

The other thing which I may mention is the firm stand which our President has taken in behalf of the Civil Service Reform, and of its extension so as to require that removals from office shall be made only for cause and after fair investigation, giving those whom it is proposed to remove a fair hearing.

Some things have occurred that have been disastrous to the Indian, such as an assault upon the Navajo Indians, attempting to drive them from their lands by oppressive taxation; such as the attempt to eject the Indians from the Warner ranch in Southern California,—a case now before the courts. These indicate that vigilance and earnest and watchful care are still needed to protect the Indian from injustice, and that the time has not yet come for a relaxation of such effort, or for any *laissez faire* policy to be adopted. But I hope the time will come when justice shall be done to all Indians as well as to white men under the law in all our country, and when they shall stand by our side as fellow-citizens, supporting themselves without any further help from us or from the government. We hope the time will come when we can dispense with government Indian schools, and when the States shall take up the work of absorbing all our schools into their public school system. We hope the time will come when all the Indians shall be settled upon their homesteads; but this is looking forward many years, I fear. Much work remains yet to be done in allotting lands and giving homesteads to the Indians, and a vast amount remains to be done for their education. There is also a vast amount of work for our churches to do through their missionaries, and that is the thing in which I am most deeply interested. All our efforts, all the generosity of the government, and all the labors of superintendents, teachers, and others to educate Indians in industrial pursuits and to give them intellectual training, will be a failure unless there is a deep foundation laid under this instruction of earnest, religious training.

When all these things shall be accomplished then the Board of Indian Commissioners can close up its office; then the Indian Rights Association and the Women's National Indian Association can close up their work, except their missionary and religious work. Then, sad to say, there will no longer be need of the Mohonk Conference! But that will be years hence. We hope our good hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, will live to see all these things, and to hold a

grand thanksgiving celebration in this room; and some of us who will then be in some other Beulah land, on some other Delectable mountain, we hope, may be able to look down upon the work accomplished, and join our voices with the voices of our good hosts and the friends then gathered here in a glad song of hallelujah.

The Business Committee reported the order for the day, with the limitation of time to ten minutes for each address for the morning.

Mr. Francis E. Leupp was invited to speak of his tour in the West among the different reservations.

AMONG THE INDIANS OF THE WEST.

ADDRESS BY MR. FRANCIS E. LEUPP.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I have been requested by several persons to say a word about the condition of things in Washington, and the most crying need of reform in Indian administration there. In my opinion, one valuable measure of reform would be to separate the Indian office from the Department of the Interior. Mr. Smiley, I believe, disagrees with me, on the ground that that would increase the importance of the Indian office, and hence would impede the work which we all wish to encourage—the gradual extinction of that bureau, and the hastening of the time when the government will not deal separately with the Indians any more than with any other class of citizens. It does not seem to me that that would be the effect. No matter if we did cut the bureau loose, we could still prevent any dangerous increase in its influence and importance, which are bound to diminish as step after step is taken for putting the Indians on their own feet.

The trouble with the existing system is that the Secretary of the Interior has a great deal more work and responsibility than he can attend to properly. It would be a godsend to the public service if he were relieved of not only the Indian office, but a number of other bureaus. Just look at the list. The census office is under him; and when we come to have a permanent census corps, that will be a very much more constant strain than now. The education office is under him. The Pension Bureau is under him, with an expenditure of one hundred and forty million dollars a year. The general land office, with its immense ramifications through all the Western States, is under him. The Patent Office, which is an enormous institution by itself, issuing several hundred patents every week, is under him. The Bureau of Railroads, which has jurisdiction of all the land-grant railways, is under him. The Geological Survey, which looks after the mineral interests in

the public domain, is under him. The Bureau of Ethnology, the Smithsonian Institution, and the National Museum—though in a sense these have a partly independent foundation—require the Secretary's formal supervision. I do not think I have named them all; but, sweeping over this list that at once occurs to my mind, you can see at a glance what a relief it would be if a part of his responsibility could be taken from the Secretary of the Interior.

Another reform which would be welcome is the abolition of what started in a very insignificant way, but has grown to large proportions—the Indian division of the Secretary of the Interior's office. I hope that no one will accuse me of casting any reflection upon the persons who have administered that division in the past, or who are administering it now. I am striking simply at the system. Years ago, in view of the responsibility of the Department of the Interior for the Indian administration, the Secretary found it necessary to have a clerk at his elbow who could arrange his papers for him and supply him with details of matters treated in the correspondence of the Indian office. This clerk found his duties growing so large that he had to have an assistant; and the assistant had in time to have an amanuensis; and so the thing went on, until there are now perhaps a dozen or fifteen persons in that division. From having been simply an office of suggestion, the division has gradually assumed power to veto, or hang up, or pigeon-hole anything that comes over from the Indian office. To give an illustration: Last spring a simple question came up, which any person acquainted with business methods could have settled in short order, surveying the whole field and satisfying himself sufficiently. It was laid before the Secretary of the Interior by the Indian Bureau, which had passed on it thoroughly. Every agent and inspector concerned had given his views upon it, and all to the same purpose. A majority of the Board of Indian Commissioners were thoroughly acquainted with it, and a unit in favor of the plan suggested. Outside experts, wholly without personal interest one way or the other, had considered it and given one verdict. It need not have taken four hours to settle that question. As a matter of fact, it took four months!

It seems to me that the Indian office, if it is going to stay under the Secretary of the Interior, could just as well perform all the functions now performed by this division. I do not think there is a person of experience who will not bear me out in saying that that division has been a stumbling-block in the way of wise and successful administration, instead of being a real help. The argument has been urged that in taking any steps to do away with that division we should run counter to the interests of the people who compose it, and who would naturally object to being turned out into the cold. But that is a mistake. There is no necessity for turning anyone out. Every person in the division is under the Civil Service rules, and would simply be absorbed into some other equally good position in the public service if his present form of employment were suspended.

The second subject on which I have been asked to speak is my regular yearly visit to the Indian country.

The first point I made this year was Fort Sill, where the Chiricahua Apaches, who became notorious under the leadership of Geronimo during the troubles in Arizona several years ago, are now confined as prisoners of war. These people had already been in Alabama and Florida, and an effort was made by the Indian Rights Association to have them settled in some part of the North Carolina mountains, where they could be taught agriculture. But the Governor of North Carolina objected. He argued that his State was a model commonwealth, and that to settle these "red-handed assassins" there would deal a terrible blow to its peace and good order. They were sent to Fort Sill, therefore, and put under Captain Hugh L. Scott, of the army. Captain Scott is a thorough-going business man as well as an officer; he is also a hearty friend of the Indian. The work which was begun with the Chiricahuas in the South by Lieutenant Wotherspoon has been carried forward by Captain Scott, who has been making a practical agriculturist of himself. He subscribes for the leading agricultural newspapers, and discusses cattle and swine, and poultry and crops, with as much interest now as he discussed tactics five or six years ago. He has had the Indians build houses for themselves, they cutting the wood and drawing it to the spots where the houses were to be erected. He counseled with them as to the choice of sites, and divided them into villages. The sites were all selected from a sanitary point of view as well as for the landscape, and he has yielded, as far as possible, to the prepossessions of the Indians, so that they would have as little ground for discontent as possible. Each colony or village is formed of Indians related to each other. The patriarchal idea is carried out. The father has his family all around him, and there they live in a harmony which would reflect credit on many white settlements. In matters of discipline Captain Scott is judge, jury, and executioner. Some time ago, for instance, he learned that a young Indian had separated from his wife and contracted another marriage. Captain Scott sent for him, inquired into the circumstances of the case, and then told him that he had no right to contract his second marriage. The Indian thought he had, because his wife made herself so disagreeable. Said Captain Scott: "You will have to do as white men do. You are breaking the laws of Oklahoma Territory, which forbid you to have more than one wife at a time. I do not intend to make you live with your wife if she is as bad as you say, but I do intend that you shall not live with any other."

"What will happen," asked the Indian, "if I do not obey?"

"You will be locked up in the guardhouse."

"What shall I have to eat?"

"The barest diet that the government allows."

The Indian concluded to leave the wife he had just married, and do what the captain said. We met him one day as we were going through the hayfield, where he was at work. From the look he

shot at Captain Scott, he evidently had not forgiven him for interfering in his domestic arrangements; but he was conducting himself in accordance with the law of the land, which was more important.

Captain Scott has gone into his work with the Chiricahuas on a thorough business basis. He found that Fort Sill required so much hay every year, and that the government had been in the habit of contracting with white farmers for it, paying a good price and sending a great distance. He set his Indians to work cutting native hay and curing it. Then he quietly put in a bid, in their behalf, to supply the Fort. It was the lowest bid, and the Indians got the contract, worth \$5,000. Then it was necessary for the Fort to have a grain supply. Captain Scott had acquired a high opinion of Kaffir corn, which grows well in a dry country where the common corn will not grow. It is dwarf corn, and furnishes food for man and beast. The Indians were able to raise it, and were using it for themselves and families. Captain Scott found there was a surplus, and put in a bid in behalf of the Indians to sell this surplus to the Fort. I have not heard yet whether he was the lowest bidder; but if he was, and the Indians got the contract, they will make \$2,000 off that.

When it became necessary to have wells for the Chiricahuas, they bought, at Captain Scott's suggestion, a well-boring machine, and learned to use it. Presently they were boring wells not only for themselves, but for their neighbors the Kiowas and Comanches, and even for the white settlers outside. They are paid for all this, and the captain is teaching them to save their money and deposit it with the local post trader. They have passbooks, which show their deposits, and I am under the impression that they are allowed a little interest by way of encouragement.

These are a few of the ways in which a sensible, hard-headed business man, trained in the methods of the army, is able to handle Indians. You will probably ask: When these Indians cease to be prisoners of war, why should not Captain Scott be their agent? I assure you he will not. He could not have done one half what he has done had he been an agent under the Interior Department. He is under the War Department, and that Department is willing to let him alone and allow him to do his duty without political or other interference.

Geronimo, the big medicine man who was the chief agitator in the time of the last Apache trouble, now does his honest eight hours a day of farm work, and tries to act as if he rather liked it. Moreover, he is wearing the uniform of a United States scout, and taking his place regularly in the inspections and other exercises. Captain Scott has never done anything to degrade Geronimo in the eyes of his former followers, but has simply set him down where he belonged, in the ranks. Geronimo does not wear a chevron on his arm. The men who do have shown special aptitude for their work and a disposition to help their people.

Captain Scott, by the way, had to get special permission to or-

ganize this scout corps. They make a curious-looking body, few, perhaps none, of them being perfect physically.

From Fort Sill I went to Santa Fé, the headquarters of the agency for the Jicarilla Apaches and Pueblo Indians. The new agent is an army officer, Captain Nordstrom. He has very decided ideas on the subject of handling these Indians. He found agency affairs in a rather lax condition, owing to the policy of indifference pursued by some of his predecessors. He addressed himself promptly to the task of straightening them out. Having got into the habit of having their own way, some of the Indians were inclined to be troublesome, notably the Zuñis, of whom there are about fifteen hundred. They had been specially petted by a number of scientists, and when an attempt was made to change any of their customs they complained that their religious freedom was interfered with. They thought they should have as much freedom as the Catholics, or Baptists, or Presbyterians, or any other denomination. Major Nordstrom said: "That is all right. I have no intention of interfering with your religion, but when it comes to committing crime in the name of religion I have certain prejudices in favor of other methods of worship." A test case soon offered itself. Among the Zuñis, if almost anything goes wrong, it is assumed that some one has bewitched the sufferer, and the rule has been to hang the witch until he confesses. In a recent instance mortal injuries were inflicted by this torture. In another, which came directly under the new agent's notice, the victim was saved only by the timely interference of a white teacher. Major Nordstrom investigated this last case, and said, "We must arrest the persons guilty of this outrage, and punish them under the laws of New Mexico." He found that former agents had tried to have arrests made by a small posse; but forty or fifty men could do little against fifteen hundred Indians. So he obtained permission from Washington to bring four troops of cavalry from the nearest garrisons, on the principle that what was worth doing at all was worth doing well. The Indians were indisposed to surrender the ring-leaders at first, but when they were brought face to face with four troops of cavalry they concluded to let Major Nordstrom have his way. And he did.

Miss Mary E. Dissette is Major Nordstrom's "right-hand man." He consults her on every subject connected with these Indians. She has been for several years working among these people, and is able to give him a great deal of valuable information and many suggestions, of which he wisely avails himself. The co-operation of two such public servants is bound to bring good results.

From Santa Fé I went to Fort Defiance. The only subject in connection with the Navajos which is necessary to rehearse here is the Coconino County outrage, concerning which the Indian Rights Association issued a special report last spring, causing wide discussion in the press. The Government had allowed a number of Indians to occupy certain public lands for pasturing their sheep while irrigation work was in progress on the north part of their

reservation. But the white settlers, who had been surreptitiously using this same land for their own pasture, did not like the arrangement. They could bring no complaint against the Indians, who were peaceable and well disposed. So a tax was laid on the Indian sheep by the white people, so extortionate that it was known in advance that no Indian could pay it. Twenty men, armed to the teeth, went with the sheriff and demanded the tax, cash down. The Indians pleaded to be allowed to see a lawyer, or even to consult their agent. But the sheriff's posse said: "No. Pay at once, or get out." So they were driven, in the midst of winter, from the land which the government had authorized them to use, and great suffering was the result, especially for the women and children. They had to cross a river, in which many of the sheep were drowned, or caught their death through being chilled by immersion in the cold water.

The government, after a long time, was induced to take some steps with reference to this outrage. An official report had been made soon after the occurrence, but it had got pigeonholed. When the Department of Justice finally took it up, and by order of the Attorney General the local district attorney was preparing to proceed against the white marauders, and to try to recover some compensation for the Indians who had suffered, the district attorney's term expired, and he had to make way for a successor of opposite politics. The new district attorney was of course unfamiliar with the case, and will have to make a study of it from the bottom up.

As I was in the neighborhood I crossed to the other end of the reservation and passed into the Moqui country, visiting the mesa nearest to civilization and witnessing the snake dance at Walpi. While there I had the unique experience, after studying the Indians for so many years, of being studied as a curiosity myself. Our party occupied the front part of a snake-priest's house in the pueblo, the family of owners having removed themselves and their belongings into the rear part. Their part, which was on a higher level than ours, could be reached most easily by walking through our room. The family and their friends came and went through our room by way of a ladder leading up to a large square hole, opening into their quarters. Through this hole we could see the Indians peering down on us at all times, like spectators in an opera box. If their friends came in to call, the hosts apparently showed us off as a special attraction. Whether we were eating and drinking, or performing our toilet, it made no difference to them. One old man, the grandfather of the family, was especially interested, and would lie for hours at the open hole, resting on one elbow and keeping his eyes glued on us.

The mother and daughters of the family did our cooking, set our table, and washed our dishes; and in watching them I was impressed with the good work which the Indian schools are doing. It is a common thing to say that when Indian children leave the schools and go back to their people, they become little barbarians again. That is a very narrow view to take. They do not become

barbarians again, in the sense in which they were barbarians before. The seed has been planted, and it is bound to sprout. These children will be the fathers and the mothers of the next generation, and their children will start life on a different basis from what they did. The children of the family with whom we lodged had been taught at the little school at the foot of the mesa, and the mother had been taught by the daughters what they had learned at the school. The beds were decently made and the room was kept cleanly, the cooking was fairly good as far as it went, and the dishes were cleansed and set on the table quite in the white people's fashion. I am convinced that the schools are doing good work of a practical kind. Even if they did no more than to rid the children of the present generation of their ancestral prejudices against white civilization, and thus prepare the ground for the work to be done with their children in turn, they would be worth all the time, and money, and effort spent upon them.

Rev. Dr. HAMLIN.—Before Mr. Leupp retires, I should like to ask him what would be the destination of the Indian Bureau if taken away from the Interior Department?

Mr. LEUPP.—I should put it on the same footing as the Civil Service Commission, or the Fish Commission, or the Department of Labor, or any of the other independent bureaus, which do their work and do it quite as effectively for not having a Cabinet officer to supervise them. However, the idea of separation is only one alternative. What I am contending for is the general proposition that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs should either be given such independent authority as is consistent with the dignity of his office, or else be relegated to the mere clerical rank to which his present narrow authority would be appropriate.

Major A. E. Woodson, U. S. A., Acting Indian Agent at Darlington, Oklahoma, was introduced.

THE INDIANS OF OKLAHOMA.

BY MAJOR A. E. WOODSON.

Perhaps I had better premise my remarks with the statement that my Army service of thirty-five years has been among the reservation Indians of the West, during which time I have had unlimited opportunities to study their habits and character; to observe the condition of their environments, and to formulate ideas in regard to their civilization and progress.

For many generations the Cheyenne and Arapahoes occupied that vast region of the Western plains: bounded on the north by the Platte River in Nebraska; on the west by the Rocky Mountains;

on the south by the Cimarron River in the Indian Territory to its junction with the Arkansas River; and thence north on the east to the junction of the North and South Plattes. Over this region they held undisputed possession until 1867, when by the terms of the treaty made near Fort Larned, Kansas, they agreed to accept as a reservation about four million acres of land, within the limits of the Indian Territory, in what has been commonly known as the "Cherokee Strip," but which a few years later they exchanged for a reservation of about the same area lying south of the Cimarron River, which was set apart for them by an Executive order.

In 1891, by an agreement made with the Commissioners appointed for that purpose, they accepted allotments of land in severalty, and disposed of the remainder of their reservation to the government for about forty cents per acre, which amounted, in the aggregate, to one million five hundred thousand dollars. Of this amount, five hundred thousand dollars was paid out to them in cash, while the remainder is held in trust in the United States Treasury, drawing interest at the rate of 5 per cent.

On the 22d day of April, 1891, their reservation was thrown open to white settlement; and on that date, at noon, forty thousand people rushed into it, eagerly intent on securing homesteads for themselves, in some instances unmindful of the rights of the Indians, who had practically been coerced into the relinquishment of all their lands, except one hundred and sixty acres for each individual. Imagine, if you can, the feelings of these Indians, who had been accustomed to believe that all this land was theirs, to have and to hold, for all future time. It was enough to fill them with terror, and to make them avoid contact with the white man. The feeling on the part of the white settlers at that time was that the Indian had been given a privilege that they were not entitled to, and that in consequence they had got all the best of the land, and they had to take what was left. We have to combat this inimical feeling on the part of the white people of Oklahoma, but by the use of tact we have managed to conduct the affairs of the agency without friction, and in a great measure to break down this prejudice. The people are beginning to learn that the Indians have rights which they must respect. The Indians have lost, in a great measure, the fear of the white people, and to-day they are living peaceably side by side with their white neighbors, occupying adjoining farms and engaged in their cultivation, and coming into daily contact with them, while the object lessons taught by the white people have been of the greatest benefit to them.

I was detailed by the President in July, 1893, to act as agent for these Indians. Prior to that date I had been for eight years stationed at Fort Reno, Oklahoma, a military post located within their reservation, during which time I was a quiet observer of their habits, customs, and disposition. They had up to this date shown no inclination to locate in permanent homes, or to establish residence on their allotments, but still kept up their nomadic habits, living here and there wherever their inclination led them. They

occupied large camps and villages, where idleness, vice, and superstition prevailed; where there was no identity of individual interest, and where property of all kinds was held in common. The influence of old chiefs and tribal government militated against any progressive measures; no innovations tending to an improved condition could be introduced with any prospect of success, and the influence of their agent was in consequence nullified by the conditions that prevailed. I at once set about the inauguration of a system tending to the gradual elevation of these people from their barbarous condition.

Appropriations by Congress had been made since 1867, from which these Indians had been regularly fed with rations, while their treaty provided that they should be furnished with clothing to the amount of twelve thousand dollars, and farming implements to the value of twenty thousand, which had been issued annually for twenty-five years. Evidently they had been lost, destroyed, stolen, or sold to the white people for what they would bring. In some of my tours around the reservation I found plows hanging up in trees, and other articles secluded in places where they felt they were secure from the white man's intrusion.

To this date they had been living in the same way in which they had always lived, maintaining their tribal relations and the old-time customs that had existed from time immemorial. Clearly in my mind that condition ought not to continue, and after careful consideration I submitted plans to the department for its approval, and suggested that these Indians be placed on their allotments, and compelled to live there. They were at the time living in large camps and villages. Allotments of land in severalty had brought about no change for the better in their condition. The chiefs held undisputed sway; the people recognized their authority, and could not be induced to exercise independent thought or action. I realized that if the chiefs were allowed to have their own way, that no appreciable progress could be made in the development of these people; so it was directed that within a limited time all of these large camps should be broken up, and that the Indians should locate on their allotments. They came to me and wanted to council, and said they did not know where their allotments were; and that if they were separated, they would become a prey for the white people, who would overrun their land, and take away their stock. This was but a natural feeling, and caused a modification of the order to be made, by which four families might live together, whose allotments were contiguous, in order that they might be helpful to each other in resisting the encroachment of the white men, and aid each other in the conduct of their farming operations. Some were willing and some were coerced into making settlement upon their allotments. They would say, "We are Indians; we cannot become like white people in a day." I showed them that as little children learned to creep, to stand, to walk, to run, that they might gradually learn to adopt the white man's way.

Success has finally crowned our efforts to segregate these people,

and to-day we have three fourths of the thirty-one hundred Indians of that agency living in permanent homes upon their allotments. I submit whether this is not evidence of what may be accomplished along the same lines within the next ten or twelve years. I believe the right way to begin the civilization of the Indian, is to allot them lands in severalty as soon as possible, wherever they own agricultural lands from which they can derive their own support. If you wait until the reservation Indian is ready for allotment, that time will not come in the next one hundred years.

Experience teaches that the Indian is much like a child; he needs to be controlled by superior will power, and instead of allowing him to elect what he should do, he must be dictated to and required to conform to the methods instituted for his welfare and progress.

For twenty-nine years these Indians have been fed and clothed by a generous government. Their treaty will expire at the end of the present fiscal year, and yet I cannot state that they will be able to take care of themselves and live without further assistance from the government. Their present condition, brought about by the adoption of progressive measures, leads to the conclusion that they will in time make good citizens.

Under the care of good agents, and instruction of efficient employees, they will soon become self-supporting.

When I took charge of them they were what is commonly termed "blanket Indians," and depended entirely upon the government for support. They spent their time chiefly in going and returning from the agency to draw rations. Having no permanent homes they were continually on the move. To this habit may be traced their great falling off in numbers; once powerful tribes, they have been decimated by disease and death.

Since they have been localized in permanent homes they have increased in numbers; they no longer travel long distances for their rations, but are supplied in the farming districts in which their allotments are located. They go and come when necessary, but with the knowledge of the farmers of the districts, who exercise surveillance over them. It is their duty to report all violations of local laws, all depredations of whites, and all cases of trespass; to secure necessary evidence to convict timber thieves and whiskey peddlers; to adjust all matters of dispute between whites and Indians; to report all violations of the marriage law; to report all able-bodied Indians who refuse or neglect to labor for their own support, as well as those who obstinately refuse to live upon their allotments, or who counsel opposition to the government and the methods employed for their civilization. All such are deprived of rations and gratuitous issues until they change their habits for the better. District farmers make monthly reports of the progress of the Indians of their district; they report all births, deaths, marriages, and divorces; they are required to keep a farm book, which constitutes a permanent record of the district. This record serves to exhibit the progress made by each family from year to year. It shows the improvements made upon each allotment, the amount

contributed by the government, and what was supplied by the proceeds of their own labor; how much land has been under cultivation in each year, and what crops were gathered from the same; the number of domestic animals owned by each family, as well as a list of all personal property.

All able-bodied Indians are required to work either for themselves or for others. During this season large numbers of these Indians have been employed by white people to pick cotton; others have been employed in cutting and hauling wood required for the agency and schools. The majority of them have individual farms, which during the past season have produced fairly good crops of corn, Kaffir corn, sorghum and cotton.

I quote from the local papers the following:—

STANDING BIRD, a Cheyenne, who was a blanket Indian five years ago, has this year raised and dug thirty bushels of Irish potatoes, has good fields of corn and Kaffir corn, and has four acres of the finest cotton in Custer County.

THE Indian is surely developing into a farmer. Saturday morning thirty-three Indians from Seger Colony came into town in one string, loaded with wheat, cotton, and wool of their own raising, which they sold in El Reno. The head of the procession reached the mills before the rear end had crossed Russell Street. The outfit was under the charge of J. H. Seger, the founder of the colony. In the evening the caravan started on their homeward journey laden with lumber and provisions. By the way, Mr. Seger is one of the few men that can get the Indian to do the work of a white man.

INDIANS AS COTTON PICKERS.—Last week Mr. Seger thought of a useful way to supply the Indians with spending money to attend the reunion at Cloud Chief. He started a squad of over a hundred in a cotton patch, paying them the regular price for picking. The Indians took to the work so well that each had soon earned a neat little sum to blow in. They also demonstrated considerable speed, as well as clean and careful picking. Ed. Harra and Paul Goose each picked over eighty pounds of seed cotton in the first three hours. The balance varied in quantity, but as a whole they picked about as much as the same number of white folks would have done with no more experience. Now Indian cotton pickers are in demand. Mr. Seger has no trouble in getting employment for every idle Indian, and the Indians as a rule take to the work, and like the idea of earning a little cash. F. B. Duke now has a squad in his patch picking cotton.

They exhibit as much laudable pride in their individual possessions as their more fortunate white neighbors. With due allowance for their ignorance and inability to comprehend the force and effect of local laws, they are indeed a most law-abiding people. Fewer crimes are committed by them than by the white settlers of the Territory, and to their credit, be it said, they are more mindful of their pecuniary obligations than their more enlightened white brothers.

They show a desire to adopt civilized habits. The men, as a rule, wear citizens clothing, which they preserve with care, always keeping one good suit for special occasions; the women cling to the shawl and "squaw dress" as more comfortable for wear while pursuing their daily avocations. They are now relieved of much drudgery and toil once imposed upon them by the male members of the tribe, the burden of the heaviest work being borne, as it should be, by the stronger sex.

Under the progressive measures that have been enforced at this agency many of the old tribal customs have been abrogated, and now it is rarely that forbidden practices are indulged in. They are subservient to the rules and regulations of the Department and the instructions of their agent, and are beginning to recognize the advantages of education for their children. The opposition once made to placing their children in school is fast disappearing.

A rapid advancement has been made among the progressive Indians of this agency, and marked improvement is apparent over their condition of a few years ago. A laudable desire to live in houses, and to adopt the habits of the white man, is becoming more evident. Their desire to live in houses has become so general that proportionately a very limited number could be accommodated during the past year. Seventy-four houses were erected on allotments during the past year at a total cost of \$6,696 to the government, to which the sum of \$4,325 was contributed by the Indians out of their own private funds. They are generally two and three room houses, plastered or ceiled, containing three hundred and eighty-four square feet of floor space. Some larger houses have been erected by the more progressive ones. All of these houses are now occupied, and a number of them are supplied with all necessary household furniture, and are as comfortable in every way as the most of those occupied by white people.

Through my instrumentality a law was passed at the last session of the Territorial Legislature prohibiting further plural marriages or marriage according to Indian custom, and requiring all allotted Indians to take out licenses, and marry in the regular way, according to law regulating marriages between whites. At the next session I shall recommend the passage of a law to suppress the practice of "medicine men" among the Indians, who kill far more than they cure. I am satisfied that one third of the deaths among these Indians can be traced directly to the malpractice of such men; and, besides, they serve to hinder the Indians from resorting to the use of proper remedies prescribed by white physicians.

In addition to the amount annually provided for by treaty, \$90,000 was appropriated by Congress for the year ending June 30, 1898, for the civilization and support of these Indians. From this fund all their necessary wants are supplied. It is expended under the direction of the Honorable Secretary of the Interior for the purchase of wagons, farming implements, improvements on allotments, and payment of salaries to necessary employees. It remains to be seen what provision Congress will make for them for the next fiscal year. They cannot as yet be considered self-supporting, and should still receive aid from the government in a limited way. By making gratuitous issues a reward for labor performed, they can be induced to work for their own support. Old people who cannot work must be provided for, but all others should be required to labor for their own subsistence.

Educated Indians are employed in all positions where found competent, and, as a result, many of them are employed at the

agency and in the several schools. Ample facilities are being provided for the education of all children of school age, whose attendance is made compulsory. It is only by the education of the rising generation that the best results can be obtained for the Indian race. All other measures adopted for their civilization are simply auxiliaries in a subordinate degree. There is a great need among them for additional farmers and field matrons; at present there are only three of the latter provided for the thirty-one hundred allotted Indians of this agency. Field matrons are needed to instruct women in household duties, in cooking, in the preparation of food, in cutting and fitting of clothing, in cleanliness of person and premises, in caring for the sick, and in hygienic methods.

When it is remembered that the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians were wild, savage Indians, rendering life and property of the early settlers of western Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado at all times unsafe, their present peaceable, quiet disposition and compliance with the local laws enacted for the government of civilized people, incites surprise and wonder. A little more than a decade ago they were on the war path; only six years ago they were allotted lands in severalty. Does not the progress made by them in this short period indicate promise of still greater advancement in the near future? Does this not incite the hope for the redemption of this one time barbarous people from their savage life, and their elevation to a higher plane of civilization, and their ultimate adoption as good citizens, contributing their share to the revenues of the State, and aiding in the making of laws to which they will yield ready obedience? Let us trust that this is not a vain hope. Individually, I believe it to be well within the range of possibility.

Question (CHAIR).—Are those rations issued under treaty?

Major WOODSON.—No; and the practice of making indiscriminate issue of rations is very detrimental. They have been so long accustomed to receiving rations that they think they are entitled to them, and no amount of argument or proof would convince them that they are not entitled to rations. I determined to change the method of issuing rations. For many years the beef had been issued on the hoof. As the cattle came out of the corral the Indians would chase them over the prairie, and sometimes after a long run they would shoot them down; and while they were bleeding and still alive they would cut out their tongues. The family would then gather round and skin and cut up the creature while it was yet warm, eating choice pieces of the meat reeking with blood. This custom has been witnessed by a great many people, some of whom are here present. Such a barbarous custom should have been done away with long ago. I suggested the policy of issuing the beef from the block. It was objected to on account of expense; but I showed that the hides would pay all the expense of butchering the cattle, and I was authorized to make the change. I have now a butcher's shop in every farming district, and the meat is properly dressed and hung up to cool before it is issued, while each individual

gets the proper share. At first I was met by the objections that they would not take it in that way, but I said, "I don't care whether you take it or not; if you don't take it, I'll not kill it." Prior to issuing I required the farmer to furnish me with a list of the names of those Indians who would willingly accept their beef in this way, and saw that there was only a sufficient number of animals killed to supply them. There are now comparatively few left who refuse to take the beef in this way. The objections came from the so-called chiefs, but I do not recognize any such persons as chiefs among allotted Indians. Though they would not take their beef that way, they did not hesitate to share what was issued to others,—feeding upon their relatives, though refusing it for themselves.

Hon. H. L. DAWES.—How do the Oklahoma authorities treat these allottees?

Major WOODSON.—My relations with the civil authorities have been exceedingly pleasant. We have been fortunate in having on the bench men who had the interest of the Indian at heart, and in every instance they have protected the Indians in their rights. We have Oklahoma juries that sometimes fail to convict their neighbors, but in the matter of the protection of the Indians the courts have been very favorable. In the matter of the whiskey peddlers, they have sent a number to the penitentiary. Notwithstanding the unlimited opportunities that these Indians have for liquor all over the country, there is scarcely ever a case of drunkenness among them. Last week by permission of the department I selected one hundred Indians to visit Topeka, Kansas, and take part in the fall festival at that place. They were taken from the different districts as a reward for good behavior, for it was thought that it would be an education to them. They all went, with their women and children. The railroad authorities generously furnished cars to Topeka. The Indians took part in the festival, and entered into everything with interest and zeal, and there was not a single case of drunkenness among those hundred Indians.

Mr. DAWES.—What was the rumor about these Indians having their land overtaxed?

Major WOODSON.—The Indians of this reservation generally have never paid taxes. They have been assessed in former years, but the government enjoined the civil authorities from collecting the tax, because they were improperly assessed, and none have ever been collected up to date. The Indians hold that when the Commission bought the land they said there would be no taxes for twenty-five years. I have my doubts whether they would have accepted allotment had they known they were to be taxed.

Miss Anna B. Scoville was invited to speak.

Miss SCOVILLE.—Since my vacation in the homes of my students, the psychology of our work has appealed to me much more than formerly. From the free talk with my students about their homes

and past life, I have become strongly convinced on two points which, if you will allow me, I will tell you about.

In the first place I feel that, with the arrogance of civilization, we have rejected too much the Indian's life, and that his past is the only foundation on which his future can stand: that is, that the child's first dozen years must always be a strong factor in his life, and all work that ignores them is superficial.

For instance, one of my students is a boy born a wild Indian, whose early memories are of the war path and dance. As long as I took it for granted that his past was the same as ours in custom and belief, he kept it carefully covered; now he comes frankly with the superstitious and fears he was born and bred in and asks me to explain them. My eyes are open, and I see that when a boy tells me he does not believe in ghosts and magic, he is fooling me. No man brought up to those great mysterious dances, those juggler's miracles, so debasing and yet so marvelous, can be free of them in three or four years. This boy said of the dances: "Some days I don't believe them at all, and then I turn right over again." It is true, for, while his reason rejects them, yet they are with him, just as our childish days are always with us. In the buffalo dance he has seen the medicine man dress in a buffalo skin and dance; and he has seen a man shoot him twice through with arrows, so that the blood ran out, and he fell down dying; but when the sacred pipe bearers blew smoke upon him he rose up cured, and at the end of the dance showed the fresh-healed scars to the worshipers. "And, Miss Scoville, I saw that with my own eyes," he finished. Of course I frankly told him that I could not believe, but that I saw he could not help believing, that all nations had had the craft of magic; and reminded him that Salem witchcraft showed what the whites had believed two hundred years ago, and that he could see that superstitious fear must be controlled because it made us low and cruel.

Of a college-bred man who was educated a pagan, I asked the question, "How does the religion of your fathers affect you now!" With some embarrassment he replied, "About as much as Jonah." And that was true: it influences, but does not govern him.

From watching and working with many of these young people, I am assured that neither church nor school can or should try to make the Indian a white man, but that their work is to set him free to grow; that we must redeem the best of his own life; that any help we give him must be deeply planted and slow of growth, if we would not work for artificiality and hypocrisy; and that whenever we disregard this primal element of thought in the children we teach, our education, our civilization, and our Christianity will be only a surface shell, which, like thin ice, may look well, but is sure to break through to the deep water of pagan savagery.

My second thought depends on this first, and is, that to truly teach him we must go half way. Unless we are wise enough and broad enough to give respectful consideration to what he believes,

we need not expect him to bring it out before us. And as long as he does not trust us enough to speak frankly, we are building without foundation. How shall we establish this point of contact unless we are willing to live among them on the same plan by which college settlements are established in our cities? Take, for example, the Winnebagoes: Dr. Hailmann says he cannot send their own children back there because the old life is so strong that they cannot resist, and Dr. Hailmann knows what he is talking about.

A young Winnebago who carries the burden of his tribe on his heart, says: "They have tried to civilize my people, but they have never converted them; and until there is a living church there I cannot trust my sisters at home," and sends them away from him. And yet, I can count a successful teacher, a successful artist, and four or five bright young people among the educated Winnebagoes. Is there no one who will go there and live, not for church, or school, or government, but for all three, and bring home these young people, and form not a college settlement but a Christian settlement, that shall be a nucleus for a purer, higher life for old and young?

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—I neglected to state that of the \$2,631,771.35 appropriated by the government for Indian schools for the current year, not one dollar comes from any Indian funds or from the interest of any funds. It is a free gift from the government; that is from us, the people of the United States.

Mr. SMILEY.—Many of the things which Mr. Leupp has said I heartily approve of, but I am desperately afraid that in having a separate Indian Bureau we should get something that would be permanent. I want to get rid of the Indian Bureau as soon as possible, and let the Indians become citizens, and trust them to work out their own destiny. Then if we should get a bad man in a permanent office, where are we? If we get a man who is going to put his henchmen in and make political appointments entirely, where are we? It would be worse than Tammany. But I think the department, or sub-bureau, in the office of the Secretary of the Interior ought to be abolished. I do not see any reason why the Secretary of the Interior cannot receive the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and treat it as he does the report of the Commissioner of Pensions,—accept his conclusions and indorse them the same as he does the reports of other commissioners. It would save him a great deal of trouble, and several successive secretaries have told me that the Indian department gives them more trouble than any other, because the problem varies from day to day. The Secretary of the Interior can make this change if he wishes to. Oh, if we could only persuade him! He has fifteen or twenty men in that subdivision, and they will fight hard against it; but I think the change should be made, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs' report should be final.

Mr. WELSH.—I want to say a word about the work being done in many instances by lonely missionaries in the field, and the neces-

sity of backing them up in their efforts. I have been tremendously impressed with the valuable and interesting work accomplished by some of those women to whom reference has been made,—women like Mrs. Eldridge and Miss Disette. I have been in correspondence with the latter, and have been struck by the intelligence and admirable good sense of her letters. There she was, living among those Zuñis, and carrying on her work amidst many discouragements, but rendering great aid to those connected with the work among those Indians. I happen to know that she was connected with an awful problem in preventing those Indians from dragging back young girls whom she was trying to rescue. It was with extreme difficulty that she did it. If a few friends here at home would rally round such people and give them a little moral sympathy, and would bring their influence to bear at Washington to remove some of their difficulties, and would in addition give these missionaries money for their work, I think admirable things might be accomplished. I want to bear my testimony to the splendid heroism they are showing, and to the practical qualities they are bringing to their work. If we at home would put ourselves into this relation with them and exercise our imagination a little, we should be amply repaid for any efforts we might make in their behalf. This is a practical thought, and I believe it can be worked out with beneficent results.

MISS ANNA L. DAWES.—That we may be “doers of the word, and not hearers only,” I suggest that the Bishop or other persons give us the names of missionaries for whom we might do this friendly service.

Rev. A. E. Tead, of Boston, was asked for a few words.

MR. TEAD.—We want to remember that it means a change of an ideal in changing these people. We must remember how long it took to change our own individual ideal, our life thought. How much longer must it take one who has come down through all those years of paganism! How much longer to change a whole race! It is easy in a few moments to take a handful of clay and mould it over. It takes longer to whittle out a piece of pine to the shape in your mind; still longer to hammer out the granite; still longer, weeks of hard labor, to polish the diamond. How much time must it take to change the whole conception of life of the human soul,—a soul that has come down with all the associations that have not been helpful. Therefore let us remember this. Then, too, we must remember the sentiment of this country,—how much there is against this work. The consciousness of human brotherhood is a grace that has taken a long time to find its way into the hearts and practice of the Christian world. As I think of the words of Peter, where he gives us the wonderful cluster of graces, of faith and strength, and patience and godliness, and the crowning one of brotherly kindness, I remember that there have been eras in the Church of faith, and strength, and patience. But

how long it has taken the world, and the Church, even, to get up to that high grace of brotherhood! That is what we have to contend with in this work and in every kind of work that means the lifting up of our brother man.

I am glad to be here with the people who have done so much for the elevation of the Indian,—my brother, our brother. I think of the vision of Ezekiel, where the river flowed out of the mountain, and everything lived that was touched by its stream. And I think of the stream, the great river of influence, that has gone out from this cluster of hills over our land, and how much good that river of influence has accomplished in this world.

PRESIDENT MESERVE.—Since 1889 I have been pretty familiar with the entire Cheyenne and Arrapahoe Reservation, and I can bear testimony from a recent visit to the practical measures that have been inaugurated and carried out.

MR. WISTAR.—I realize from visiting missionaries that they may be helped greatly by their friends at home. If a letter from this Conference could be sent to the missionaries in the field, it might mean a great deal to them in giving them strength of heart.

MR. SMILEY.—General Whittlesey will send the report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to any one who will give residence and name. That covers the proceedings of the Washington meeting as well as of this one.

DR. RYDER.—I was interested in what was said by Mr. Welsh. I have in mind Miss Dora B. Dodge, in Blue Cloud's village on Grand River. She has built up a wonderful work absolutely alone,—not a missionary with her. She is almost broken down in health. The pressure of paganism upon a woman alone in a field like that is almost unendurable. And I want to say to you, if you write to people like that do not expect any letters in return. It is too much to ask of them in their busy life. Write to them by all means, but do not ask them to write to you. And when you write never suggest problems or difficulties. Always present the hopeful side. Lift them up with the buoyancy of your own hope, and your belief that Jesus Christ came to save the red man just as truly as the white man. Let them feel that you are thinking of them and praying for them, and that you believe these red men are going to be lifted up into divine citizenship and fellowship with the sons of God.

MISS IVES.—Connecticut supports one woman at Fort Hall. She is doing beautiful work, and the only religious training the Indians receive there comes from her. She has been there ten years, and her work is beginning to show good results. She has in her home seven little Indian girls who go to the day school. She goes about among the sick and poor Indians, and shows a truly sisterly spirit. Her home is a center of light among the Bannocks and Shoshones. We have also a farmer teaching practical farming there.

DR. J. G. MERRILL, Portland, Me.—I am glad to be here, and I am happy to think that if it had not been for Maine there would

not have been such a thing as this Conference, for Mr. Smiley was born there. For a good many years I have looked on this Conference as the embodiment of the conscience of the Christian and patriotic people of the United States on the Indian question. This is a materialistic age, and it is difficult to get men and women to use their consciences, as well as to make money, and get place and power; and if there is such a place as Mohonk, where the conscience can be cultivated, we ought to be glad. This Conference stands for emotion and for intelligence, and I am delighted to find all my hopes realized as I come here for the first time.

Dr. SHELTON.—A few years ago the question of allotment came up, and we were told that it was impracticable; that we never could get a system of allotments. This morning we are told that nearly sixty thousand have been made, and it hardly causes a ripple. Last year there was discussion as to whether it would be possible to get legislation that would enable us to suppress the liquor traffic among Indians. We were told that it would be unconstitutional, and that the courts would throw it out. To-day we are told that an act has been passed, and convictions made under it. We scarcely realize the long step that has been taken. But a short time ago I was in Oklahoma, and I went into that section of country which Major Woodson has since taken charge of. I was told that the land had been allotted, but in that long drive of three days only one sign of cultivation did I find. That was a patch in which some Indian had planted potatoes, though they showed no evidence that he had ever been there after they were planted. Major Woodson's report shows that there has been tremendous advance in that direction. Such reports should make us feel that we can go forward and undertake anything.

Mr. J. W. DAVIS.—Having had acquaintance with the mission work at Fort Hall, I feel it due to the women of Connecticut to express my congratulations on the results, and for the patience of the Connecticut Association in continuing that work. I was privileged to go there and study the field before the person who went, who gave them the final recommendation for the starting of a mission there, and then things were most forbidding. The old paganism was set rigidly in opposition to anything that should come in to change their habits. But quietly the women's patience and perseverance have begun to bear fruit. They are seeing their reward in the changed character of the Indians, and in that they find their reward for all their labor.

President SEELYE, Smith College.—I am deeply impressed by the contrast between the statements made here this morning and those made last Sunday at a memorial service for David Brainerd, held at Northampton. It is one hundred and fifty years since his death there, the 9th of October, at the house of Jonathan Edwards, to whose daughter he was betrothed. He was buried October 11th, with great lamentation.

He has sometimes been called the first apostle to the Indians. That epithet, as you know, is not correct. There were earlier

apostles to the Indians, both Protestant and Catholic. He might be called, perhaps, the first missionary to the Indians who was sent out by any organized society, for I do not remember any other missionary who was sent to them before Brainerd by the English Mission Society. Contrast the work which he did with what is now being done. Contrast the spirit which inspired Brainerd with the spirit our missionaries now manifest. He worked for four years with great enthusiasm, but between Brainerd and the Indians there was very little real human sympathy, except the sympathy of a Christian man speaking, as he felt, to dying souls in danger of lasting perdition. After he had preached he withdrew to the solitary hut which he had built a mile distant from their wigwams, where he lived the life of a recluse, holding little intercourse with those whom he sought to save. He did, indeed, a grand work by his example of Christian faith and heroism, and it became the seed of the magnificent results presented to us this morning. His work, however, excited comparatively little sympathy among Christian people then, and made little impression upon the Indian tribes. To-day we hear that over twenty-two thousand Indian children are in school, in daily intimate fellowship with educated teachers, and that nearly sixty thousand have received allotments of land in severalty, with the prospect of soon receiving the privileges of American citizenship. We have had reports of brave men and women making their homes in our Indian reservations, who are doing better work than ever Brainerd did, glorious as that was a hundred and fifty years ago. Surely we have the greatest cause for encouragement, and far greater cause than any statistics can give, because the spirit that animated David Brainerd is still animating his successors, the spirit of the Christ, who said, "I am He that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive forevermore and have the keys of hell and of death." That is a great word, forevermore. The missionaries may go and preach, and die; but if the love of Christ is forevermore, and he has the keys of hell and death, what force of paganism can finally resist him?

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Night, October 13.

The Conference was called to order by the President at 8 P. M.

CURRENT ACHIEVEMENTS AND FRESH HOPES IN INDIAN EDUCATION.

BY DR. W. N. HAILMANN.

Mr. Chairman, Friends.—In presenting this subject to you, it will be necessary for me to select a few striking points from many fields of interest. My talk, therefore, does not claim, by any means, to be a complete summing up of the various achievements in the work of Indian education, nor of all the fresh hopes. Nor is it always possible for me to distinguish between the achievement and the hope, inasmuch as none of the achievements are complete, and perhaps only a few of the hopes are clearly crystallized.

It was said this morning that the work of Indian education must, of necessity, be a slow growth; it cannot be a healthy growth without being slow. Yet it need not be discouragingly slow. It should grow, perhaps, in the same sure way in which the beautiful evolution of Lake Mohonk has been the growth of many years. It should be a growth which studies the meaning of Indian life, discovers its tendencies, guesses its purposes, and helps these purposes to develop themselves in the lines which, to us, seem good. Thus Mr. Smiley guessed, as it were, the purposes of Nature in this beautiful spot and helped them to become clearly revealed; then Nature, in her turn, rewarded him for his loving effort, and every rock and crevice, every tree and shrub gratefully lent itself to his higher, more humane, and more intelligent aim.

In the first place, there is much fresh hope in the readiness with which the new administration has entered into certain plans of the Indian office, as formulated within the last few years. It has granted to the Indian office an increased force of supervisors. Instead of three, we shall have five; each will be assigned to a certain district, and will practically have charge of the educational work in his district. The supervisor, hereafter, can go from school to school, again and again, in the course of a year; he can see to it that the directions which he may give to the schools are properly carried out, that shortcomings are corrected promptly, and before they assume proportions almost beyond the reach of remedy. In this way we have reason to hope that more effective work will be done in the next few years.

This will, in some measure, assist us in securing more compact organization throughout the service; more particularly in the relations among the different schools. It is true much has been achieved in this direction; jealousies and envies among the different schools, and the various kinds of schools, have practically ceased. The day school is recognized now by all the factors of the service as an important element of success. The child in the day school may not learn how to read and write and speak the English language as quickly as he would in a boarding school; but the day school is in direct contact with the Indian families upon the reservation, and, in a measure, every lesson is given, not only to the child, but to the family of which the child is a member. This has become clearly recognized by the service as a whole, and I look upon this as a great achievement.

Again, the boarding school upon the reservation no longer looks upon itself as a rival of the non-reservation boarding school or industrial training school. It has learned to find its proudest success in the number of Indian youth whom it can transfer, well prepared and equipped, to the more advanced institutions. During the last year, in consequence of this, there was a loss of attendance in the reservation boarding schools; but there has been more than a corresponding gain of attendance in the non-reservation boarding schools. The superintendents of the reservation boarding schools had made it a point to transfer the older children to these larger institutions, instead, as heretofore, of keeping them back for the sake of detailing them as helpers in the dormitories, laundries, or kitchens, upon the farms and in the workshops. This may entail upon the government the necessity of giving more paid help in these institutions; but the seeming loss is a real gain.

In many instances there existed until the last year a kind of grab game among superintendents of non-reservation schools. They sent their agents to all the different reservations, and each pressed his wares, and labored to underestimate the wares of his competitors. This had a disintegrating tendency. By the new plan which the last administration formulated, and which the new administration has not only cheerfully adopted, but concluded to carry out strictly, this will cease. The transfers will be made by the Indian office through its force of supervisors, and all unseemly competition will come to an end. It is impossible for us to estimate fully the value of this for the Indian work as a whole. If all the schools in the service work together, each recognizing the value of all the others, each recognizing modestly its own value, and all working toward a common end, without jealousy, without envy, the beneficial results must be great.

In the individual school the organization is becoming more compact. The superintendent is ceasing to be the man who attends to all things personally; he has learned in many schools, and is learning in all, to trust his subordinate officials; to give to the physician, the farmer, the matron, the principal teacher, full control each of his own department, and to reserve his own power for the systematic

co-ordination of all these departments in helpful efforts toward achieving the aim of the institution as a whole.

There has been commendable gain, particularly during the past two years, in co-ordinating class-room work with industrial work. Until this year, however, the efforts to secure this co-ordination were all made from the outside, as it were; it was not possible to do aught more. Meetings were held between the industrial teachers and the class-room teachers, where the industrial teachers taught the others what they do upon the farm or in the workshop, what implements are used, what crops are aimed at, and how these crops are secured. The class-room teacher then could use these data in the work of arithmetic and language, in the themes and illustrations. Wherever this was done it had a salutary effect. It connected the instruction work with the industrial work, with the purpose work, and with the achieving work of the institution.

In our common schools we are just becoming aware that individual teaching alone is not enough, but that we must, in a measure, instruct the race. Now, instruction—mere knowledge as such—does not reach the heredity of man; it is the purposes of his heart and the achievements of his hand that reach his heredity. What I merely know dies with me; but that which I aspire to, that which fills my heart with hope, and that which I accomplish with my hand,—that I transmit, in a measure, to my children. In the connection of the industrial work, which lies on the purpose side and on the achievement side of life, with the instruction work, we make the individual, therefore, helpful in the development of the race. In Indian work this consideration is perhaps even more important than in our ordinary common schools; because, in the former, society and environment do not, as in the case of the white child, take charge in large measure of the purpose development of the child.

Now, moreover, we are learning in the Indian schools to approach this problem not only by outside measures, but from the inside, as it were, by changes or improvements in our courses of study. There are certain branches of study that lie much nearer to the purpose and achievement side of education than others. In industrial work nearly every problem that comes to us is primarily a problem of geometry. The carpenter, in planning a chair, plans the chair upon geometrical considerations; the builder, in planning the erection of a house, makes his plan upon considerations of geometry. The shoemaker in planning a shoe, the tailor in planning a suit, the seamstress in planning a dress, are geometers. Then they go to work with the material: the carpenter draws his plan out of wood; the builder draws his plan out of the building material; the shoemaker draws his shoe out of leather; the seamstress draws the dress out of the dress goods which she uses. Industrial work is throughout the practical application of geometry and drawing. On this account the Indian school is gradually learning to pay increased attention to geometry and drawing.

It is an error in our common-school work that form work, or geometry, is assigned to the higher grades; it would be much better

if it were commenced earlier, and if much more time were given to it. In the Indian schools the desirability of this is still greater, for the reasons which I have already assigned, and for the additional reason that to the Indian child we must first give that industrial basis, that control of the materials of his environment, on the foundation of which alone he can gradually learn to appreciate and understand the life-attitude and literature of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Again, science is of much importance. The laws of physics and chemistry, the laws of motion, must be brought to the child at an early date. In such studies much apparatus is not needed; and some of us in the Indian schools are learning to make our own apparatus, developing thereby much interest among the children and much heredity development as well.

Some one has beautifully said to-day that it is necessary to give to the Indian child new ideals. These ideals we aim to give him on the industrial side. Thereby we turn his being in another direction; we change his heredity, suppressing in it what would be an injury to him, and developing those things which will be to him a help in the new civilization.

Much, too, has been made of ornamentation. This I consider of extremely high value. The love of beauty is impossible without concurrent love of truth with reference to the laws that control the material which he uses, and without the love of suitableness, which is the essential of goodness. Our dining rooms are getting to be really home dining rooms; our dormitories are beginning to be home dormitories; our schoolrooms are beginning to look beautiful under the skillful hands of the children,—not by putting up gifts or things which the teacher may have made or contributed, but by placing upon the walls, and blackboards, and tables things which they have found, or selected, or made. This ornamentation, too, is beginning to be a social ornamentation,—not fragmentary, whimsical, each one contributing what he chooses, and placing it where he pleases, but the whole matter in the hands of a committee of the children, that committee using whatever is brought and distributing it according to a unified plan. This develops in the children the sense of social responsibility and the sense of social gratitude, which are of immense value in their development. The value of the ornamentation of the dormitory, for instance, can hardly be underestimated. When the dormitory is a mere sleeping room, it is not much of a civilizer. But when it is not only clean but beautiful,—when there are little mottoes, little pictures, here and there; when the whole dormitory makes upon the child as he enters the impression of a symmetrical, rhythmic whole,—it almost serves the purpose of a prayer as he retires, and again as he awakes from his sleep.

In the evening hour the schools have made much gain. In the majority of schools it was at one time customary to use the evening hour simply as a study hour, and this was always a more or less perfunctory occasion, in which the children learned much hypocrisy, as they would fix their eyes upon their books and pre-

tend to study while their thoughts were far away. Now this is being changed. Only those children study who need to study; and comparatively few need this if the school otherwise does its duty. The other children use the evening hour for the sake of applying their lessons in a helpful way to social enjoyments and mutual social uplifting. There are songs and recitations; stories are read by the teacher, or, more frequently, told. Little children make reports of things which they have seen, or which they were asked to look up. There is some drawing, especially in those schools where now the electric lights have been introduced. There are games; there are little occasions for training the children in the amenities of social life. And all this is having a very happy influence upon their heart development. It is to them a moral training which is really invaluable. And as they find that what they do in the schoolroom will make them more helpful companions in the evening, it is having a most salutary effect, by reaction, upon the work of the schoolroom. In the larger schools clubs and associations are being formed: we have King's Daughters, Y. M. C. A's, literary clubs, clubs for a variety of purposes; and the matter is managed by the more skillful superintendents in such a way that every child can take part in several of these clubs.

Another hopeful achievement is found in the alacrity with which the new administration has adopted the policy formulated during the last two years with reference to better attention to sanitary requirements, and to requirements of good taste in the erection of school buildings. New school buildings are not only models in the way of sanitary construction, but are also models of good taste, and all this without much increase in expenditure. The kerosene lamp has gone, and the electric light or the gasoline gas has come to stay. I have no doubt that this work will go on so well that in three or four years we shall not find kerosene in a single one of these schools. The same is true of heating: the stove is going, and steam heating is coming to stay. New schools are heated by steam, and in many of the older ones steam heating is being introduced. This has a very salutary effect upon the health of the children. The bath tub is going, and the government is substituting therefor the more hygienic and more thoroughly cleansing needle bath or rain bath. For proper use a bath tub must be scrubbed every time a bath has been taken, and in an institution this is impracticable; therefore it communicates disease from child to child.

Much good has come also to the schools with the civil service reform. A few statistics in this direction will prove my assertion. The civil service rules were introduced into the Indian school service in March, 1892, and included at that time superintendents, matrons, and teachers. During the period from 1888 to 1892 we had no civil service. In 1888 there were in the service 92 superintendents; of this number there remained in 1892, twelve or thirteen per cent. In 1892 there were in the service 105 superintendents; of this number there remained in 1896 twenty-five per cent, which is a gain of twelve per cent. In the matrons'

lists there was a gain of four per cent, and in the teachers' lists a gain of eighteen per cent, in the period between 1892 and 1896, as compared with the years 1888-1892. In 1888, at the Haskell Institute, there were forty-two employees receiving \$400 per annum and over; in 1892, there remained five of these, or twelve per cent of forty-five employees in 1892; there remained in 1896 nineteen, or forty-five per cent,—a gain of thirty-three per cent. At Grand Junction there was for the same period a gain of thirty-six per cent; at Fort Yuma, a gain of thirteen per cent; at Keams Cañon, a gain of seventeen per cent; at Chilocco, a gain of ten per cent; and so on throughout the schools, with very few exceptions, there is a gain for the civil service period, as compared with what is sometimes technically called the spoils period.

Again, in 1892, there were at Carlisle fifty-two employees; of those, twenty-one were in the classified service or under civil service rules, and thirty-one in the unclassified service or not under these rules. Of these there were missing in 1896, in the classified service fourteen, and in the unclassified service twenty. Thus there were thirty-eight per cent of the classified service out of the service, and of the unclassified employees fifty-eight per cent, which shows an advantage in favor of the classified service of twenty per cent. In Haskell there was a percentage of twenty-nine in favor of the classified service; at Chilocco forty per cent; and at Genoa forty-five per cent; and so on throughout the schools. That is, the classified service was much safer in its tenure than the unclassified.

I wish also to bring before you the great gain which the schools have made in the employment of Indians in responsible positions. We have now departments in some of our schools for the training of Indians for the work of teaching, and other departments for the training of Indians in clerical work. These departments are sending out young Indians into responsible positions, and the testimony of the schools, with a few exceptions, is that these Indians do as faithful, and devoted, and permanently effective work as the white employees. They promise us, by the work which they do, that the day is approaching when the Indians themselves will fill, or be competent to fill, all the responsible positions in our Indian schools; when the Indian, consequently, will be self-educating, and the Indian problem solved. There are failures among these Indians; but are there not failures among our white employees? Statistics prove, indeed, that failures among the whites are proportionately greater than they are among the Indians. The Indian is slandered when he is said to be lazy. These young people are most industrious and diligent. The Indian is slandered when it is said that he does not persist in work; these Indians do not resign, as a rule, and they are filled with a devotion, with a missionary spirit, which is beautiful to behold.

There are hindrances many and great in our work. We need legislation to fix the status of an Indian. We have in our schools many thirty-second-bloods, sixty-fourth-bloods, or whites adopted as Indians; we need legislation to tell us just what an Indian is. We need, to a certain extent, compulsory measures in many of our

reservations. We need legislation for the gradual, intelligent emancipation of the Indians who deserve to be emancipated. There is a degree of excessive tutelage of the Indian which should be done away with. We have allotted the Indians, and have said that in twenty-five years they shall be free. Why cannot the Indian who is capable of managing his own life be permitted now to do so, without waiting for the fulfillment of that statute? We need the gradual abolition of agencies where the agencies are not needed. Where the agency is not needed it is always a great hindrance to the development of the schools. It is not in human nature to be idle, and when the agent has nothing else to do, he must meddle with the school.

I ask you not to become discouraged by difficulties, but to persist in that courage and faith, in that deliberate conviction which you have always shown, that patient righteousness will carry the day in the end.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

BY HON. H. L. DAWES.

It is with unfeigned reluctance and self-distrust that I attempt at this time to divert your minds from the consideration of the grand achievements and the fresh hopes which have been spread out before you, in the accounts of the work which has been going on, inspired and encouraged by these meetings, for the end of making the Indian a self-supporting citizen of the United States. But I am charged with the duty of attempting to call back your minds from these more inviting fields, and from the tendency to look forward to the end almost in sight, by asking your attention to the fact that 64,000 Indians, one quarter of all the red men in the land, are excluded from the benefit of all these forces that by your help are lifting the race up to a better life.

Of the \$225,000 annually expended by the government in the education of the Indian, and in shedding light upon his mind and in his heart, not a dollar do these 64,000 Indians receive. In the benefits of the severalty act,—the home, the center out of which emanate the life-saving and civilizing processes of mankind,—they have no lot or part. The door of citizenship, which to all the rest of the Indians in this land is open, with its opportunities, its hopes, and its incentives, is shut to them.

But this does not by any means state the whole of this problem. There are 250,000 or 300,000 white residents of this Territory. Their future is inextricably blended with the future of these 64,000 Indians. Whatever is their fate is the fate of these 300,000 white citizens of the United States. To whatever condition they go, these white people go also. Is it necessary, therefore, for me to say to you that this is a question demanding your serious consideration at this time,—you who are consecrating your efforts to the elevation of a race, not the red men of a locality?

How comes this condition, in the midst of the nation, nearer to the heart of the republic than any of the Indians over whom you are exercising such a beneficent influence? Why is it that one quarter of them all are shut out from the benefits of the effort and the work that you have taken upon yourselves? It is because, more than sixty years ago, the government turned its back upon these people, and turned them over to such fate as might perchance befall them. Whatever effort of civilization, whatever influences of improvement, and advance, and expansion, may be brought by the government to bear upon others, they go to their fate, whatever it may be, without any help of this government. The voluntary missionary, it is true, is working, and has accomplished much to save them. But, except for that they have been permitted to go on until to-day they are in a less prosperous and promising condition than they were when Samuel Worcester, the Moses of that people, led them out from the land of bondage into this beautiful country, in which the United States told them to work out their own deliverance. And not only did the United States turn its back upon them, but for a long time it has held that it bound itself always to turn its back to them. And not only have the Indians themselves been made to believe that the United States had abdicated its authority over them, but a large portion of the people of the United States themselves have come to believe that they are under bonds to permit them to go whither they will.

The condition into which they relapsed under this system became so alarming that four years ago Congress created a commission to go down there and accomplish two things, if possible: induce those people to change their government, and also to change the common title by which they held their property. It is a principle well established, and which, when stated, no man has ever felt disposed to dispute, that the United States having created this condition of things was at liberty to change it. Whatever government they have was created by the United States. The Constitution has clothed the Congress of the United States, and the Congress of the United States alone, with power to govern the territory of the United States. The law-making power of the United States, and not the treaty-making power, or any other power, has authority under the Constitution to govern the Territories. "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory of the United States," says the Constitution.

That is one proposition. Congress made this anomalous condition of things; then they disposed of the territory,—that is, they sold it to these Indians. The other proposition is, that when you have sold a thing you cannot take it back, nor can you change the title without the consent of the grantee. The one can be done without their consent, but the other cannot. So the duty enjoined upon this commission was to induce these people to change their own title, and to tell them that while Congress has power to change the government, Congress desires, and thinks it wiser that they should change the government, as well as their title, themselves.

Nothing doubting that they had the authority, if necessary, to change the government themselves, yet, in deference to the idea that they were bound not to, the President of the United States enjoined upon the commission to do nothing that had not the consent of the Indians themselves.

This commission spent two long years trying to convince these Indians of two things,—that a change must, in the nature of things, come inevitably, both in their government and in the holding of their tribal property. But so dense was the conviction in the breasts of these Indians that the United States had bound itself to let them govern themselves as they pleased, and that the United States had not the power to take away their government from them, but that they had just as safe a fee simple in the government as they had in their lands, that it was like beating against a wall to reason with them. Efforts to persuade them to sit down with this commission and change their own government seemed to be utterly thrown away. The commission returned to the people of the United States, and they discovered that a back fire had been set upon the commission itself. It was said that they were down in the Territory professing great regard for the Indian, but employed by some sinister influence to despoil the Indian of his heritage, and wrench from him his self-government, to preserve which the government of the United States had pledged itself. So intense had become this suspicion that the commission was thus employed, that the Indian Rights Association, ever anxious to redress any possible grievance of a red man, sent a man down there at its own expense to investigate the conduct of this commission. This man was our friend here, Mr. Meserve, and a great service he rendered us. The result was, the commission was gratified to know the real assurance of the public that the commission was engaged in no such business. I wish to express to him here our great obligation for the services his reports rendered us.

What has been the result? Last year I tried to make it plain that the work the commission were doing was a work not only forced by necessity upon the government, but justified by all the rules of right and justice. I said, also, that light was breaking in. I thought, and my associates in the commission thought, we began to see that this wall of prejudice and mistaken notion of rights was breaking away. Since that time there have been many cloudy days, many days of discouragement, and much to dishearten the commission. But, on the whole, it has made exceedingly gratifying progress. Since I was here last year three separate agreements, which would once have been called treaties, have been made with different tribes: one with the Choctaws alone; one with the Choctaws and Chickasaws; and within the last week I had the pleasure of sending to the Secretary of the Interior an agreement signed by all the commissioners of the United States and of the Creek nation, providing for a complete revolution of their entire government.

I wish I had time to describe the method by which these negotiations were carried on; it might help to reveal to you some of the

obstacles in the way, and the difficulty that beset the path of this commission. The first agreement with the Choctaws, the first that any one of these tribes ever authorized a man to put his name to, had many very wise provisions in it. When we were negotiating it, the Choctaw commission was joined by a commission of the Chickasaws, the two tribes owning their land together; and for a while everything went on with the greatest assurance of success. Then it was revealed that the Chickasaw commissioners had not authority to make a final agreement; and, therefore, expressing their gratification at their treatment, and their personal approval of all that was done, they took reluctant leave of the commissions, and went home after authority, expressing the hope that they would be back in a short time to join in the completion of this agreement. In that we were disappointed: some influences, no one can tell what, kept that commission from ever joining us. But the Choctaws had gone so far that it was impossible for them to retreat. They had taken grave responsibility and their life in their hands, and, as a large body of the Choctaw nation thought, were surrendering their government to a foreign power, but they could not retreat. When it was ready to be signed, these Choctaw commissioners begged of the United States commission that they would permit them to go home. They had chosen to treat with us, not in the Territory, but at Fort Smith, Arkansas, and now they said, "Let us take this home, let us feel the pulse of our people, and if you will meet us in the Territory a week hence we will sign it." They took it home. I had little hope of ever seeing them again; I thought it was an excuse to get away. But I had less confidence in them than they deserved. We met them by appointment at Muskogee, in the Indian Territory, and they gathered round us and said that they were willing to sign that agreement. They had not wanted to surrender their government in a foreign nation, they said; they wanted, if it was to be given up, it should be given up inside the Indian Territory. We sat round a table in a large room lighted by electricity, and just as we were ready to put our names to it, something happened to the machinery, and the electric lights went out, and left us in utter darkness. I thought the end had come! I thought these Indians would certainly say that this was an omen and a warning, and leave the room. But we got kerosene lamps, and I was exceedingly gratified to find them still sitting there and we gathered round the table again, and, to my surprise, the incident had had no effect upon these men, and they put their names beside ours to that first instrument. When it was done they turned to us and said, "We rely upon the United States to protect us when we go home; we do not know what will be done to vindicate, as they call it, their tribal rights." Troops are at this moment at the capital to keep the peace.

We took this to Washington, and found that it was fatally defective, because the Chickasaws had not joined in it. And all that work went for nothing, except that it showed there was reason to hope that the Indian was going to negotiate with us after all, and the

oftener he tried it, the better it would be. Then we induced the Chickasaws to send a delegation to Washington, and join these Choctaws in this agreement or in another. We spent four weeks in Washington trying to disabuse the Chickasaws of one objection after another, and finally failed, and that was an end of that agreement.

In the meantime the patience of Congress was exhausted, and falling back upon their right to change the government which they had made themselves, they inserted in the Indian Appropriation Bill a most radical and revolutionary provision, substantially turning all the governments of that Territory into a territorial government. And they inserted a provision that this should take effect on the first of January, 1898, providing that an agreement made by either of the tribes with this commission, modifying any part of that law, and ratified before the first day of January next, should take effect as to that tribe, and modify it accordingly. So the prospect was from that time presented to these five tribes that, on the first day of January, 1898, as provided by that law, "all the laws of Arkansas and of the United States are hereby extended over the Indian Territory, and applicable to all persons alike therein. All criminal and all civil jurisdiction in the Territories is taken away from tribal courts, and vested in the United States courts. All legislation of their legislative councils after that day shall be subject to the disapproval of the President of the United States"—in all essential particulars a territorial government. That stands to-day over that entire people. The effect of the law was that the Choctaws and Chickasaws came together at once, and proposed to negotiate with this commission; and they entered into an agreement with the commission, in most of its features most excellent. All of the commission but the chairman signed it, and all the Chickasaws and Choctaws signed it, and sent it to Washington. But it lacked what the chairman of the commission felt to be an essential feature, in failing to provide for the Chickasaw freedmen.

All these tribes had slaves before the war, and the war liberated them. The Chickasaws had more than all the rest. It was provided in the treaties after the war that they should not only emancipate their slaves, but should make them citizens, and give them forty acres of land apiece, or the United States would remove them from the Territory. So far as the Chickasaws were concerned they fulfilled their obligation, and adopted them as citizens. But when they came to count them they found that there were a great many more of them than there were Chickasaws, and, as citizens, they would vote them down. So they took it back, or tried to. There were such important features in that agreement, however, that all the commission but the chairman felt it their duty, notwithstanding the omission to provide for these freedmen, to sign it; the chairman thought it was too serious a matter to be treated in this way, and respectfully withheld his signature. That agreement was submitted to Congress, but no action has been taken upon it.

Within the last month, as I have said, the Creeks, who hardly till the passage of this law would take notice even of our invi-

tations to treat with them, have signified their willingness to treat. And notwithstanding there is upon their statute book a law making it a misdemeanor for any man to petition for a change of the government, and a penalty of fifty lashes attached, they have come up and signed the agreement which I have spoken of. They have provided that every Creek citizen shall have an allotment of one hundred and sixty acres of their land; they have set apart for religious institutions and for educational institutions in that Territory certain amounts of land; they have set apart land also for their capital and for cemetery purposes. And then they have provided that town sites which have been built by white people upon land they have not the slightest title to shall be appraised,—each lot and its improvements separately,—and, what was never yielded before in that Territory, they have provided that white men may buy that land. They have also agreed that the balance of their lands shall be appraised, and put up at auction at a minimum price of \$1.25 an acre, and the result put into the treasury of the United States. Out of that result there shall be an equalization of the allotments, so that the poor hundred and sixty acres shall be made as good as the best; and the balance, if any there be, shall be devoted to educational and charitable purposes in the Territory. I can hardly think of a more beneficent agreement than that. It is now before the Secretary. It must be ratified by the people of the Territory first, and then by Congress; and if that is done the Creek nation will take the lead in the regeneration of those people, and sooner or later the others will be compelled to follow. And then that people, with all its possibilities, with all its promises, will at last be lifted up into harmony with the institutions of the United States, and, in the near future, be one of the most promising of the new States of this Union.

The commission feel much encouraged by the present situation. I wish I could, however, impress upon you, as it is impressed upon us, that this is one of the greatest questions that can be submitted for your consideration. Remember that your work is not for the regeneration of a locality, but for a race. And until in every Indian home, wherever situated, the wife shall sit by her hearthstone clothed in the habiliments of true womanhood, and the husband shall stand sentinel at the threshold panoplied in the armor of a self-supporting citizen of the United States,—then, and not till then, will your work be done.

THE INDIANS OF MINNESOTA.

BY RT. REV. H. B. WHIPPLE.

I hardly know how to frame in words the thoughts of my heart when I look into your faces and hear your earnest words, and remember the troubled past, through which God has led us to a place of safety. Thirty-eight years ago I was called to be the bishop of that new diocese in the Northwest, and the words of a saintly man in

our branch of the Church of Christ, spoken as I knelt to receive consecration, have always lingered in my ears: "Bind up the broken, seek the outcast, gather the lost." It was because of these words ringing in my ears that, two weeks after I reached my diocese, I was in the heart of the Indian country.

I cannot describe to you, no words can describe, the cup of anguish that had been pressed to the lips of these brown children of our Father. It would have been a colder heart than mine that could have turned a deaf ear to their cry of sorrow. You can hardly realize the condition of Indian affairs forty years ago. A report made in 1867 says that implements of husbandry had been given out to the Indians: the spades were made of sheet iron instead of steel, and the shoes bought for the Indians had paper soles.

In the munificence of a Christian government all real wants were neglected. I believed with all my heart and soul that "God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the whole earth"; and I believed that which Saint Paul preached to the men of Athens, when he quoted one of their own classics, "We are all children of one God and Father." Believing this, and that all our knowledge of God comes from looking into the face of Jesus Christ, and seeing in his love, and pity, and helpfulness the reflection of God on the earth, I visited these red men, and began my work.

I was called an enthusiast and fanatic. But I have long since come to the conclusion that no man ever made another believe until he believed himself, and that it requires a certain amount of enthusiasm and fanaticism to do God's work. I wish I could tell you some of the incidents of that early life. Fancy a young missionary after holding an Indian confirmation, reading in the paper, "Horrible Sacrilege! The holiest rites of Christianity administered to red-handed Savages and Murderers!" I happened to meet the editor a few days afterwards, and he was looking at the other side of the street. I said: "Hold on; I want to tell you something! As a public man I am a legitimate subject of criticism, and nobody will read such criticism with the interest that I shall. I know but one thing that a public man can't stand,—and that is lying!" I am happy to say that he was a kind-hearted fellow at heart, and from that hour he always counted me as one of his friends.

I have never met an officer of the United States Army—and I have talked with hundreds—who could tell me of a solitary instance where the Indian was the first to violate a treaty. They have always said that the wars were the result of shameless robberies. Again and again I have heard an officer say, as General Crook said, "It is hard to go and fight with men who you know are in the right." Men who had been the agents of the Northwest and the Hudson Bay Companies all bore one testimony,—that the Indian was truthful, that he was by nature honest, that he had a passionate love for his family, and that he would lay down his life without the trembling of a nerve for his kindred. When I heard such testimony, I said,

"Surely there is room here to write upon these hearts that story which never grows old, of the love of God our Father."

Every year I spent the entire summer in the Indian country, traveling hundreds of miles on foot and in a birch-bark canoe. At first I did not know how to preach to them: I said, what is a very dangerous thing for a minister of Christ to say, "You are sinners;" I did not say, "We are sinners." And when the sermon was ended, and I thought that I had preached impressively, the chief said: "Why do you come to slander my people? We are not sinners. It is your white brethren who bring the firewater here, and who corrupt our daughters. You had better go and tell them they are sinners." But when, with tears in my eyes, I told that man how God loved him, and of that pure law which God had made for his children, and of the love of Jesus Christ, it happened to him as to Saint Paul, "The law came, sin revived, and I died." And I saw that man sitting at my feet a fearless, grand disciple of Jesus Christ.

As I look back, I have sometimes wondered why I did not get discouraged; but in all those earlier years there were little incidents that helped me. I could go on for hours telling you those incidents. It was Christian women who helped me in the darkest days,—such women as one whom you and I know and love, who came to teach her brown sisters the handiwork which adorns Christian white women. But how is it now? If you will go there you will not see drunken savages. I have just returned from a journey, with my dear wife, in the Indian country. I took her to visit a dear old woman, wife of Good Thunder, eighty years of age, whom I have known a long time. When the Sioux outbreak came she went to the mission house before the Indians could destroy it, and secured the large Bible. That Bible had a history, too; it was sent by the Landgrave of Hesse to Minnesota, to be given to some mission to the Indians. This heathen woman, as she then was, wrapped that Bible up and carried it to the forest and buried it. And then she came a long journey, and told me, as if she were telling me the greatest thing in the world, "The words of the Great Spirit are safe!" The good woman thought it was the only Bible in the world. She became an earnest Christian woman afterward. She had heard of my marriage, and when we went to see her she held up two enormous bedquilts which she had pieced for my wife, because, she said, she thought we were going to housekeeping. Another sainted Indian woman, that I have known for almost forty years, came up, and taking my wife's hand said, as she turned to me: "When your wife died, I buried my heart in her grave. But I look in her face, and it has come back to me." Do you think they have no hearts, and that the story of the love of Jesus Christ is not the same to them that it is to you?

I have thanked God again and again as I have listened to the speeches here. I wish the Superintendent of Indian Education could have said more, and I hope he will speak again. I want him to tell you, what I know he believes as firmly as I do, that education without religion is valueless, and that the gospel of Jesus Christ

should go hand in hand with the teaching of the schoolroom. The Christian teacher should write upon the hearts of these children that which nothing but love can write,—faith in God and love for man.

I have seen dark days, my friends. There has been many a time in the Indian country when I have lain awake all night and cried to God in prayer for these poor people. But those prayers and your prayers and your efforts have been answered. I am reminded of a letter I had last week from one whom Americans all honor, William Gladstone; he says, "When I think of the church and Christian work in my boyhood, and then see what the church of God is doing now in its work for humanity, my heart is full, and I can only say, 'What hath God wrought!'"

But your friend and mine, Senator Dawes, has told you of some difficulties yet in the way. You will pardon me if I tell you a sad story. I hesitate about telling it, for I have made it one rule of my life never to make a charge against an individual until first going to him and saying, "I shall prefer such and such charges against you, and come to tell you that you may defend yourself." It was about the only way one could have saved one's scalp in the early days.

Perhaps it will amuse you if I tell a story in illustration of this. When Johnson became President, all the offices in the country were to be turned over to the Democratic party. And some of our leading Democrats traveled a long journey to my home, for there were no railroads, bringing with them a young man whom they wanted to make Indian agent. They said: "Bishop, we don't want to fight with you. We know you take a great interest in the Indians, and we have picked out this man, who is a friend of yours, for Indian agent;" and so they went on with their parable. I said to my friend: "You are my friend; I have had more courtesy from you in the Indian country than from any man I know; but you are aware that I know that you were mixed up in such-and-such a transaction. Don't let these men use you, for I'll defeat you as certainly as the sun shines." "Bishop," they said, "if you dare to meddle with politics, we'll turn the batteries of the press on you!" And I said to them, "My dear fellows, before you turn the batteries of the press on a man, you had better ask whether the fellow at the muzzle or the fellow at the breech is going to get killed!"

I wrote to several men who had known me from my boyhood, and asked them to write to the President and say whether I would tell the truth about Indian affairs. Then I wrote to the Secretary. I told him every good thing about my friend that I could think of; but I said: "I oppose his appointment because of this dishonesty. And if you appoint that man now, I will make an affidavit that you knew the facts before he was appointed. And we'll see whether the American people will stand that." He was not appointed.

This is the sad story of the Indians of Minnesota. Of that beautiful country, a large part was sold to the government for one

cent an acre, on condition that the Winnebagoes should be placed there as a sort of barrier between them and their enemies, the Sioux. A treaty was made, and was enforced, but the Winnebagoes were never removed. Now a new treaty has been made, which involves all northern Minnesota. In that treaty it is stipulated that the pines shall all be appraised by competent appraisers, and that the minimum price shall be what was then the market price, \$3 a thousand. A body of appraisers was appointed, and the government expended about \$150,000 before they found out that the appraisers were incompetent. Another set of appraisers was sent, and then an agent, who is said to be one of the most honest men in the government service. On one section of land the appraisers put down 65,000 feet of pine, and the government sold it at the minimum price; but it was found that there were 902,000 feet, and the Indians had lost \$2,500. There are hundreds of such cases, which show that it is not yet time to lay by your armor. I do not blame the administration; I believe the President of the United States wishes to do his full duty to the Indians. I am sure that there never was a better Commissioner of Indian Affairs than the last Commissioner, and I am quite sure, from his well-known character, that the Secretary of the Interior would like to do his duty. I understand from legal gentlemen that, the lumber having been duly advertised and sold, it will be impossible to prove that the purchaser knew of any dishonesty; but I have asked the gentlemen of the Indian Rights Association to look into it, and see if the Indians have not a remedy in the Court of Claims.

One remedy we do need,—the remedy of righteousness. For I believe—and the nation that has gained two million graves in the Civil War ought to have learned the lesson—that God is not blind. Whatsoever a man soweth, that, and nothing but that, shall he reap. One whom I am glad to call my friend has alluded to Worcester. The State of Georgia passed a law forbidding the missionaries to teach the Cherokees to read the gospel of Jesus Christ, and Worcester wrote to Dr. Evarts (the father of William M. Evarts, the Secretary of State), who was the secretary of the American Board, and asked, “What shall I do?” “Do your duty in the fear of God,” said Mr. Evarts, “and then suffer any consequences.” He was tried, and went to prison. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, and Chief Justice Marshall decided the law to be unconstitutional; but unfortunately the Supreme Court cannot carry out its decisions, and General Jackson refused to execute the law, and Worcester was imprisoned. In that memorable trial for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, William Evarts, the son, said, “Gentlemen, never trifle with the Constitution,” and he told this story. Little did the people of Georgia know that the day would come when, from the top of Missionary Ridge, the home of that servant of God, an host, under the flag of that violated Constitution, would lay waste every foot of the ground that had belonged to the Cherokees!

Some years ago I asked my friend Chief Justice Waite his opinion of President Cleveland. He said, "I believe the President wishes to know the *truth*, and when he knows it he will stand by it." I said, "That is the one I want to see." The Chief Justice went to the White House with me and presented me to the President. I said: "A great wrong has been done to the Chippewas. Dams have been built on the Mississippi River which have destroyed the Indians' rice fields, injured their fisheries, and overflowed 91,000 acres of valuable pine land. For some years I have appealed for aid, and have plead with men whose ears are deaf." The President called the Secretary of the Interior and said: "Bishop Whipple has told me a sad story of wrong done to these Indians; I have asked the Bishop to address you a letter setting forth the facts. When Congress meets please send the letter to me, and I will enclose it in a message to Congress asking them to make the necessary appropriation." The President sent the message, and the appropriation was made.

At the close of these addresses, the Conference adjourned until the following day.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 14.

The Conference was called to order at 10 A. M., after prayers, Mr. Garrett in the chair. The Treasurer made an appeal for money to meet the expenses of printing and distributing the proceedings.

Mr. Davis said that General Whittlesey had had the privilege of an interview with Mrs. ———, the teacher at Warner's Ranch, in California, and asked that he might be invited to say a few words on the subject of the Mission Indians.

General WHITTLESEY.—I have no personal acquaintance with the Indians at Agua Caliente on Warner's Ranch, but a few days ago I had some conversation with Mrs. ———, who has been a teacher there for seven years. She has become greatly attached to the people, not only to the children in her school, but to the older people, and she speaks of them in the highest terms as quiet, industrious, and endeavoring to earn their own living. She regrets very much the efforts that are being made to eject them from their homes, which they have occupied so long. Professor Heinemann, of the Indian School at Lawrence, Kansas, speaking of the Agua Caliente Indian, says, in *The Indian's Friend*:—

I have seen these Indians when traveling in those parts as Supervisor of Indian Education, and I can say that the Indians of Agua Caliente are as far advanced on the path leading to civilized life as any I have seen at any Indian reservation, camp, or village. They live in comparatively good houses, are industrious and self-supporting. I remember with pleasure that it was at Agua Caliente that I found fair accommodation and good meals at the home of an Indian family; a thing which did not happen more than three or four times during all the years I traveled among Indians. The day school at Agua Caliente was, when I saw it, one of the best I found in the Indian service; a credit both to the teacher and to her pupils.

The bath house they have built over their hot springs is not elegant, but comfortable enough for a salubrious and quiet bath. The ground on which this Indian village stands is hardly productive enough to yield them a good living without irrigation, which it will be difficult to provide; but their hot springs would yield almost enough to provide comforts for all of them, if they could be developed in a manner to attract visitors in search of health. It is this promising prospect of a future "Hot Springs Resort," which has whetted the land hunger of the Warner crowd, and induced them to go to law in order to eject the poor Indians from the barren hill on which their village stands. I do not know anything of the merits of the case, but it seems to me that these Indians, who have occupied that hill ever since white men first set foot on it, ought not to be disturbed in their possession of the land by any law or legal principle obtaining in the legal science of the palefaces. The Indians of Agua Caliente have been for centuries on the spot where they are found at present, for which reason they ought not to be disturbed in their

right of ownership. Their titles to the land are not made out according to the customs and rules of the courts and lawyers of the whites, but being older than that of any white man can be, they ought to be considered valid beyond a doubt.

Mr. Joshua W. Davis was asked to report for the committee having the interests of the Mission Indians in charge.

Mr. DAVIS.—The report I have to make is in behalf of the Committee for the defense of these Indians. By the death of Hon. Edward L. Pierce the committee has been reduced to four, Mr. Garrett, as chairman, Mr. Smiley, Mr. Moses Pierce, who has been detained from the Conference by his advanced age, and the speaker.

The suit for the ejectment of these Indians, after a long delay, reached a decision against the Indians in the early part of the year, and the committee found itself under the necessity of deciding whether they would make appeal. It was decided that an appeal should be made to the Supreme Court, and yet, it was felt that it was unfair that the Conference should be put to the expense of that defense; that we should make a new appeal to the government to do its duty. The exigencies of the tariff, and the rule that no new business should be admitted, prevented any appeal to Congress for a special appropriation, and, as repeatedly before, the Department of Justice said it had no funds at its disposal. We next took the step of appealing to the plaintiffs to defer judgment slightly. They felt that they had too strong an advantage, and refused to yield, and insisted on immediate judgment. In that emergency the committee felt itself entirely unable to raise the sum of \$6,100 to provide the necessary bonds to be given in case the appeal was allowed.

Just then Mr. Herbert Welsh arrived from Europe, and took hold of the matter instantly, as once before, and secured an appropriation of \$4,000 from the Indian Rights Association, which has been guaranteed in some measure to the Association by friends from the outside, and he himself and another friend laid down \$2,100 to complete the sum, receiving also a guarantee for a considerable part of that in case of final defeat. And it is only just to say that history was repeating itself in this case. When the previous suit came up for the Saboba Indians the first decision was against the Indians, and an appeal was made, with the same necessity for a bond, and a pressure for instant decision, Mr. Welsh, who was on his vacation, hastened down from the mountains to Boston to confer with me, and instantly telegraphed \$3,000 to save the case on appeal.

We hear it said, How is it that you can be so interested in Indians that show such degradation as is frequently seen in a journey to California? How is it that there is a duty to defend such Indians? In reply I would say, the specimens most commonly seen by tourists are not mission Indians; but as a more general answer I would ask whether the generous championship of the whole race by our host had been narrowed or limited by his wide traveling among the

Indians, with full sight of the extensive degradation among some tribes; and if not, shall we who gather here under his generous invitation narrow our interest; or ask, rather, that we may have the Christly consecration which he shows, and seek to save those that are lost without choosing for ourselves the better class? For such a work the inspiration comes, however, not only from one person, however much we may esteem him. It comes through him from above, and we shall find our inspiration to continue this work of defense from remembering the providential leading which has marked this case from the beginning. I esteem it no accident that Professor Painter, Mrs. Davis, and myself should have been in California at the time when Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson was confined to her room there, from which she was soon to pass to the life above, and under the power of those lustrous eyes, listened to her statement of the situation as she understood it. She had written her book, she had done her work as commissioner, visiting and studying the situation of these Indians, and here she was looking into the uncertain future of her Indians, as she called them, and there was a deep longing for something more to be done. Circumstances prevented us from offering at that time to visit them on her behalf, but we could promise that in July, although in the heat of the summer, we would go for her; and we did go, with the thermometer at 106 degrees in the shade among the hills.

We met the Indians, and found that we had been preceded by a letter from "the queen," as they called her, and they received us as officials sent by her. We told them that we were not government officials, but that we came as her friends; and when we told them that we could make no promises it was distressing to see the fall of the countenances all around us. But we told them that we had come expressly to take them by the hand and to hear the sound of their voices, and to know what they had suffered since she was with them. "Si, Signor," they said, with a brightening of the faces all around, and then gave an account of the seizure of their crops and the encroachment on their lands. It was a pathetic story, and a thrilling one. We returned to her, and received her dying message to the President; and reporting to the next Mohonk Conference, eleven years ago, that Conference, under the motion of Mr. Moses Pierce, took up the case, and placed \$5,000 in the hands of a committee to carry on the work where the government was then failing to do it.

To-day the committee finds itself with a small balance in its hands. Is it not time now that this committee should resign the leadership of the defense to the association which has come so nobly and efficiently to the rescue? I would move that the defense of the Mission Indians be transferred to the Indian Rights Association, with the \$300 in our treasury.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Smiley.

Mr. Welsh said that he deprecated such a transference. He thought the committee which had had charge of the work so long

should keep it in its hands, and the Indian Rights Association would always be ready to help that Committee in any emergency.

Mr. Smiley said he hoped that the motion would prevail. After a few remarks on the subject it was voted that the work of defense of the Mission Indians should be turned over to the Indian Rights Association, and that the money left in the hands of the committee for that work should also be transferred.

Mr. C. F. Meserve, president of Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C., was asked to speak on Educational Work among the Indians.

EDUCATIONAL WORK.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT CHAS. F. MESERVE, SHAW UNIVERSITY,
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen.—An adequate conception of education implies a clear and comprehensive grasp of the end to be attained, and the principles and methods involved in attaining that end. This I hold to be true with all races so far as the end is concerned. There may, however, be need of varying the methods because of the heredity and environment of different races.

Some two or three years ago I was asked to prepare for an encyclopedia of ethnology an article on the education of Indian youth on the American continent from the earliest time to the present day. While collecting the needed data I ran across a copy of the charter of Harvard College, and found that this famous institution was founded for the education of English and Indian youth "in knowledge and godliness." The idea of the fathers was the same as our own to-day. I believe the sentiment of the majority of us gathered here would be expressed if we were to say, "in Christian citizenship." The idea of the fathers was that the work of the home and of the church should be supplemented by that of the school, and along religious lines. We hardly feel, with reference to government work, like putting the proposition in that form, but I think we are all agreed upon this,—that the end to be attained is law-abiding, self-supporting citizenship.

You cannot for a moment discuss citizenship without thinking of the home, of the duty of wife and husband, father and mother and children, and so you reach out to the duty of the community. The school is a factor that must be considered. We have the home, the school, and the church in connection with the thought of citizenship. I shall pay little attention to the school in what I have to say, for that work was admirably described to us last evening by Dr. Hailmann. I think, as we heard it, we all wished we had been born of German-speaking parents, so that we might know how properly to use the English language. That address seemed to me a remarkable instance of careful analysis, richness of diction, and clearness of

enunciation. When we consider the home, we must think of the father, the mother, the house and its surroundings; and the school and its surroundings must be made as homelike as possible.

What can the church do? These are government schools. The employees may be Christian people or they may not, but I believe a great work can be done by the church. Is there any locality, any part of the Indian country in the United States, where these three forces—the school, the home, and the church—are all at work and producing good results?

During the past summer I made a visit to that colony known as the Seger Colony. I have watched Mr. Seger's course, and made a study of his colony. I first met Mr. John H. Seger in 1889, and I became interested in him and his work, and have followed it in detail nearly every year since. The colony is in Washita County, Oklahoma. It comprises a part of what was known as the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation. There we have a very unusual combination of circumstances and forces. As I might say to you that the life of the Mohonk Conference is our good friend Mr. Smiley, and that we can never think of this conference without thinking of him, and that a conference without him would not be a conference,—so I might say that the spirit of Mr. Seger permeates the school of which he is superintendent, and the colony which he established and which bears his name.

As I came near the school last July I saw in a large field what I had never seen anywhere before. You have read in the newspapers about the immense wheat crop of Oklahoma, and for once the newspapers have not told a lie; neither have they told the whole truth. I saw along Cobb Creek a line of wheat stacks not less than a quarter of a mile long. There were thousands of bushels of wheat there; weren't there, Major Woodson?

Major WOODSON.—Yes.

Mr. MESERVE.—Thousands of bushels of wheat that were raised by Indian boys.

This Seger Colony, I think, combines the three features of home, school, and church, as I have never seen them elsewhere. In the first place a home is necessary, that we may have shelter, food, and clothing. These are fundamentals, and I know from my personal observation of the work of the Seger Colony that if for three years more such crops are raised as have been this year, the school will not be obliged to call upon the United States treasury for one penny. Enough money will be obtained from selling the surplus wheat, oats, sheep, and cattle, to run the school and pay the salaries of the superintendents, teachers, and employees, and thus reduce the expense to nothing so far as the government is concerned. Is not this a grand consummation?

How has this been brought about? Mr. Seger is a wonderfully practical man. He is also a man of deep religious nature. I have never met such a combination of the at first apparently rough exterior, and clean life, and deep spiritual insight, and warm, sympathetic nature, as is found in John Homer Seger. He has

believed in these Indians from the beginning. He trusted them, and they trusted him; and in times of danger they stood by his wife and his little ones when he was far away. He went out from Darlington with renegade Indians, sixty miles from the nearest white face, with his wife and little ones. Their supplies gave out. He had to go back to the agency, and in going he must ford a river, the South Canadian, one of the most treacherous streams. One hour it may be a bed of sand a mile wide, with a cloud of dust flowing up stream; the next a roaring torrent of sand and water moving toward the Gulf of Mexico. Returning, he found the river high, and could not ford it. With his wife and little ones fifty miles away, left behind with the Indians, he had to wait three days and three nights for the river to go down. As he got near his home he met an Indian, who stopped him and told him in sign language that his family was safe. This Indian had been a bad Indian, but every night of Mr. Seger's absence he had walked around the house once each hour to see that everything was all right. Was it strange that Mr. Seger believed in him? When you believe in a man you can help him, and he will believe in you.

Mr. Seger carries out his principles at all times and in all places. Around the buildings of his school are peafowl, horses, mules, dogs, squirrels, and a beautiful spotted doe, living together peaceably, with scores of Indian children all about, whose wild natures are being tamed. His Indians run to him for everything. While I was there a young man came and said he wanted to be married to a certain Indian girl. Mr. Seger got the license, and about nine o'clock in the evening, under a rustic arbor, Rev. F. H. Wright, a Choctaw Indian, performed the ceremony, and we had a nice little reception for an hour; and then the young wife dutifully went home with her parents, and the young husband went home with his parents.

Industrial education is carried on here in a very practical way. Mr. Seger has wheat enough to furnish flour for two years to come. He has a large flock of sheep, several hundred cattle, and kills all the beef used at his school, and supervises the issue of beef from the block to the adult Indians of his locality.

As to missionary work, I want to bear testimony to the noble work that is being done near the Seger School by the Women's Executive Committee of the Board of Domestic Missions of the Reformed Church in America. We who believed in Christian education, have been puzzling ourselves since the civil service rules went into effect as to how the religious work could be carried on. These people have admirably solved the question. About a quarter of a mile from the school is one of the prettiest little church edifices, built of Oklahoma pink limestone. The church has been organized through the efforts of Rev. F. H. Wright and Rev. W. C. Roe, brother of the novelist, as assistant pastor. They do not live in the parsonage all the time. Sunday they preach at home, but Monday they may be sixty miles away. They do their work wisely. I met Mr. Wright starting off very early one morning

with his covered wagon, tent, and mules, and asked him where he was going. "It is pay-day to-morrow at the agency," he replied, "and the Indians are to camp at Deadwoman at noon, and we are going to be there and have a preaching service while they eat their dinner."

I was at the Seger Colony several days, and looked into their work carefully. I drove two days with Mr. Wright, and saw the character of the work and some of the results, which are remarkable. There is a church organization, with fifty Indians as members and quite a number of whites. The religious life of the Seger Colony centers in this church. The school pupils are not required to attend, but do so from choice. There is also an excellent Sunday school.

In 1874 Frank Holloway, son of the agency physician at Darlington, Oklahoma, was murdered by Bad Face and Creeping Bear. Both murderers were convicted, and Bad Face was executed in the United States prison at Fort Smith, Ark. Creeping Bear was confined several years and then released, and is now with Mr. Seger at the colony. On the Sabbath that I attended the services of Rev. Wright's church I saw Nora, the daughter of Creeping Bear, received into church membership. Creeping Bear was present, clothed in citizen's dress and in his right mind, rejoicing that his daughter was being taken into the church.

The conversion of Thunder Bull was another interesting case. One day he was disturbed in mind, and went to the minister and said, "My heart troubles me."

"Why," said Mr. Wright, "I can hardly understand that. Your heart ought to be good now."

"No," said Thunder Bull; "something troubles me. You know I am a policeman, and I have been for several days studying this question, and I cannot quite understand how a man can be a policeman and a Christian at the same time."

A word as to the effect upon the lives and homes of these people. They are building houses; eighteen are soon to be built, in addition to what they now have. You have all heard of the great power of the medicine man. An elder daughter of Creeping Bear was taken sick two years ago. She was attended by a white physician, who pronounced the disease consumption. As soon as Mrs. Creeping Bear learned it she said, "Now we will send for a medicine man; the white physician no good." For once the husband was master of the house, and he came to the rescue and said: "No; medicine man shall not come; white man shall stay. If medicine man had come before, she would have died months ago." The white physician gave full directions about the care of the girl, and of protecting the other members of the family from the disease, and Creeping Bear took pains to see that Mrs. Creeping Bear carried these instructions out faithfully. After a time the girl died, and Creeping Bear insisted upon having a funeral like white folks, with a prayer at the house and services at the grave. He did not kill his best pony at the grave, as he would

once have done. The old-time Indians taunted him, and said, "You think more of your pony than of your daughter." But he was pulling away from old associations, and came to Mr. Seger and arranged to have a white marble slab placed over her grave, with an appropriate inscription. That shows he is following along lines of Christian civilization.

In the allotment of lands, the original plan of Senator Dawes is being carried out along the Washita River. Many of us are longing to see the day when the Indian, as an Indian, shall disappear, and shall live side by side in peace and happiness with the white man. There are instances of this to-day along the Washita valley. There are white people from Texas living in harmony with their Indian neighbors; and I am sure if a Texas man can live in peace with an Indian, any white man can.

Miss Sibyl Carter was asked to speak on Industrial Education among the Indians.

MISS CARTER.—If you had told me seven years ago that I was going into the Indian country to start lace schools, and that I should have six or seven on my hands in the course of a year, and that those Indian women would be making lace that was selling to the richest women in the country on its own merit, I should have laughed. But things have got to grow or go out of existence, and the thing grew.

I am not so good as Bishop Whipple. He says he loves all the Indians. I have no right to talk much about the Indians because I am afraid I do not love them all; but I have great sympathy with them, and I like to see them improving, and they have improved wonderfully in the little time that I have been working among them. What has done it? Just old-fashioned work, and not only work but wages paid promptly.

I am often asked if I employ young girls and children. No; I do not believe I have a woman who is not married. My work is for mothers and grandmothers, and these women are very grateful for the work. They have showed that they are not lazy, but are anxious for work, and are glad to have these schools established, and they do fine work. When I can get \$35 for one piece of their Venetian lace work, I think it is worth while to get tired doing this thing. And I am tired to-day. I did not sleep till five this morning, because I had a letter from my superintendent asking me to hurry and send money to pay the teachers, for there was only 77 cents in the treasury and seven teachers to pay. But I have been selling lace this morning, and now I have some money. I do not need to say more. The lace speaks for itself. (Here Miss Carter held up some large, beautiful specimens of the lace made by the Indian women of Minnesota. She also showed an alms plate richly carved.) I am proud to say that although I do not know a thing about carving, I taught the man who did that, and he has done some fine work in other directions.

One day I heard some one talking about hats made of corn husks, and I thought to myself, Dear me, when I was a young girl down on a Louisiana plantation, it used to be great fun to braid hats out of palmetto. I kept quiet, and when I went out to the school I sent one of the Indians out to bring me a handful of corn husks, as long husks as he could find. He asked what I was going to do. "Never you mind," I said, "only I am going to see if I can't start you to making money." And I actually taught that man to make a hat; and now it is true, as one of them said, "If I can't sell any I will never have to buy another hat." I was glad he thought of that side of it. I have since learned that straw braid is used a great deal now by milliners, and I do not see why the Indians should not braid it for them. One of my wealthy friends has said to me that if I would have the braid made she would try to make it fashionable.

Work, work, work; wages, wages, wages; these are the important things, not neglecting other things. It is a beautiful thing to educate the children; but one of my Indian mothers took her own girls when they came home from school and taught them lace making. One girl when she came back, instead of finding her mother in the tepee, found her in a cabin in a rocking chair, working at a piece of lace at ten dollars a yard, and that mother taught the daughter, so that she was forced to look up to her mother; and she learned from her something that she had not learned at the Eastern school. And the men would come in and say, "How nice it is; mother teach daughter."

Bishop WHIPPLE.—Americans think a great deal of heredity. Where did Sibyl Carter get her earnestness and her common sense and devotion? She is a great, great granddaughter of old Sam Adams, of the Revolution.

REV. EGERTON YOUNG.—During the year I have been visiting a number of Canadian Indian missions. We are trying there to solve these problems, and we have been greatly blessed. The Sioux Indians, who came over into Canada after the Minnesota troubles, are doing exceedingly well. Our Canadian government gave them a fine reservation, and the Presbyterian Church has taken charge of the religious work, and they are settling down and doing well. When I was away in the northwest, four hundred miles from the nearest white family, we never thought of locking a door; but we never had anything stolen though we were surrounded by wild savages. They knew nothing of civilized food, and instead of praying, "Give us this day our daily bread," they learned to say, "Give us this day something to keep us alive." Those Indians are now brought down to Manitoba, where the government has given us a reservation fourteen miles by seven.

Dr. Young exhibited some of the silk embroidery of the Indian women, which was for sale, that the proceeds might help them in their homes.

The next speaker was President William F. Slocum, of Colorado College, who spoke on State Care of the Indians.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STATES FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE INDIAN.

BY WILLIAM FREDERICK SLOCUM.

The committee has asked me to say something in regard to the responsibility of the States for the education of the Indian. I confess to a feeling of humbleness at the thought of saying anything to you who have had much larger experience than myself in dealing with the problem of how best to educate the children of the various tribes, with all their peculiarities, not to say idiosyncrasies, of temperament and race conditions. You who have lived among them, studied them, and that, too, with the high purpose of making them into citizens of the Great Republic, understand their needs and their possibilities much better than one like myself, who has known little of them by personal contact.

We are all aware that, up to the present time, comparatively little has been done by the various States, as such, for the education of the Indian. There is little or no blame attached to them for not undertaking this work, because of the relation which heretofore the national government has borne to these which it has regarded as its wards. The question does arise, however, whether the time has not come when the various commonwealths which have Indians within their borders, should not, at least, begin to assume responsibility for their education, just as has been done for all others within their limits. It is not possible to discuss this phase of our Indian problem without reminding ourselves of certain fundamental principles which must be kept in mind if a satisfactory solution is to be reached. We have been saying, over and over, that we must make citizens of them. We are all agreed as to this, and, also, that in making free and law-abiding members of society of them, their growth and civic development should be along the lines of the growth and development of the country. The training and education of the Indian should correspond, just as far as possible, to the discipline and instruction meted out to all children of the Republic.

Another aspect of the problem must also not be overlooked. It is quite true that we are dealing with a human being,—one of our own brethren, if you please; but we are also having to do with an individual who has his own ethnic characteristics, and his peculiar mental and moral qualities. While he is a human being, he is at the same time an Indian, with the traits of character which belong to those of his own race; and there are very many of these traits of character that we must not attempt to destroy, but rather to conserve. It is quite true that we desire to make a Christian of him; but it must still be an Indian Christian. Puritanism was, on the whole, a very good thing, but it does not follow that the only hope of all people on the face of the earth is to mould them into that peculiar type of English character. As you have been telling us of

the faithfulness, honesty, and perseverance of the Indian, when the natural traits of his character are given a fair opportunity to develop, it has seemed to me that these are just the qualities that should dominate in all education worthy of the name. The battle in the educational world to-day is to make those who have the direction of our schools believe that no one is really educated who has not developed the capacity to see the difference between right and wrong, and also the moral strength and force which makes him stand for what is right when it is perceived.

If, now, there are certain primitive moral traits in the Indian character which are the very ones we have been trying to develop in the lives of the children in our public schools, then any education will be a mistaken one which does not attempt to develop him along the line of these moral capacities and tendencies. In considering the question as to who is to train and fit for citizenship this child of the nation, we must have in mind that no one must be intrusted with this sacred duty who will not, first of all, seek to conserve those moral qualities with which we believe the Creator has endowed him. Whatever may be said against any tribe, or race of people, it is always true that each has its own dominating moral and intellectual traits, which true education conserves and makes the foundation of all its efforts.

There is one more fundamental principle which I want also to mention in discussing the education of the Indian. There is very much being said in certain quarters which is misleading as to the nature of man from an educational point of view. One set of people are forever talking about training "the moral nature," as if that were one distinct part of the individual; others confine all they have to say to what they call "the spiritual nature," as if that were still another section of this same individual, and the moulding of that part belonged only to one set of educational artificers; then there is still another set of these educational job contractors, who regard it as their privilege and sole function to fashion what they chose to designate "the intellectual nature," as if this were a third grand division of the thing we familiarly call a human soul. Then we proceed to relegate one part of the student to the ethical teacher, another to the religious instructor, and the third to a pedagogue, expecting each to do his separate part of the contract much after the fashion in which one builds a modern house,—letting out the various parts of the construction to different contractors, allowing each to bid for his part of the job. When shall we learn to recognize, amid all our educational ideas, that whether one helps the individual to think well, to feel rightly, or to develop in his consciousness of moral ideals and of God, that it is one and the same thing with which we deal; that the man is a unit? We may teach our Indians mathematics, history, philosophy, or whatever we please, yet we are treating with his moral and religious self, for he is always a moral being; he is always a religious being; he is always an intellectual being. Whether we train our pupil to think, to feel, or in the consciousness of moral ideals and religious prin-

ciples, it ought to be, in essence, one and the same thing. If all his education is not making a moral and religious being of him, then the education has radical defects in it. This has nothing whatever to do with the question of sectarian schools, and the attempt in certain quarters to force an issue like that into the discussion, is misleading and unfair. The day has set for the purely sectarian school; but the day of the educational institution and the educational movement in which the religious and moral ideal dominates, is just beginning to dawn. The so called "secularization of education" has a monstrous fallacy as well as an enormous danger in it. Education which does not have good morals and the religious ideal at the heart of it, as the dominating force in it, lacks the essential factor. This was the idea that inspired the founders of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Amherst, Williams, and all other institutions that have been the real power in the life of the nation. Shall this give place to either sectarianism or secularization? In God's name, no! unless we are willing to throw overboard the most sacred and valued principles on which the very nation's life with all its hopes was founded.

What has this to do with the question of the education of the Indian by the State? Very much, as it seems to me. No plan for this education should be out of line with the lines of development of the republic itself, and in whatever hands his education shall be placed, it must be with the clear and definite understanding that there must be developed in him all the possibilities of his nature. A superficial and false notion has taken possession of some of our would-be leaders in educational matters: that the State in its work as an educator has nothing to do with the moral and religious nature. Yet the reports from the country where the State more dominantly controls education than anywhere else, announce that the great end to be secured in manual and industrial education, is that of developing moral power and force of character in the pupil.

I shall have accomplished all that I hoped in this address if I succeed in emphasizing the idea that, whether the education of the Indian is conducted under national authority, by the State government, or in schools on a private foundation, the one dominating purpose must be to convince him, and train him into the belief, that righteousness in the citizen is that which exalteth a nation. May it not be that God has placed under our care this people, with many noble traits, a race peculiarly distinct from all others in the nation, in order that the true end of education shall be realized in and through them?

It is because of the principles I have tried to enumerate, that I think the State should assume more and more the responsibility for the education of the Indians within their borders. In training them for citizenship, it is best to follow the plan which is established for educating all citizens; that is, the burden is laid upon the State, or rather upon the counties, cities, and towns in each commonwealth. This is right, because it places the responsibility upon those nearest

the persons who are to be educated. The nation says to the state, you are responsible to the country for the citizenship of those within your jurisdiction. The state says the same thing to the county and the town or city. So the nation says to the state, and the state to the local community, you must assume this burden with its responsibilities. This will result in a clear conception, on the part of those living nearest the Indian, of what is necessary to make him a citizen, and will bring the local community into closer and more intelligent appreciation of the problem and its solution. Those living nearest Bunker Hill Monument seldom ascend it; those living nearest the Indian often understand him and his problems most poorly. Could they bear his burdens, help at least to build schoolhouses for him, elect and pay for his teachers, and think out the best possible education for him, by the mysterious and wonderful working of the altruistic law they would come to be more and more his friend.

More than this, it will be the best thing for the Indian himself. It has been a great pleasure to me to hear it said in this Conference that the Indian himself is so waking to the consciousness of true citizenship, that he is asking for the privilege of sharing its burdens. He is already saying, I want to do my part in paying the taxes necessary for the highest good of the community in which I find myself. As the county or town in the State assumes the responsibility for educating him into citizenship, he becomes fitted to share in those burdens. He comes to say, I, too, must not only help build schoolhouses and pay the salaries of teachers, but become a sharer in all the common burdens of the community. He, too, comes to feel that the courts must be sustained and the laws obeyed; that property rights are not to be violated; that life is sacred. So it is that the moral consciousness develops in him, too, and this becomes one of the very processes by which his deeper and nobler nature comes out into dominance.

How soon this can be brought about depends upon the resources of the communities to which the Indian has been relegated, too often unwisely and unfairly; but that it is the principle which should direct the policy there can be no doubt.

This Conference has never hesitated in the advocacy of a course that was right, no matter what the practical politician had to say about it; and it is because of this that so much has been accomplished in the years that have come and gone. The future has yet greater service to be rendered, and there is much still to be done in a wise and just education of the Indian.

The following letter from Mrs. Mary L. Eldridge, field-matron among the Navajoes, was read:—

Since coming home last fall I have been trying to get the women to weave the olden time waterproof blanket, and some of the women have promised to do so. They will also color the wool with their own dyes, which never fade or run. The women tell

me that the blankets are made waterproof by putting into the hot dye the gum from the cedar or piñon trees. They also say that they much prefer to color and weave as they used to do, if only they can get enough for the blankets to pay them for the extra work and time.

In regard to the looms, I have advised the I. I. League to put a couple of looms into the mill, which we hope they will build here in the near future. They asked me to recommend some industry to be established among the Navajoes, and I recommended a mill to be built, and selected a site near the river, where the owner offered to donate seven and one-half acres of land. The Navajo wool loses only about 30 per cent in working up, and I think it would be a paying business to work up this wool into yarn, and have the old-time Navajo blankets woven, also bed blankets on looms, and to have a couple of knitting machines to knit cardigan jackets, hose, mittens, etc. Also a couple of broom machines, which trade, I am sure, our men would learn very easily. I proposed that the vats for washing the wool and the vats for coloring be in the basement, with facilities for raising the wool to the upper half story for drying. On the middle floor would be room for the carding machine and spinning jenny, the looms and broom machines. I am sure there would be a good market for yarn, and then we would try to supply the traders in the North with Navajo blankets for sale. When I was among the Ogalalla Sioux, old Red Cloud paid \$65 for a Navajo blanket, which I could duplicate here for \$10 or \$12.

Of course it is impossible for me to make any estimate of the absolute cost of machinery, as it is something I know nothing about; but I would begin in a small way, and add to the capacity as the business increases. The mill proper and the engine house would cost \$2,500 built of stone, a great deal of which would not have to be drawn, and coal is right at hand, and water never failing. Wool has only brought from three and one-half to four and one-half cents per pound this year (the last few days it has gone up one and one-half cents per pound). I have such faith in the industry that if I had money I would not hesitate to put it all into such an industry, but I find the longer I live among the Navajoes the less money I have,—there are so many wants, and so much suffering to be relieved.

I am very glad to tell you that the crops on this side of the reservation are very good this year, and the acreage greatly increased. Our people now raise corn, wheat, melons, squashes, beans, etc., and they have quite little sets of alfalfa.

This spring a friend sent me \$10 for the Navajoes, and I bought 150 two year old Concord grape vines, and issued six to each family; most of them are alive and doing well. Next spring I want very much to get some peach and apple trees to issue to the people who have water. The floods last spring washed out the heading to many of our ditches, and the present season has been a very hard one for our people. The men under one ditch have laid out and built a new heading of nearly 400 yards; for a long dis-

tance it was about eight feet deep, and not less than five feet the remainder of the way. Very little could be done with the horses and scraper, and day after day the men were working throwing out the heavy, wet mud. I may just as well say that I was proud of them, and I did not hesitate to tell them so. Sometimes I get blue because the work does not go fast enough,—the work of civilization, I mean,—but then I remember that when we came here six years ago this fall, no ditch had been taken out, and now nine ditches have been taken out, along the San Juan. In those days the old women planted a little corn at the mouths of the arroyos for roasting ears, and depended entirely upon sub-irrigation.

One great hindrance to our work here is the lack of tools, and wagons, and harnesses. Two years ago I got the Indians to plant a lot of sorghum seed, and made arrangements with an American who had a mill to make it up on shares. When harvest time came they stripped the cane, and tied the stalks up into neat bundles ready for the mill; but they had no wagons, and we could not get any to use, so they had no sorghum made. Do you think if wagons are issued this fall, that if the Navajoes should plant sorghum another year the government would allow us a sorghum mill? I know how to make sorghum, and could show them. It would be such a help to them to raise sorghum and have it made into good molasses.

Under our best ditch I reserved land for the school. Of course this home making, and getting the Indians to raise crops and make themselves more comfortable, is a good thing, but our hope is in the children; and last year when we had a little day school at the mission, the Navajoes came and said, "We live, most of us, so far away that our children cannot come and go home the same day; but if you can put up a building so they can stay, we will send all our children to you." There was money appropriated three years ago for schools here, but they have not been built, and I am sure our agent was very anxious for them, and it would be a means of great good to the young people.

The subject next taken up was The Mission Field. The secretaries of the different religious bodies that are doing missionary work among the American Indians had been asked to bring or send reports of their work. The following are abstracts of those reports.

THE INDIAN FIELDS AND WORK OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

BY SECRETARY C. J. RYDER.

Statistics of the Year.—Number of churches, 17; membership, 971; Sunday-school scholars, 1,145; contributions for benevolence and church support, \$2,426.76; number of schools, 25; number of pupils, 592; missionary outstations, 26; missionaries and teachers (white, 49; Indian, 37), 86.

There are four general divisions of the Indian department of missionary work: Nebraska and the Dakotas, Montana, Washington and Alaska.

The three central schools, for the training of Indian pupils and especially native Christian missionaries, are situated in the first three of these fields. Santee Normal Training School, Dr. A. L. Riggs at its head, now averages about one hundred pupils a year. It includes various forms of industrial training. In the higher classes special emphasis is given to the training of missionaries in Bible study and methods of Christian work, that young Indian men and women may be fitted for this active Christian service. A large percentage of the Indian missionaries in the outstations were trained at Santee. The government school building, formerly situated at Santee, has been burned, and the government has no school among the Santee Sioux except a small day school. Our school there occupies a strategic position, and is absolutely essential for the training of missionaries in this field. The number of pupils here has been greatly reduced in the past few years, through the lack of funds sufficient to carry on the work.

Another school in this division of the Indian Field is situated at Oahe, S. D., about 175 miles northwest from Santee. The number of pupils in this school this year has been 42. It has a course of training for those who are old enough to prepare for missionary work.

Fort Berthold, N. D., reaches three tribes, the Mandan, Ree, and Gros Ventres. A school was sustained by the government at Fort Stevenson for some years, but is now discontinued. Fort Berthold enrolled 45 pupils last year. Our Christian work among these tribes is absolutely dependent upon this school.

The Crow Mission is situated at Fort Custer, Montana, and represents an important work. Our missionary there has recently been visiting the former students of our own and other schools, who have settled on their reservations. His report was exceedingly encouraging. He found these young men and women almost uniformly engaged in farming or herding, or other useful occupations. Their houses were decent, and many of them Christian homes. His report furnishes abundant evidence that the statement so often made, that the Indian boys and girls slump back into the immoralities of paganism when they return to the prairie, is absolutely false so far as the Crow people are concerned.

At Skokomish Mission, in Washington, our missionary has been engaged in addition to his own work in visiting other Indian stations. In one missionary journey of this kind he found a community among whom there had never been before a Christian minister. The people were anxious to organize some work under his direction. He could not be engaged in carrying on this work, however, because of the lack of funds in the treasury of the A. M. A.

The church work among the Indians has been unusually encouraging during the past year. Two new churches are added to our list this year, making the total number of churches 17, mostly served by native pastors who go out from Santee and other Christian institutions. Four general superintendents (white) occupy central positions, from which they superintend the work of the native pastors in the outstations. This outstation work is of supreme importance. Every Christian Indian home in which a native pastor and his wife are situated exemplifies the Christian truth in their lives, and is an object lesson to the Indians. No people can be permanently uplifted by foreign missionaries. It is only as a native leadership is trained up that abiding results are obtained. The large ingathering of Sunday-school pupils during the year, amounting to 1,145, means the Christian instruction of a large number of Indian children who come from their tepees and cabins. The Indian churches, for benevolent purposes, gave \$1,612 to missionary work outside of their own support, \$787 to their own church expenses. This certainly is a remarkable showing for a little group of 17 Indian churches.

Two forms of work which the American Missionary Association has carried on among the Indians are worthy of especial mention. The first is the Indian hospital at Fort Yates, N. D. Although this hospital has been conducted only a part of the past year, on account of the lack of funds, the work accomplished has been important and far-reaching. The physician who had charge of the hospital was thoroughly trained, and the reports are therefore of scientific accuracy. From January, 1896, to March, 1897, the year in which the hospital was in full operation, there were: inside patients, 32; outside patients, 740; total receiving medical treatment, 772. This hospital, with a skilled female doctor, is of greatest blessing to the women and girls of the Indian tribes, who are so often uncared for in their sickness and suffering.

Tuberculosis heads the list of diseases to which the Indians are subject. Pneumonia, bronchitis, and kindred diseases are also numerous. The prevalence of these diseases arise as much from the lack and improper use of food as from exposure. The observant physician of this hospital makes the following careful summary: "I have been trying to find out about the population of the Indians on this reservation. They are decreasing. Ten years ago there were 4,000; now there are 3,700. There were 15 more deaths than births the past year; that is, ending with July first, there were 183 deaths and 168 births."

Another unique and interesting phase of the A. M. A. work

among the Indians is the educational missionary work of Prof. F. B. Riggs, who is assistant principal at Santee Normal Training School, Nebraska. Professor Riggs has organized a movement for reaching the Indians in their villages. He has simple portable scientific apparatus. He gives the Indians experiments in physics, including electricity and magnetism. He takes also a stereopticon, and shows views of the race and development of civilization. He begins with the Indian tepee and the white man's dugout or sod cabin on the prairie, familiar to the Indians, and traces the development of the family abode, ending with some of the fine residences of our cities. He throws on the canvas pictures of great commercial buildings, factories, churches, and schools. It is Aladdin's lamp that this pale-face lights, and the mysteries of magic never before opened to the wondering vision of childhood so much of magnificence, splendor, and surprise as is opened to the Indian man and woman through these pictures. I have been with Professor Riggs over the prairie, and seen a whole village empty itself the following morning after such an exhibit. Men, women, and children tramped in chattering, hurrying companies, following Professor Riggs to the next Indian village, perhaps thirty or forty miles away, that they might see again the marvels of the pale-faced juggler. But more than curiosity is awakened. Professor Riggs emphasizes the necessity for self-reliance, industry, and economy if the Indian would ever come into the condition already reached by his white brother. Often Professor Riggs illustrates the life and work of our Saviour with this stereopticon. The impression is wonderful, and often permanent.

The report of our missionaries in Alaska, written under date of July 29, 1897, has reached us. They present a hopeful picture of the work among the Eskimos. The year has been one of marked prosperity to the people among whom our missionaries labor. Walrus fishing, upon which they largely depend, has been much more successful and profitable than usual. This means to the Eskimo, skins, oil and ivory for barter, and the general improvement of his condition. Our missionaries have built a log house, which has proved to be comfortable. Another cottage has been erected for the herders of the reindeer, who are occasionally stopping over for a night. The reindeer herd has increased, and proves all that was expected of it. It furnishes food through milk and carcasses, skins for clothing, bones and horn for needles, and useful articles of various kinds. The reindeer also furnishes the best means of transportation possible, going very rapidly with the sledges across this snow-covered region. This mission in Cape Prince of Wales is entirely supported by special contributions sent to our treasury for this purpose. It was closed for a year, but Mr. and Mrs. Lopp begged to return, and were ready to go on the doubtful support of these voluntary contributions. They have entered the field with great heroism and sacrifice, and certainly merit the support of all Christian people in their work. This mission occupies the most western portion of the mainland over

which the "stars and stripes" float, and will sometime be the basis of large missionary operations across the straits in upper Siberia.

The Work of the Friends was reported by Mr. E. M. Wistar, of Philadelphia :—

The Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs was organized in the early part of the year 1869. Since that year the Committee has continued in active service for the aid and advancement of the Indian in Christian civilization.

We now have under our care nine mission stations, which embrace five schools and collateral service ; viz., Modoc, Ottawa, Wyandotte, and Seneca, situated amongst the several remnants of tribes on the small reservations in the northeastern corner of Indian Territory ; a station near Blue Jacket to the southwest of these, within the limits of the Cherokee Nation ; Skiatook, with its flourishing boarding and day school, with a good history and much promise, farther westward, bordering northern Oklahoma ; in Oklahoma the three remaining stations,—Shawnee and Kickapoo in the south and the Iowa Camps in the north centre.

Three government schools also come within the range of our report, our regular mission efforts having been extended to the children collected in them. While we make no effort to proselytize these children, the relations between our missionaries and the school officers and children have been intimate and sympathetic.

Our superintendents, a Friend and his wife, have their home near the Shawnee government school ; they make visits from time to time to all the above stations, and receive monthly reports from each, which, as heretofore, are forwarded to the chairman of our committee on religious interests and education.

There are six monthly meetings, covering twenty-three particular or subordinate meetings of Kansas yearly meeting. Ten recorded ministers and some other interested Friends have had part in the gospel work. One thousand four hundred regular meetings have been held at the several meetinghouses during the year, and besides these 15 series of appointed meetings. There are 13 Bible schools, of which 8 were held throughout the year, with an average attendance of 37. Reports show a net increase of 34 members, of whom 15 are Indians, the Indian members showing a total of 491.

A boarding school for Indian children at Tunesassa, in western New York, which is in the care and support of Philadelphia yearly meeting, and the missions at Douglas and Kake Islands, Alaska, under Kansas yearly meeting, are both in active operation, but do not report to the Associated Committee. It may also be stated that three Friends from California meeting are now on their way to establish a mission at a point within the Arctic Circle.

The cash appropriations for Friends' work for Indians the past year, so far as may be here noted, amount to about \$10,000.

In visiting some of these schools last spring, it was gratifying to find that a high class of work was being done. A large number of

the teachers seemed to be of a high order of excellence, to be earnest and efficient in their calling, and not unmindful of their duties as true missionaries of the gospel.

The great needs are: first, a liberal addition to the force of efficient field matrons; and, second, a yet more complete annihilation of politics and spoils from all the agencies.

A report on Moravian Missions was given by Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel Amongst the Heathen, Bethlehem, Pa.:—

Moravian work in behalf of the native races of America embraces two distinct divisions, the Indians and the Eskimos. Amongst the former we have been active since 1735, uninterruptedly since 1740, with a record of glorious success in several eras, in each case rudely shattered by interference—sometimes bloody—on the part of the white men. The story of David Zeisberger, the apostle of the Delawares, is one of almost unparalleled interest and of almost unequaled pathos.

At present our Indian work is confined to five stations, served by thirteen missionaries who labor amongst Delawares, Munseys, Cherokees, and the Mission Indians of Southern California. In the case of the last named, our two missionary couples are connected with the work of the Women's National Indian Association.

Particular interest attaches to our mission amongst the Eskimos, begun in 1884 at the solicitation of Dr. Sheldon Jackson. Eskimo missions having been carried on by our church in Greenland ever since 1733, and in Labrador since 1770, Dr. Jackson turned to our Society at Bethlehem with a request to take in hand the thus far neglected Eskimos of Alaska. The then practically unknown region of the Kuskokuin and Nushagak Rivers, south of the Yukon, was selected. Amongst the five pioneers went the Rev. John Henry Kilbuck, a full-blooded Indian from Kansas, descended from Gelelemend, a chief of the Delawares in the Forks of the Delaware in Pennsylvania about 150 years ago. Mr. Kilbuck was a graduate of our college and theological seminary, and had served as a missionary for a few months amongst his own people in Ontario, Canada. One of the five pioneers was drowned in the Kuskokuin before their house was built. Before any converts had been won another missionary and his wife, Rev. Wm. Weniland, now doing splendid service at Banning, Cal., amongst the Mission Indians, had to withdraw on account of seriously impaired health. For a while Kilbuck and his wife held the fort alone, contending with the severities of a climate which in winter has reached 60 degrees of cold below zero, and with the difficulties of a language that has been compared to a combination of the growls of polar bears blended with the crunching of icebergs. But God blessed his zeal and fidelity. The first sign of any reward for his labor was given him on Good Friday, 1887. In

the best Eskimo at his command he was telling the blessed story, old yet ever new, and was trying to explain that God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, and that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin, when an old Eskimo interrupted him with the cry, "Thanks; we, too, want our badness washed away."

At present we have fifteen missionaries in this field, including two who are home on furlough. On the staff are a graduate of Hahnemann Medical College, Philadelphia, and two professional nurses. Four hundred and seventy patients were cared for last year. Three principal stations are occupied and seven outposts.

Our missionaries found the Eskimos filthy, degraded, cruel, the prey of the shamans, or medicine men, given over to superstition, seeing evil spirits in everything, even in rocks and trees, without knowledge of God and without hope for the future, and possessing very little of comfort in the present world. In the reeking atmosphere of their underground kashimas, or dugouts, sixteen or twenty feet square, twenty-four to thirty-six persons, representing three or four families, might cower over the fat lamps. Privacy and decency were unknown. The standard of morality was utterly low. A woman might have half a dozen husbands in turn before she settled down permanently. The aged and sick were simply taken outside of the village and exposed to death by cold and starvation, to hasten matters and to prevent a kashima from being haunted by the ghost of one who departed under its roof. The persons of the people literally swarmed with vermin.

Now more than six hundred baptized Christians meet daily for evening prayers in ten villages. Three schools are maintained, two of them boarding schools. The decencies of family life and the proprieties of civilization are beginning to be prized. The power of the shamans is broken; heathen rites have practically ceased on the lower Kuskokwim. Twenty-seven native assistants, two of them boys who were at Carlisle School,—David Skuviuk and George Nukachluk, married to Christian girls trained in missionary families,—are authorized to conduct services, and largely take charge of the affiliated outstations. On January 30th the first fruits of home mission work amongst themselves were gathered in the baptism of a convert at a village 80 miles from Bethel, the chief station, and up to that time served wholly by two native assistant missionaries, Neck and Sumpka by name.

For several years the mission at Bethel has had a sawmill in operation, the natives bringing logs and receiving planks in exchange. Thus it is hoped that gradually decent houses will become the rule.

That the Eskimos should become civilized in a mode exactly patterned after our own, is not to be expected. But they may well become civilized like the Laplanders. We are, therefore, deeply interested in Dr. Sheldon Jackson's project,—the introduction and distribution of domesticated reindeer throughout Alaska. We desire to see this succeed, not only as a civilizing medium, and as

furnishing a permanent food supply (the present sources of food being threatened with gradual extinction), but also as a means of freight and postal connection. At present we have a regular exchange of mail with the Kuskoquin only once a year. For supplies our mission is dependent on the ships of the Alaska Commercial Company. Notice has been received that these will no longer be sent to the Kuskoquin, all trade being diverted to the Yukon by the gold fever. It is very desirable that a freight and postal route connect Northern Alaska with the southern coast of the Aleutian Peninsula, where steamers now touch monthly in winter and fortnightly in summer. This connection will be practicable by reindeer in winter. Since the civilization of Arctic and sub-Arctic Alaska is intimately connected with the distribution of the reindeer, we earnestly hope that this conference will again indorse Dr. Jackson's far-sighted philanthropic measure, and request Congress to enlarge its appropriation for its more adequate prosecution.

Whilst the element of time is needed to disclose the ultimate result of efforts to Christianize and civilize the Eskimos of Alaska, we are already at a sufficient distance from the inception of the work, in time and in degree, to warrant the assertion that here, as elsewhere, Christ has been disclosed to be the hope of the world, and of the lower races in particular, body, soul, and spirit. When with the co-operation of the Divine Spirit you plant in the heart of the savage the germ of saving faith, and are instrumental in the regeneration of an immortal soul in heathendom, you have dropped an exceedingly fertile seed in receptive soil. Regeneration carries with it elevation and education, appreciation of, and desire for, culture and civilization,—ultimately, in fact, everything, for the image of God again begins to emerge in man from beneath the disfigurement of barbarism and sin.

The Mennonite Mission Board presented the report of its Indian work by Rev. A. B. Shelly, Secretary:—

The work of the Mennonite Mission Board among the Indians has been continued during the present year as before. Our schools are now filled to their full capacity, and a number of children had to be refused admittance for want of room. Both the Cheyennes and Arapahoes sent an earnest request to have an additional school established at Cantonment, O. T., so that each tribe might have its own school, and that all their children might be accommodated. But as a government Indian school will shortly be erected at Cantonment, our board will not extend its school work at this place. A number of youths have during the present year accepted the Christian religion, and show the effects of a change of heart by their upright, moral, and Christian conduct.

Besides the educational work, which also includes industrial training, mission work among adult Indians is continued with increased energy. If we compare the condition of our Indians to-day with what they were a decade ago, a great change for the better is

seen. The Indians have been morally, socially, intellectually, and to some extent spiritually elevated.

A new mission station has been erected in the vicinity of Arapahoe, O. T., during the past summer.

The work among the Moqui Indians, at Oraibe, Arizona, is progressing slowly. The field is hard, yet not hopeless. Besides our own missionary, two missionaries sent there by the Women's Indian Association have of late been engaged. Besides these, Mr. and Mrs. Collins are doing good work.

The Women's Executive Committee of the Board of Domestic Missions of the Reformed Church in America made the following report:—

Our board inaugurated work among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians of Oklahoma in 1895. Rev. Frank Hall Wright, who is himself half Indian (Choctaw), is the missionary. A grant of 15 acres on the government reservation at Colony has been given to the denomination, and a church and parsonage have been erected. The church was organized and dedicated last November with 22 members, Indian and white, and now there are about 40 communicants. A Sunday school of over 120 scholars was organized, the superintendent and several teachers being connected with the government school.

While the centre of work is at Colony, Mr. Wright has a large field among the blanket Indians; and feeling the need of a helper, the committee in May last called the Rev. Walter C. Roe and his wife, who have entered upon this work with consecrated zeal.

Indian Work by the Protestant Episcopal Church was reported as follows:—

In the great territory of Alaska this church has work among the Indians and Eskimos along the Yukon River, and north of the Arctic Circle at Point Hope.* Bishop Rowe was led to turn his attention this last summer to the Yukon district, and was on the ground almost at the breaking out of the gold fever. He wrote from Unalaska on his return journey that he had found the work more satisfactory and encouraging than during the previous year, and the workers more full of encouragement with regard to results.

The year has been marked, among other things worthy of note, by the successful beginning of the work of the Woman's Auxiliary. Regular meetings have been held, and the interest of the members has been unflinching.

From Point Hope, Dr. Driggs reports that on his return to duty, a year before, he received a joyful and hearty welcome from the natives on his arrival at St. Thomas' Mission, Point Hope, our most northern outpost. The doctor has erected a new home for himself at this place, in the building of which natives and a few white men present assisted. The interest shown in the Sunday

services has been very marked during the year, the average attendance being between 120 and 125. Only a few years ago these people had never known of the true God, but now there is scarcely a family at Point Hope but prays to him. Dr. Driggs says: "I doubt if there is a single city or village in the United States where the ratio to the total population of those who attend worship on Sundays, has been as large the past winter as it has been here on Point Hope."

In Arizona, missionary work is carried on among the Navajo Indians at Fort Defiance, and among the Mojave Indians on the Colorado River. Miss Eliza W. Thackara, in charge of the hospital at Fort Defiance, is doing most excellent work.

In the diocese of Fond du Lac, the oldest Indian work is being carried on among the Oneidas. As an indication of the progress that has been achieved in this district, a congregation of 1,000 baptized persons has been gathered and nearly two hundred communicants.

In North Dakota, missionary work is carried on among the Chippewas, Sioux, Mandans, and four other tribes.

In Oklahoma, among five tribes numbering in all 66,289 Indians, Christian work has been carried on with gratifying results.

The memorable event of the year in South Dakota was the completion, or near completion, of twenty-five years of service by five clergymen and two ladies. The board has already taken pleasure in expressing its high sense of the value of such prolonged and faithful service. Bishop Hare expressed his own great pleasure, and was happy to place on record the cordial generosity of the friends who enabled him to present to each of these faithful laborers a check for \$100 as a memento of this interesting event.

The building of St. Elizabeth's School, Standing Rock Reserve, was on January 26th entirely destroyed by fire. So soon as the disaster became known, however, sympathetic aid began to pour in from all quarters, till more than twenty dioceses were represented in gifts, from Maine to California, from Minnesota to Georgia. These gifts, together with the insurance of \$5,000, enabled the Bishop to rebuild the school, which is now almost completed.

In South Dakota is by far our largest Indian mission. It reaches 13 tribes. The field is divided into ten separate divisions, each of these being under the supervision of a clergyman. The several congregations, except the central one of the division, are in the immediate charge of native deacons, catechists, or helpers. Connected with the mission are four Indian boarding schools averaging 50 pupils each, to whom religious instruction is given daily. Out of a population of about 25,000 Indians, 9,476 in all have received baptism, and nearly 3,000 have been confirmed. As an indication of their own sincerity and earnestness, these Christian Indians not only aid in supporting their native clergy, but also send contributions for domestic and foreign missions. Let it be said to their credit also that not a church or chapel among them is encumbered by debt or mortgage. Services are held at 55 stations and sub-sta-

tions at least once each Sunday, either by the clergy or their Indian helpers, and occasionally in 25 other places. The only case of discipline that has ever occurred among the native clergy was the deposition this year of one of them.

In Southern Florida, work is maintained among the Seminoles in the Everglades.

In Wyoming, Rev. Sherman Coolidge reports the work among the Arapahoes as quite encouraging.

Rev. Charles F. Thompson, D.D., made a brief report for the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, and Rev. A. P. Foster, D.D., made a report on the Indian work of the American Sunday-school Union, as follows:—

The American Sunday-school Union has been at work in this country for seventy-three years, and, first and last, has given much attention to the Indians. So far as I have been able to ascertain, it has at present seven missionaries at work, four being in the Indian Territory, one in Michigan, one in South Dakota (neither of these two, however, devoting their whole time to the Indians), and one among the Indians in Washington.

The work of the society is somewhat peculiar. It does not attempt original work among heathen Indians; but it proposes, where they have been partially Christianized and brought to some knowledge of the truth, there to organize among them a Sunday school, which shall stimulate them to do Christian work. In other words, it finds Christian activities for young people who have come from Eastern schools. Over 100 schools have been organized among the Indians in the Indian Territory, there being a more fruitful field for this kind of work there than among any other portion of our Indian population.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

BY OSCAR E. BOYD.

The Church, through its missionaries, has been working upon this problem for many years, and has made great progress. New methods have been added to the first effort of simple gospel preaching in their own tongues, until at the present time almost every known and approved method is used. The mind, the heart, and the hand have each been brought under civilizing and Christianizing influences, and the good work cannot be overstated.

The government has also been trying to solve this problem, and it will be generally admitted that in reaching its present status many mistakes have been made. The most serious mistake of all was that of recognizing the Indians as so many different nations, and entering into treaties with them as such. If this had not been done the problem might have solved itself by this time, largely, perhaps,

by amalgamation with immigrants from foreign lands. Dealing with them in their tribal relations, holding for them large amounts of trust funds, and being under treaty obligations to feed, clothe, and care for them generally, it became necessary to appoint agents to carry out these obligations. These agents being the appointees of the government, the situation became a political one, and soon the whole system became one of systematic robbery of the Indian, with all the attendant evils of debauchery and pauperism. The Indian became a prey to bad men, and was not only robbed and degraded, but in his downfall he involved many of the neighboring white people who had dealings with him. Again, the bad faith of the government in breaking treaties has cost our nation many valuable lives, and produced a bitter hatred in the minds of the natives. The cost in money to the government in putting down Indian rebellions, has been many times greater than the amount that would have been required for their education.

The present attempt to solve the problem, by education, literary and industrial, by giving the Indians land in severalty, granting them citizenship, making laws for their guidance and protection, and compelling them to work for their living as any other men must do, is a great advance on former methods.

But the final solution cannot be reached until further advance is made. The government will not be successful until it has entirely separated the Indian work from politics. To this end all good friends of the Indian should work and pray. We must take this whole Indian question out of politics, both national and ecclesiastical. No party should appoint the men who manage these affairs, and no church should dictate the policy to be pursued, or subsist upon government appropriations. The Indians must be placed upon the same basis as to politics and religion as any other people, native or foreign born. The government should cease to feed and clothe them, except possibly for a time, in some special cases. The schools should be enlarged, improved, and increased in number until all the children are provided for. The laws should be made to operate for them the same as for any other citizen or foreign resident. The funds belonging to the tribes, now held in trust by government, should be distributed wisely among them as soon as it is safe to do so. This distribution might be made in the way of buying them homes and useful equipment for self-help. It is a law which God has laid down for the elevation of mankind that each man must mainly lift up himself by his own effort, and the Indian is not an exception. It is one of God's fundamental laws that if a man will not work, neither shall he eat. The endeavor, therefore, to induce the Indian to work is essential if he is ever to be a man among men.

After all, the real hope of a final solution of the problem must be through the preaching and teaching of the Word of God, by his Church implanting in their minds that God is both good and just, and that he is willing to save through Christ all that are down-trodden. Purely secular education and work will never elevate a

people to their highest and best development. "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

Mrs. W. W. Crannell called attention to the case of some Indians of New York State who had been imprisoned in Albany for selling liquor, but she had not been able to learn that the white men who sold liquor to the Indians had also been arrested.

President Dreher, of Roanoke College, called attention to the fact that the charter of William and Mary College, in Virginia, provides for the education of Indians as well as for white men.

Adjourned.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Evening, October 14.

THE Conference was called to order at eight o'clock by Mr. Garrett. Miss Myra H. Avery, of Poughkeepsie, made an address.

THE EARLY NEW YORK INDIANS.

BY MISS MYRA H. AVERY.

I shall say a few words about the early Indians of New York, because to one who, in her somewhat promiscuous digging, has discovered unexpected mines of interest, the temptation to share and share alike with friends is very great.

As you know, five Indian nations once occupied the territory which ultimately became the State of New York. Among them were the Onondagas, whose chief sachem, Hiawatha, made overtures toward a federation with the Mohawks. Afterwards the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Senecas joined the league, signing the compact with their several symbols,—a bear, a forked stick, a calumet, and a spider.

In 1524 this confederacy claimed that it had already existed for six generations. The Indians which comprised it were given by the French the generic name of Iroquois, and it is a remarkable fact that when first known to Europeans this federation numbered 12,000 souls, and that according to present statistics that number stands now, 375 years later, precisely as it did then. This fact, I may add, is not given me directly from the Department of the Interior, but I nevertheless believe the information to be entirely trustworthy. It must be borne in mind that many of these Iroquois are now living in the Dominion of Canada.

In 1715 the Tuscaroras of North Carolina joined the Union, and were given a portion of land lying between the Cayugas and the Senecas. They thus became the sixth nation.

At the close of the seventeenth century all the Indian tribes from Hudson's Bay to the present State of Tennessee, or, by the authority of at least one historian, all the red men from Lake Superior to the Isthmus of Darien, recognized the domination of these Iroquois. They styled themselves "The People of the Long House," referring, probably, to the great amount of territory they occupied;

which territory, by reason of its extent, was already a truly imperial domain,—fit material for the making of an Empire State. The Iroquois lived in friendly relations with the Dutch until the administration of Director General Kieft, in 1637. That the grave disorders among the Indians under his rule were due to his misguided severity, is evidenced by the fact that the doughty Dominie Bogardus (one of the earliest clergymen sent to New Amsterdam), who had felt impelled to denounce the Director General Van Twiller as “a child of the devil,” and to threaten him with “such a shake from the pulpit as would make him shudder,” was also led, in view of Kieft’s lack of administrative wisdom, to exclaim in his pulpit, “What are the great men of the country but vessels of wrath and fountains of trouble?”

But in 1687 there came a change for the better, and we get our first glimpse of an Indian commissioner, in reality though not in name, when, Peter Schuyler, the uncle of General Philip Schuyler of the Revolution, was appointed the recognized representative of the colony in its conferences with its red allies. He, by his courage and sagacity, as well as by his friendship for them and trust in them, was able so to win their confidence that they called him “Brother Quider.” At first he represented the white men in their negotiations with the red; but afterwards, in 1710, he went to England with five of their leading sachems, to represent their interests at the court of St. James. He had, therefore, a double claim to the distinction of first Indian commissioner.

The principles of Peter Schuyler, if not the precise office, were inherited by Colonel William Johnson, afterward Sir William Johnson, who lived among the Mohawks as one of them, and was adopted by them as their war chief. Later he gathered 100 families about him, calling the settlement Johnstown, which name it still bears. He gave land for churches, assisted Wheelock in his Indian school, settled controversies, negotiated treaties, quelled outbreaks, and, in fact, formed in himself a complete government, legislative, executive, and judiciary. (And here I will say, in passing, that in preparing an historical paper, which I gave five years ago, I discovered many interesting facts concerning Eleazer Wheelock, who not only established an Indian school, but was the founder of Dartmouth College, and became its first president. These facts I should have taken great pleasure in giving here, had I known earlier than this evening that he was a direct ancestor of our hostess, Mrs. Smiley.)

After Schuyler’s valuable services were lost to the colony, troubles with the Iroquois broke out with fresh bitterness, and because of his ascendancy over them, Johnson was given, in 1796, the appointment of superintendent of Indian affairs. That some of the evils of the present day existed a century and a half ago, is evident when it is stated that he was also given the chief command of the New York troops, and held the incongruous position of contractor of supplies for both.

In 1764 the great unpronounceable Kayoderasseras patent, cov-

ering 700,000 acres, obtained by the Six Nations by grant of 1708, was brought into dispute, and to settle the controversy, Johnson, the first Mr. Smiley, called a conference in 1768, when he invited the Governors of New York and its neighboring colonies to meet the delegates of the Six Nations and those of the Delawares and Shawanese—about 900 braves—as delegates, and with from 3,200 to 4,000 warriors in attendance, as variously estimated by the historians. This great predecessor of these yearly conferences at Lake Mohonk, met 129 years ago in this province, and not remote from where we are sitting. A further parallel between then and now is found in the fact that that ancient conference took place in this very month of October, opening on the fourth of the month, and continuing its sessions until the early days of November. You will see that the analogy is not complete, since in the great conference of the last century the Indians greatly predominated, while in Mr. Smiley's nineteenth century conferences the guests are chiefly friends of the Indian, or are counted as such, because of our great interest in them. All these statements are preliminary to the inquiry if it is simply a remarkable coincidence that the original, important conference was held at almost the same place, and at quite the same time of the year as now, or did our host already know these facts, and invite his guests in accordance with them? At any rate, in this golden month of the year, and not far from here, they met. I grieve to say that, since times were dark, so far as we know, no women met with them.

I do want to add that the Indians were, in at least one respect, more enlightened than their white brethren, and even then admitted women to their councils. Indeed, so prompt are they to recognize merit without distinction of age, sex, or color, that they in 1891 received a *white* woman as a member of their council, she being accorded "full legal privileges" as chief, custodian, and adviser of the Six Nations. Her grandfather was adopted into the tribes more than 100 years ago, in a way we must believe honorable to himself, since the Indian name given him, Tywe, signified "honest trader." A noble strain in the family seems to be further indicated by the Indian name given to her father, signifying "bravest boy," and culminates in that given to herself in 1880, when she was publicly received into the Snipe clan as "bearer of the law." Honesty, bravery, intelligence,—truly an honorable succession. No wonder that for her legislative work in protecting the landed interests, the territorial boundaries of the tribes, the title of Chief Yai-na-noh, "she watches for us," was in 1891 conferred upon her.

I would not like to be held responsible for the pronunciation of these Indian names, and I have therefore, as far as possible, avoided using them in the brief account I have given of the first Indian Commissioner, the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and the first great Indian Conference.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE INDIAN.

BY REV. T. L. CUYLER, D.D.

For fifteen years this Mohonk Conference has been the pilot house of this great enterprise for civilizing, elevating, and Christianizing the Indians. From this pilot house discerning eyes have looked out upon the wants and the woes of that suffering race, and sturdy hands have held the tiller, and kept the ship on an even keel. Some of those hands—the hands of the heroic Armstrong, who gave his life for the black man and the red man, of President Hayes, General Fisk, Austin Abbott—have been stricken down. Let us be thankful that new hands are coming all the time to grasp the rudder, and keep the ship up steadily to the wind.

But this Conference not only has a prodigious influence all over the land on the welfare of a wronged race,—it seems to my mind to illustrate one or two very important thoughts for us as followers of Jesus Christ. It is worth coming up to Mohonk just to see a beautiful exhibition of practical Christian unity. I suppose if I were to call the roll of denominations here, to every one of them somebody would answer. Organic unity may be an iridescent dream; and, indeed, in these days it seems as if the army of Jesus Christ must be broken into different denominations to do its most effective work. But sectarianism fires right through the lines: Christian unity fires the common shot against the common foe. The only way to bring about absolute Christian unity is to set God's people working together. Hitch up four or five horses at the fence, and they will fall to biting and kicking. Harness them to a team, and give them a heavy load to pull up a steep hill, and they have got something else to do than bite and kick. That is the only way to get Christian unity; and as long as we have that, I would not care the toss of a copper for that dream of organic union.

And we are brought up here, I think, to get a new lesson in Christian responsibility: the responsibility of the strong to bear the burdens of the weak; of the cultured to teach the ignorant; of those that have a footing to help up God's poor cripples. Glorious old Paul (he has his successors here to-night. I believe, Presbyterian as I am, in a certain kind of "apostolic succession!")—glorious old Paul said, "I am a debtor to the barbarian, and to these bondsmen of sin and Satan." He paid that debt with his heart's blood! To-day, at New Haven, the American Board is declaring the responsibility of the church of America for the vast mass of benighted heathen. To-day Mohonk declares Christian responsibility for our brothers and sisters on the prairies and among the mountains. Christian responsibility teaches the only way to meet civil duties or Christian duties. There is a great deal said in our time about political corruption, the despotism of bosses, the degeneracy of legislatures, and so on. Who is responsible? Every Christian citizen who neglects before God to do his duty!

For long years our poor copper-faced brother-at-law has been robbed

and wounded, and flung out into the thickets naked. God knows that it ought to crimson the American cheek with shame! For years that has been going on, and the political Levites went by on the other side. Political parties put into their platforms gold, and greenbacks, and wool, and hides, and negroes, and Cubans; tell me when the Indian has been there! The Indian is forgotten even in the platforms of the political leaders of our country. Yet though the Levite leaves him neglected, and the politicians have passed him by as he lay wounded in the thickets, God has sent up to this beautiful mountain-top some of his good Samaritans, to look over the land and call God to witness that you stand for the rights of the wronged, for the elevation of the neglected, for the Christianization of the heathen on our own soil, and for doing to this vanishing race what God puts it into our hearts as Christians to do. Daniel Webster said the greatest thought that could take hold of a human mind is responsibility to God; the greatest thought that can take hold of the Church of Jesus Christ is the responsibility to bring this old sinning and suffering world and lay it at his feet. Let us be filled with that thought, and then this Conference will be not only a business convention, but a season of spiritual quickening, and uplift, and joy.

In a corner of these beautiful gardens you will see a little group of deer, the last remnant of the hundreds that once roamed over these mountains and valleys. That little remnant are tenderly cared for by our beloved friend and host. Shall a little remnant of red deer be cared for, and the last remnant of red humanity be left to starve for "the bread of life"? be cast out into the cold and left to perish? God forbid! How much more is a man better than a deer!

Good friends, let us go home with a new baptism of brotherly love, and feeling a new sense of great responsibility. For while this work calls for patience, and faith, and wisdom, and undying zeal, it involves this comfort, that God is on our side, and that in the end we must win.

"We may die or be forgot;
Work done for God, that dieth not."

Mr. Garrett announced the subject for the evening's discussion to be "The Consolidation of the Indian Bureau, and the Abolition of Unnecessary Agencies." Mr. Herbert Welsh was invited to open the subject. Mr. Welsh spoke as follows.

THE NEXT STEP IN CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

BY HERBERT WELSH.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Conference.—Before those who are engaged in any important work proceed to a fresh advance, it is not amiss to pause for a moment and indulge in a brief retrospect. Such consideration will often aid us to make

our advance, not only with that decision which comes from knowledge and from clear and definite thought, but with confidence and with energy.

If we look back over the history of this Conference, there is one of its achievements which produces on the minds of many of us a pre-eminently strong impression. Some years ago we advanced the idea that merit should be the controlling thought and purpose in the Indian service. The service was then regarded not primarily with a view to benefiting the Indians, but with a view to finding places for political dependents of whatever party was in power. The mere statement of this condition is enough to show that no effective work could be accomplished under it. Wherever an earnest, intelligent, energetic man or woman was found in the service, trying to do the work of civilization, there always came in political influence which at any moment might sweep them away. In every case where there was a change of administration it did come forward, and swept almost every person out of the service; so that one great element which should exist in any successful human enterprise—reward for merit, continuity, possibility of growth, inducement to labor—was wholly lacking in the Indian service. I well remember when first, on the floor of this assembly, the plea was made for the acceptance of the principle of merit, which we call Civil Service Reform, it was looked upon, even by the friends of the Indian, as a new thing, uncertain in its effects, and by some it was opposed.

What a change has been wrought from that day to this! We may say that all friends of the Indian, of whatever political party, however differing in opinion on other subjects, unite, in the main, in this idea that merit, and not political opinion, should be the controlling factor in the appointment of persons to the Indian service. We have seen that principle recognized more and more, not by one party, but by both. It was not immediately recognized; no great reform moves with unfailing quickness and unfailing certainty. It is like the movement of the tides; it has its minor retrogressions at the same time that in the main it steadily advances. But I know nothing more encouraging than to look back over these years of effort, and to see, through all the incidental failure that it has been ours to contend with, the steady recognition of this principle. Day by day, like some great natural process, it is doing its excellent work; and it will continue until it entirely triumphs.

We had last night the report of Dr. Hailmann. In Dr. Hailmann personally we see the idea of the merit service. Originally, in looking for a superintendent of Indian schools, a trained educator was not sought. But Dr. Hailmann was brought forward by Dr. Harris, of the National Bureau of Education, himself a Republican, entirely without political considerations, and he was appointed by a Democratic president. You can see the advantage of such a choice in the knowledge and the power which lay back of those simple, crisp sentences which showed the principles, based on a sound philosophy, which are at work in the Indian school service. It takes no great knowledge or imagination to see the importance of con-

tinuity in carrying forward that work. Suppose, in obedience to the old spoils idea, this gentleman's removal could be dictated simply from political considerations? Even if it were possible to place in his position one equally capable, equally experienced, equally well informed, would there not be loss? Is there not a serious necessary loss which comes from upsetting plans before they have matured?

I want to point back to this element of growth in our work, because unless we consider it we are not ready really to advance. We come here, I take it, not simply for a love feast, good and helpful as such things are. We come here in a spirit of consecration, to try to bring this Indian service to a point where it shall do its perfect work. We are not content, no matter what the difficulties may be that beset us, until we have overcome them; until we have, out of frank hearts and well-informed minds, accomplished the full measure of our work, with such strength as God gives us. And I take it, moreover, that we recognize the dignity of our position, with no feeling of self-conceit, but with a knowledge of the power that ought to be, that really is, in our hands. We are representative of the citizenship of the United States; otherwise we have no right to meet here. If we do meet here armed with that high consideration, spurred forward to action by the sense of our responsibility, then we ought to be stimulated to a higher and nobler effort in proportion to the difficulty that faces us.

I think that we have work still to do. As this merit idea goes forward in the slow accomplishment of its purpose, we ought to consider certain great structural difficulties which are facing us and which tend to impede it. They were clearly and tersely, and to my mind convincingly, pointed out by Mr. Leupp. If you have any great work to do, you want a unification in the power by which it is done. If an army is to fight an enemy in the field, the first thing we scrutinize is the general at the head of that army. All the vast resources of the United States, all the lives that were poured out, were not enough to accomplish the quelling of the great rebellion until a strong man was placed at the head of our armies. Then lesser men worked in harmony and in unity of spirit with him, and finally the great result was achieved. In every human enterprise you find illustrations of the same thought. No business is successful without a powerful man at the head of it to plan its work and to carry plans into execution.

Now, what are the conditions that face you in finishing your Indian work? They are conditions which, it seems to me, absolutely prevent that work from being done in the most economical, simple, and effective manner. In considering this matter there is no question of personality. But Mr. Leupp showed you yesterday that the Secretary of the Interior has the care of some 14 bureaus, a very few of which would be sufficient for the careful and thorough work even of a very able and highly experienced man. And in addition to these, he has the charge of the great Indian question, with all its complications. He showed you also that in the Interior Department there is a large corps of clerks who have

practically the power to hold up decisions which have been reached in the Indian office after mature consideration, and to subject them to delays which are not only irritating, but subversive of a good service.

Now, my proposal is simply this: that the friends of the Indians, who have studied this question carefully, who come from all parts of this country, who therefore are fitted, not to dictate to, but to consult with, those in authority, should ask that certain very simple things should be done. Every good thing which has been accomplished in the Indian service has been accomplished when the sentiment of the people of the United States, expressed by individual men and women, has been trained upon Washington, and has made its influence felt there.

We have an Indian Commissioner. The very term would seem to imply that he is charged with certain powers for the doing of this Indian work. But when you look at this position carefully, you find that he has hardly the powers of a higher clerk. My proposal would be to make this Indian Bureau, to a greater or less extent, independent of the Interior Department, and to clothe it with larger powers. The Commissioner should be charged with the main responsibility for doing the Indian work. You have introduced, through pressure from year to year, this idea of appointment by merit and not for political service; of retention because of merit, instead of casting out of the service under the pressure of partisanship. Now simply complete that great principle by asking that the Indian Commissioner, the man who is to finish this great work of the civilization of the Indian for the people of the United States, shall also be separate from political considerations. The people of the United States need to put in that place the very best man that can be found. I believe our present Commissioner is an excellent man. If he prove so I should desire him to be retained. Therefore we would ask the President of the United States, in future years, when that choice is made, to make the selection upon that ground only. The request can be made with all courtesy; it is clearly within our right as citizens to make it; and I am perfectly sure that success will simply depend upon the earnestness and tenaciousness with which it is made.

Then when you have the Indian Bureau, with a strong man at the head, charged with power and responsibility, if it fails in its stewardship every one in the United States can look to that Bureau and that Commissioner and put the blame where blame belongs. In all our great cities the idea is growing that the mayor of the city should be charged with large responsibility. The old idea, that the responsibility should be diffused among various boards, has worked very badly, because no responsibility could really be located, and inefficient work was hidden under diffused authority. Precisely the same idea ought to rule in our Indian Bureau, so that work may be efficiently done and plans carried out to their legitimate end. No army can win great victories unless there be unity in that army. No business enterprise can reach great success

unless the same conditions exist there. If the work of the Indian Bureau is not done as economically as it ought to be done, it comes first of all from the fact that the structural conditions are not right; and, second, from the fact that the friends of the Indian do not sufficiently hold together to ask, to urge, and to secure such a great reform as this.

I have purposely put this proposition in broad and simple outlines. I do not want to be confused with details, or to confuse you with them. But, from my own experience and the knowledge of others which has been brought before me, I am profoundly convinced that something in this line ought to be done if our work is to be efficiently conducted, and if this great principle of merit, which our effort for fifteen years has brought so far on the road to success, shall reach its full and glorious fruition.

Mrs. Amelia S. Quinton, President of the Women's National Indian Association, was next introduced.

THE ABOLITION OF UNNECESSARY AGENCIES.

BY MRS. A. S. QUINTON.

I am very glad to second the suggestions that have been made by Mr. Welsh. All who have worked for Indians have scores of times come against the great difficulties named in the way of the service. A great deal has been gained, and constant rejoicing has been felt by all interested in Indian affairs; but there is still a vast waste of effort, and there are hindrances in many directions, as you have been shown by the illustrations given. There is power enough in this Mohonk Conference, if nowhere else, to carry the reforms needed to completion; to put power where it ought to be; to make some one responsible for the finishing of the needed work. If such power were localized the Indian work could be speedily done, at least so far as the machinery, the general principles, are concerned. The working out of details would take time, of course. The reservation system is "going, going," and it ought sometime to be "gone." If there could be responsible power somewhere to appeal to, the whole work might be done within the lifetime of some who wear the crown of glory already.

We have been told repeatedly by Indian officials that there are at least a dozen Indian agencies that could be spared with advantage to the Indian. Those which have been named are the Hoopa, California, Agency; that at Shiletz, Oregon; the Warm Springs and the Umatilla in the same State; the Sisseton and Yankton Agencies, of Dakota; the Western Shoshone, of Washington; the Pottawatamie, of Kansas; the Quapaw and Seneca, of Indian Territory, and the Mission Indians Agency of California. These Indians are said to be prepared for the change. Nearly all of these reservations have government Indian boarding schools, so that each

superintendent could act as a "nearest friend" to the Indians during the transitional stage. The agency is a beneficial institution just so long as it is necessary; it is a vast hindrance when no longer necessary. The agency period is one of tutelage, of political childhood for the Indians, and the sooner they can get on their own feet and look after their own affairs the better. The Omahas many years ago asked that they might be permitted to conduct their own affairs, as they saw other men do. That was most interesting, because underneath was the manly sense of power, the desire to be the architects of their own destiny. But the agency system should not in any case be abolished too soon, or we should have more tragedies like that of Jackson's Hole. Those which I have named are said by officials to be ready at the present moment for the change. This Conference might well form a resolution expressing itself strongly in favor of diminishing the number of agencies in this gradual and rational way.

I am asked to speak also of the missionary work of The Women's National Indian Association. It is known to many members of this Conference that our missionary work has always been in tribes unhelped religiously by any other organization. It has been going on thirteen and a half years, and more than forty stations in all have been opened, in thirty different tribes. Everywhere it is just such lonely work as you have heard of this morning. It is domestic instruction six days in the week, and religious instruction is under and through it all. The results cannot be told in statistics; we cannot put the working of heaven into statistics. When a mission becomes established, we turn over its property and work to some one of the home missionary societies of the churches. In some instances our society has given a cottage, or a salary, to some missionary society, enabling that society to open a missionary station sooner than it could otherwise do.

Our mission in Upper California began with a day school for 12 pupils, and recently, having 87 pupils, its property was sold to the government, and a plant to cost over \$20,000 has been ordered. That school has been a mission in every sense to the pupils and to the neighborhood as well; and the teachers and other friends have done real missionary work among the parents of the pupils.

Our Maine auxiliary has been at work for the Shawnees of the Indian Territory. The Massachusetts Association had a work among the prisoners at Mount Vernon, Alabama, of whom we have heard to-day. These are now at Fort Sill, very near the Segur Colony, where the wonderful work of Captain Hugh Lenox Scott is being done. On their removal from Mount Vernon the Massachusetts auxiliary took up work among the Hualapai Indians, probably the poorest tribe in the country, and excellent service is rendered there. At various points we have had the co-operation of government, not in furnishing money, but in setting apart land, and in some instances granting us the use of buildings not otherwise needed.

Our Rhode Island auxiliary works among the Spokanes of

Washington, and our teacher there, Miss Helen Clark, is a genius in such duty. We have learned that the distinctions regarding woman's work are getting very much mixed, for Miss Clark is also a carpenter. One of the Indians said of her, "She come in one day, plank under her arm; you turn round, she make cupboard." Her wise and helpful influence has been felt in the farming and other industries, as well as in the schoolroom, where 48 of the 56 pupils the first year learned to read, and write, and sing, and pray in easy English, which was a wonderful achievement.

The Connecticut auxiliary, as you have heard, has an interesting and growing mission and school among the Bannocks and Shoshones of Idaho, of which it has had the entire management and support since 1888.

The New York City auxiliary has a mission among the Agua Caliente Indians of Warner's Ranch. The Brooklyn society has a mission in the desert of California, a literal desert,—white, glittering sand as far as the eye can reach. There we have a pretty little church and cottage, and now a water supply is being put in for irrigating the five acres, as well as for domestic purposes.

Our New Jersey auxiliary carries on work among the Moquis of Arizona. Of the two teachers, one is an industrial teacher, who came to Philadelphia, went through the woolen mills and learned weaving. Some ingenious young man whittled out for her a loom and spinning wheel, in small, and she can now give the pattern to an ordinary carpenter and have those things made. She proposes to teach the Moqui women to spin as our grandmothers did, that they may use the wool left, which they cannot sell, to make their own fabrics.

The Philadelphia and Kentucky auxiliaries, with the co-operation of government, have mission work still among the Seminoles of Florida, and over 6,000 acres of land have in this connection been bought for them by government. In upper California there is a mission among the Hoopa Valley Indians, under the care of our California auxiliary. Our national society expends about \$3,000 a year in missionary boxes and Christmas presents to make Christmas services; and these Christmas gifts go also to Indian schools, and in many instances they bring to the little brown children their first knowledge of the first Christmas. The association has helped thus seventy different tribes. The work of the eleven missions carried on this year has been full of interest, and there are new developments all the time, and many incidents of touching interest. From \$15,000 to \$28,000 a year have been expended in work, and 12 mission cottages, 6 chapels, and 2 homes for needy ones have been built in all.

The Indian children love the missionaries, and the grown people appreciate the work. Everywhere it needs further support, money, sympathy, prayers. Our friend Bishop Whipple said in 1879, when we sent our first petition to government, "These women are building larger than they know." It was true, dear friends, and simply because it was God's work. He has led it.

THE PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES.

BY HON. S. J. BARROWS.

Mr. President.—I suppose I am here to represent “the moral gloom of Washington,” to which allusion was made in the opening address of the President.

The last Conference I attended here was a black one, or a black and yellow one. This is a red one; I suppose the Arbitration Conference, with its flag of truce, might be called a white one. I did not have the pleasure of attending that; but I did have the pleasure this summer of representing the House of Representatives in that memorable conference abroad, made up of members of parliaments of the different countries of Europe, on the subject of arbitration, and of bringing to them the greeting of the conference that was held here.

I feel that I am to-night in a position which is interesting and delightful, but certainly very peculiar. This conference, so called, is really a school. Its object is to educate the law-making power, the Congress of the United States. There are a hundred and seventy-five persons in attendance, and of that number a hundred and seventy-four are teachers, and I am the only pupil. I rejoice that such provision has been made for my education, in such an admirable, such a delicate way! But I feel that I ought not to presume to speak before so many teachers; I have no “piece” prepared.

I have another responsibility. It is my duty to represent not only my living constituents, but some of the dead ones. I represent the district in which John Eliot, “the apostle to the Indians,” used to live; and we have in our old church the chair that he used to sit in,—and a very uncomfortable chair it is. And I have sometimes taken down, in the Harvard College Library, the old Bible that he translated with so much diligence, and patience, and consecration. It is a great responsibility to come from a district that has such memories and such inspiration. John Eliot is dead, and his Indians are gone. There are a few left down at Gay Head,—perhaps more negro than Indian,—who always show the quality of their civilization by voting the Republican ticket. John Eliot is dead, I said; but last night, as I heard Bishop Whipple, I thought, “No; he is not dead! That spirit of consecration and devotion is still living.” It will always live, whenever there is need of it. I will not call him a Western cyclone, for cyclones are not popular out there; I would rather call him a great electric dynamo, radiating light, and heat, and power. The apostolic spirit is upon him.

As I have gone back to those times of John Eliot, I have asked, Why should it take so long, this work of educating 250,000 Indians? I put this question to a prophetess who sits at my left at the dining-room table; and we all waited for the response. But with interesting agnosticism she said, “I don’t know.” Well, we do not

know. But sometimes I think it is because we have had not only to educate the Indian, but to educate the white man. The two have had to go hand in hand; and the education of the white man has been the more difficult task; the education in righteousness, in truth, in love, and in self-sacrifice.

Then I have asked myself also whether our machinery has been just right. I have a great deal of confidence in the Indian Bureau now, and a great deal of respect for it. But there was a time when I did not feel such respect and confidence, or rather for the ring with which it seemed to be surrounded. I suppose that Major Woodson, who now meets the Indian in other ways, has in earlier days met them with a rifle, and it was a part of his regular business to feel the bullets flying around him. But to me it was a very different business to be in several Indian battles,—not as a fighter, but as an historian,—and to feel that those bullets that flew so near, and that shot the men who were buried on the plain, were moulded at Springfield, Massachusetts, were sent out there, and were exchanged by rascally traders to the Indians, and used to fire on the American flag. It was not the fault of the poor Indian; those shots were fired from Washington. It only showed that the mistakes we had made, the injustice we had wrought, were coming back and being visited upon the whites.

I have asked sometimes, too, if there were not something wrong in our methods. We digest every year 500,000 people who come to our shores. We do not have an Irish Bureau or a Scandinavian Bureau to take care of them. We take them right into the life of our civilization. Why not the Indians? Some years ago, when I read a paper here at the Negro Conference, I laid emphasis on the fact that the negro was brought in where he could be assimilated with our civilization. He was denied his rights, to be sure, but he was brought in contact with the white man, and was ready to assume his privileges. We have now in the House of Representatives a man, White by name, but one of the blackest negroes you can find, enjoying his privileges there; but where is the Indian? Perhaps we have not had the right method; perhaps we should have adopted the method which my friend Mr. Wood has illustrated, and which my wife and I adopted some years ago in taking a little Indian boy into our hearts and our home. If 250,000 American families should open their doors to the Indians, what would become of the Indian question? And yet I do not know that I should want to see all those families wrenched apart, and exposed as individuals to the dangers of our civilization. But some more rapid method than that we have followed might have been used.

With what skill I possess, I have tried to avoid the question which has been propounded to me. It is not for me to assume, as a member of Congress, to criticise a co-ordinate department of the government; that is what we always say when we speak of the other departments. So I will reserve my opinion on this important question until I have had a little more time to consider it, and per-

haps have had time, as a member of the Indian Committee, to talk with the Secretary of the Interior. I wish that the chairman of that committee, Mr. Sherman, a man who is able and experienced, and has gifts of leadership and the confidence of the House, might be here to tell you something about the practical difficulties of legislation,—how he often has to compromise, and instead of getting what he would like has to be content with getting what he can. This compromise meets us everywhere. I am afraid some people think that the House of Representatives is not just what it ought to be. I have been a little surprised at the consideration that I have received here. It is not for me to defend the House; I have rendered no service which entitles me to do so. But we have here one who, in a long period of public service in both houses of Congress, has shown how a man, by uniting broad ideals with skill in practical legislation, may work for the glory of God and the good of his country. It is a pleasure to me to represent the State of Massachusetts, because such men as Senator Dawes, by working not merely for the interests of the state but for the whole nation, have added to the luster of the old commonwealth which they represent.

I want to close with a single illustration, which may seem not wholly just to the Indian. But it seems to show the way in which this whole question is going to be settled. I went across the ocean this summer, and sailing through the Straits of Belle Isle we saw a great fleet of fifty icebergs, in all the picturesque beauty of the sunlight glittering upon them. But they were a little dangerous; what should we do about them? Should we send for the government to have them blown to pieces? Should we try to bar them out, and keep them in the open zone in which they were floating? We took the more practical and negligent course; we let them alone, and went on our way. But there were other influences working, which moved them down into warmer oceans, where the sun could shine upon them and the warmer currents of the Gulf Stream could melt them. When we came back, two months later, there was not an iceberg there. So, it seems to me, this problem has shaped itself, of the relation of the Indian to civilization. It met our primitive settlers; they came face to face with this fleet, as it were, representing the tribal organization and tradition, floating in that ocean, standing in opposition to the little shallops of the early settlers. They had to look out for themselves; that was the first consideration. By and by we said, "We are a little stronger now; we will keep them out." So we kept them back in their own ocean, out of the way of our commerce and trade. We put them on a reservation, and kept them by themselves. But Providence had some other destiny for them. And so the providence of God, working with the providence of man, brings them down into a gulf stream of Christian sympathy, where the sunlight of God and the warmth of human hearts can smile upon them. And by and by they will all melt into the ocean of our national life, and help to bear up the ship of state which once they seemed to threaten. The

Indian will find his life in losing it; as some of you here will find, as some of you have found, your own lives in losing them for the Indian's sake.

The subject was then thrown open for discussion.

Bishop WHIPPLE said that he had fifty times visited Washington to tell of the wrongs of the Indians, often bringing some Indian chief, that he might tell his own story. Many of these visits were pitiable failures, simply because there was no one person who had personal responsibility. There were kind words and promises for the future, but the Indians went home with sorrowful hearts. There have been Indian Commissioners who were honest and faithful public servants; the last Commissioner was such a man. But when he was told of the wrongs that were being committed against the Sioux Indians he was powerless.

Mr. JENKINS thought it clear, from the statements which had been made and the facts known to many members of the Conference, that a grave defect existed in the arrangements for the supervision of the Indian service. The glaring fault is the absence of any real power or responsibility in the hands of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. It might be that the Commissioner had, in the course of time, been shorn of power, in order that political influence might more readily apply to Indian questions; in any case, such power should be restored. Mr. Jenkins approved the suggestion of Mr. Leupp and Mr. Welsh, that the Indian Department become a separate bureau, not under the control of the Secretary of the Interior, but responsible to the President alone. With a proper man as Commissioner, no President would be very likely to overrule him in any matter of importance.

Mr. SMILEY agreed with Mr. Welsh as to the difficulty arising from the frequent change of officers. He thought it a fundamental difficulty in the whole government. The President should be elected for six years, and then the heads of departments would be appointed for the same length of time. But he felt there was danger in assuming that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs would always be the best obtainable man. There had been one or two Commissioners who could not have been trusted with great power.

To make the Indian Commissioner, who has the charge of only 250,000 Indians, a cabinet officer would be absurd. The remedy is not that way. The Secretary of the Interior could remedy this whole matter, by allowing the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to be his adviser, and approving his work, as he approves that of the land office, the pension bureau, or any other of the departments under his charge.

Mr. WISTAR said that in some little experience in Washington, and particularly in correspondence, he had seen, beyond a doubt, that something had come in between the Indian Bureau and the Secretary that was a great hindrance to good service. This incubus, which had grown up by degrees, should be done away. If this

Conference could do anything in that line, it would be greatly to the benefit of the service.

The two things most needed to-day in the Indian service were an increase in the fund for field matrons, and that some of the agencies should be done away.

Mr. Garrett explained that three members of the business committee had been obliged to leave the Conference. He nominated in their places Dr. Frissell and Dr. Shelton, who were elected.

The Conference then adjourned.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 15.

The Conference was called to order by the President, after morning prayers, at 10 A. M.

Mr. JOSHUA W. DAVIS said that, with the approval of the business committee, he would make a statement with reference to certain reservations where there was need of reform. In one agency thirteen relatives of the agent were in positions under salary. The matter has been brought to the attention of the administration. The excuse has been that that officer has been efficient for many years, and if he should be displaced there are worse ones behind him. There is another reservation from which pathetic appeals come that the people may be freed from the reign of an agent who, like several in succession, have been noted examples of immorality. The details of that case have been given to the Secretary of the Interior, and they are not denied; but there is a struggle whether the senator in that State shall have some appointee of his own, or whether the place shall be filled by some good man. Such cases point to our duty to put into our platform an earnest word to show that we are not satisfied with the present progress.

Mr. FRANK WOOD, of Boston, said that he was familiar with the first case, and that the facts had been understated; not only were there many of the relatives of the agent under pay, but they were not all efficient. Farmers were hired who could not tell carrots from cucumbers, and blacksmiths who had never worked at their trade.

Mr. SMILEY said that the Board of Indian Commissioners exists to look after such things, and the facts should be brought to the attention of the Secretary of the Interior by that Board.

Major Woodson was asked to address the Conference again.

Major WOODSON.—For many years appropriations have been made for the support of the large number of Indians who occupy reservations in the West. It would be reasonable to expect that, in the course of time, these Indians would have made such progress as to relieve the government of the necessity of these annual appropriations. The allotting of land in severalty, it was hoped, would induce the Indians to become self-supporting.

Tribal government simply serves to prolong barbarism, ignorance, and superstition. It is utterly useless to attempt to institute

progressive measures so long as they obtain. It is difficult to realize the universal subservience accorded by the members of the tribes to the sway of the Indian chiefs. If, therefore, you were to wait, as some people advocate, until the Indians are prepared for allotment, that time would never come. You heard yesterday, from Senator Dawes, of the difficulties attending his efforts to persuade the civilized tribes to accept allotments. If any Indians could be expected to accept land in severalty it would be civilized Indians. Then, how much can you expect from those who have been wedded to tribal relations from time immemorial, and who have been living in darkness and ignorance all their lives? My idea would be to dictate to all the course which is necessary and right. In 1891 allotments of land in severalty were made to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. But they really had no idea of what allotments meant. Never in their most vivid imaginations could they foresee what the results were to be; and, as I have already related, it became my duty to enlighten them as to the necessity of establishing permanent homes, and living in fixed abodes. It has been a herculean task. In all my experience I have had no greater one, and had it not been for the hope that my reward would come in the appreciation of the best people of the country and those men interested in the Indian, I should have given it up as a hopeless task. Indians who, a few years ago, were on the war path, and clothed in blankets, and whose every thought was inimical to that of the white man, are now living in permanent homes upon their own lands. When we contrast their present position with that of twelve years ago, it fills us with hope, and we can begin to appreciate the fact that allotments have accomplished some good.

Prior to the allotment of the land in severalty, a number of houses had been built by one of my predecessors; but they were simply shells, without ceilings or plastering, and in that dry country some of the cracks had become large enough to throw a cat through. The Indians did not care much to occupy them. If they used them at all they put their horses in the houses, while they lived in the tepees. The houses which have now been built with their help, are substantial in character, and make comfortable homes at all seasons. Water has been supplied where there was no water, from wells; wire fences have been erected; and the lands of the minor children, under certain restrictions, have been leased in some cases, and it has been my endeavor to have them leased to industrious farmers who could become object lessons to the Indians. In many instances these men have proved helpful to the Indians,—good neighbors, to whom the Indians go for advice and instruction about planting and harvesting. They also interchange farm implements.

I would like to impress the necessity of urging additional appropriations for field matrons. While they are necessary for the Indians on the reservations, they are doubly necessary for all allotted Indians. There the field matron is absolutely essential. She goes into the house, gives instruction in cooking and caring for the sick, in cutting and fitting clothing, in hygienic rules, etc. She is a most

important part of the organization. I cannot lay too much stress on the necessity of having additional field matrons.

It has been my purpose to employ Indians, as far as possible, in all positions available. As a result, I have Indians as assistant farmers, butchers, carpenters, herders, teamsters, and laborers, and in every position that can be filled by them.

These Indians conform to all the laws now, like white people, and fewer crimes are committed among them than among whites. With unlimited access to liquor, there is scarcely a case of drunkenness,—less than among the whites.

I want to say once more that in my opinion the allotment of lands to Indians in severalty is the only salvation for them, and the sooner it is done the better. In my opinion it should be made mandatory.

Mr. SMILEY said there were difficulties about allotting land to all the different Indians. The Navahoes, for instance, traveled a thousand miles every summer to feed their sheep. They cannot have lands in severalty. The Pueblos, who live in villages, had better stay there. In California there are parts where it would be impossible to give land in severalty. The desert Indians, who live where the thermometer runs up to 125 and 130 degrees in summer, are exceedingly attached to their homes there. There is no land but the desert. They live on the mesquite beans, grasshoppers, and various things of that kind. What could be done with them? In other parts, where land has been allotted in severalty, the Indians cannot get patents because the avarice of the white man comes in. In Nevada the land is of no value without expensive irrigation. If the land everywhere was like that of Oklahoma it could be allotted at once. Allotment, said Mr. Smiley, is going on as rapidly as is good for the Indians. What we lack to-day is what we had for fifteen or eighteen years,—one man in Congress who can stand for Indians; who is willing to give his hand and his heart to labor for them as our friend Senator Dawes has always done.

Rev. WM. S. HUBBELL said that there would be trouble in allotting land to the Indians in New York. There are about 6,000 Indians there on about 80,000 acres of land, which is increasing in value. A large part of the best land is occupied by the whites, who never mean to relinquish a foot of it. If it were given up by the whites and divided among the Indians there would be less than 5 acres to each. That is only one difficulty. The claim of the Ogden Land Company overshadows the title of all the Indians of New York, and the moment the tribal relation shall be dissolved the land might revert to that company. A few would like to take land in severalty. If they do so, and can find land and cease to belong to the tribe, they will be subject to suits from the Ogden Land Company. The Indians should have better industrial education in New York. Fortunately the privilege has been restored to them of going to Hampton and Carlisle, and last week a car load was taken to those schools.

Dr. BRUCE.—How do the Pueblo Indians support themselves?

Mr. SMILEY.—Pueblo Indians take care of themselves. They cultivate a little land around them. They live on the mesa. They are indisposed to live in the lowlands, they are so wedded to their peculiar life. They are on reservations in New Mexico. They were cheated out of some of the best land in the interest of the whites. In Colorado and Utah the people are trying to crowd the Indians off from the best lands. They are put where they are necessarily paupers, and they have got to be supported by rations, to the great shame of this country.

Rev. J. A. Lippincott, D.D., of Philadelphia, was asked to speak on "The Education of the Indian."

THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN INTO CITIZENSHIP: THE MOST EFFECTIVE SCHOOL.

BY REV. J. A. LIPPINCOTT.

An institution is to be judged, as is a mechanism, by its performance. A machine may have accomplished the work required of it yesterday to ample satisfaction, but be utterly unequal to the larger task required to-morrow. So, also, the device by which an accused man's peers were made judges of the facts charged by the prosecution may have served in a former age to defend the innocent against the encroachments of royal tyranny, yet the time may not be distant when the jury system will be made a veritable shelter and refuge of criminals. Let the institution be judged by what it actually accomplishes. So, too, the successful working of an institution may depend upon certain local colorings or the environment within which it operates. It is by no means a violent assumption, for instance, that a political organization, formed for the purpose of uniting the best elements of a community in an effort to secure valuable public results, may fall into the hands of a ring of corrupt politicians who will make it a means of exploiting schemes that reek with corruption. Hence, the caucus may in one locality secure good results, while in another it is to be wholly condemned, and condemned all the time. The public school, as it is generally established among us, gathers the children for instruction according to locality; that is, the pupils of a given school are made up, almost if not quite exclusively, of those who live in the immediate neighborhood. In this manner the peculiarities of any community are quite likely to be perpetuated, in part by the influence of the school itself. There may be schools, for instance, in certain coal-mining regions of Pennsylvania, which serve to prolong the modes of life and of thought prevailing in southeastern Europe in the midst of the freer institutions of our Republic. If the Hungarian language were also used in the schools, the Americanization of these people would seem a suffi-

ciently hopeless task. There is a wide portion of Philadelphia which is almost wholly occupied by Italians. The community is large enough to be isolated from the American civilization that surges all about it. Hence the language and the manner of life of the cities of southern Italy, out of the more squalid portions of which these people probably have come, are likely to be indefinitely maintained. How can the public school placed in the midst of this community have any considerable influence in Americanizing it? "Little Italy" will doubtless be perpetuated, in the face of all efforts to the contrary, the public school included. Indeed, unless most carefully guarded, the local school will become only a section of Little Italy itself. We do not hold that the school should be neglected; rather, if possible, let it be supplemented by other and more powerfully operative influences. How rapidly the work of Americanizing would go on if the children of these Italian peoples might be educated under circumstances that would at once isolate them from their present surroundings, and place them face to face with the best phases of our American life,—not for a few hours a day, but for every hour of every day until the English language shall have been acquired, and the prevailing mode of thought and the stirring activities of our form of civilization shall have thoroughly possessed them!

There is one ground, and I think but one, upon which may be maintained the right and the duty of the State to provide for the general education of its people—the development and maintenance of good citizenship. If the school organized and supported at the public expense prepares the children of the Republic for the duties, the responsibilities, and the privileges of citizenship, well; but no other consideration would long suffice, in the deliberate judgment of the people, to justify or command the enormous outlay. So far, at least, there can be no serious difference of opinion upon this subject, even in this home of individual and independent thought. There may be division of sentiment as to what constitutes good citizenship, but none as to the sole aim of the public school to secure it.

Perhaps, however, we might also fairly agree regarding some of the more prominent elements of good citizenship. If so, we shall be substantially in accord as to the main proposition of this paper. (1) The English language must be exclusively used in all schools supported by public money. This will not exclude the study of other tongues for culture purposes; but it will, and must, secure such a use of the people's every-day speech as will, in the shortest time possible, make that the daily and natural means of communication in all the varied communities of our widely extended peoples. (2) The public school must be made the training ground of patriotism. No foreign flag may here usurp the place of the stars and stripes. In the glowing fires of the intensest patriotism that can be kindled in this, the greatest of the American institutions of learning, let all the home ties that bind the children of foreign-born parentage to lands and institutions beyond sea be

consumed,—not, perhaps, that ours are so much better than theirs, but for this supreme and controlling reason, that the lot of these young people has, for better or for worse, been cast in with us, and the sooner they become *of us* the better both for them and for us. (3) One of the aims of the public school should be the formation and consolidation of sturdily upright character. It is my belief, as it is doubtless the belief of my hearers, that religion furnishes the formative power in character. Perhaps, since all expressions of religion must take on some outward form or type, it would be too much to expect direct religious instruction in our public schools; yet the daily atmosphere of the school should be eminently Christian, and examples of the highest Christian character, as exhibited in all school officers, should daily enforce the teachings of Christian homes and the Christian church. (4) Let us turn now to a consideration of what we may call the atmosphere within which the school itself has place. It may be doubted whether anything yet mentioned equals this, in the subtle and powerful influence exerted over immature minds. Here is a school whose doors are never closed. It is the school of public life, of public manners, of public morals, of public opinion. The forces of civilization are invisible, but they are none the less—rather the more—powerful. The aggregate forces of the community submerge and impress the individual. Sometimes, indeed, they oppress him. They insensibly mould the young and the immature. While considering, therefore, the object which must be aimed at in the establishment of schools for the preparation of the youth of the Republic for the best types of citizenship, we must consider the environment of the school itself.

How, now, shall these forces of civilization be utilized in the education of our Indian children? Shall we place their schools within touching distance of the tribal life, from which every thoughtful patriot hopes, in the near future, to see them wholly freed? Shall we see their advance out of barbarism and into civilization measured by the difference between the influences of environment and of the school life, or shall their progress be reckoned by the sum of these forces? This, it seems to me, is a pertinent question, that loudly calls for consideration and solution. There is no better place to consider it than here in Mohonk.

If the argument which I have so far framed is logical and convincing, as I think it is, there remains little more to do than specifically to state the case. The Government of the United States has undertaken the education of the children of our Indian population. These people are destined to citizenship in the Republic. The object of the government is the securing of good citizenship. This justifies the expenditure. Indeed, the cost of education might be vastly enlarged without exhausting governmental obligation. Now, a part of the educational process ought to be such an acquisition of the English language as will make it a natural and easy medium of communication among themselves and between them and their white fellow-citizens. That means the immediate disuse

of the Indian languages and their final oblivion. Again, a love of country far broader than is possible in the tribal relation, or in the association of the tribes with each other, is to be planted and cultivated. The patriotism fostered by these schools must associate the red man and his white brother in a community of interests nourished and sheltered by a common government—that of the white man. Once more, the schools must be Christian in some sense of the word. At least they may not ignore the plain precepts of the Christian religion. A prime object must be the development of character in harmony with what is best in our civilization, not with what is worst. Finally, the school which is to train the Indian youth into the best citizenship must be placed in a wholesome, helpful, stimulating atmosphere.

It is scarcely necessary to add now that in my judgment, other things being equal, the best Indian schools are those which are farthest removed from the reservation, and from the influence of tribe and family over the Indian youth. Let the student, wherever he turns, come into contact with the best our Christian civilization can present. Let him behold it wherever he turns his eyes. Let its silent forces lay hold of him, and lift him out of the old life and into the new. Let the old, if possible, be wholly forgotten in his absorption into the new. If the school be located in the most favorable portions of the East, so much the better; for the educating influences of the environment of the school, we must bear in mind, cease not even for a moment. Such a school, and so placed, in the midst of civilization and civilizing influences, seems to me to be almost ideal, if the real object be the speedy and radical transformation of the children of the red man out of barbarism into American citizenship. For there is one way to solve the Indian problem: it is the absorption and assimilation of these aborigines into the body of our people. When that is accomplished, and not till then, will this whole question be closed, never more to be opened.

If now I were required to indicate the form of school for Indian children which, in my judgment, would infallibly embarrass and hinder this consummation and prolong the agony of transformation, I would answer, without a moment's hesitation,—the transfer of the public school system from one of our most enlightened and homogeneous Eastern commonwealths to the Territories and newly formed States of the West, expecting it to meet the requirements of these crude and heterogeneous communities as it fits the environments within which it was perfected.

I need not attempt here a further elaboration of the idea which I have endeavored to present, nor urge more at length the reasons for the position I have taken. I may say, however, that the public school method contemplates the transfer of the burden of expense and of responsibility from the general government to that of the State, and contemplates, moreover, with greater or less distinctness, the perpetuation of the Indian community as such. The Indian community should disappear as speedily as possible. The Indian

must be merged into that complex body which we call the American people, in which is no German, no Italian, no Indian, but the American citizen. This ideal goal must be kept steadily in view along whatever lines the friends of the Indian move to the final consummation.

In continuance of the subject of education, Rev. H. B. Frissell, principal of Hampton Institute, was invited to speak.

Dr. FRISSELL.—I believe that we should have schools off from the reservations and schools on the reservations also. The English language should be taught, but the Indian language should be allowed. Those who have had the religious instruction of Indians, must feel that there are certain thoughts that can come to them only through their own tongue. It is important to study the Indian as he is, to see the good in him, and adapt our methods accordingly. In our mission work we have taken it too much for granted that we were going to make Anglo-Saxons out of the Indian. One of the great things that has come out of this Conference is that the necessity for all these lines of work has been made manifest. The discussions that take place here show us things in different lights. Take the allotment of land, for instance. Those of us who have watched, have seen that allotment will do in some cases, and in others it will not do at all. At first we were in haste to do away with the reservations; now we see that it is possible to do away with them too fast. We may send the Indians out to citizenship when they are not prepared. One thing we have to rejoice in is that work on and off the reservations and in the public schools is succeeding so well.

The question of the home life seems to me to be at the bottom of all we have to do, and it is a cause for rejoicing that we are beginning to appreciate the fact. It is not enough for us that we have schools as beautiful as Hampton or Carlisle, but we must remember that these Indian boys and girls are going back to start homes of their own. More and more is the education of our schools being adapted to home life. If I were to utter any word of praise of Dr. Hailmann here, it would be that he, more than any man before him, has felt the importance of making the school bear on the home. He has wisely urged the appointment of field matrons, who go from one home to another, bringing to them civilization in its best form.

One of the things that we owe to General Armstrong was that he made a little Indian reservation at Hampton, where Indian students could live in cottages and learn there the beauties of a Christian home. From those little cottages they could go back to the West and bring up their children in similar Christian homes. That was one of the best things we have ever done at Hampton. As you go over the reservations in the West you find, here and there, Christian homes among the Indians. That is one solution of the Indian problem. I could tell you of counties where we have sent

back a young man and his wife, who have settled down and built a house and cultivated their bit of land, and where the influence of such a home has changed the whole community. I have seen the same on the banks of the Missouri River. I believe the best thing we can do is to put down a Christian home among these people.

We are putting up buildings at Hampton for teaching domestic science, where the matter of food supply and of home building will receive careful attention, so that our young people, as they go out, shall be leaders in making homes.

Once, after we had educated these Indian boys and girls, we did not know where to send them. Since Dr. Hailmann has been superintendent he is ready to take any boy or girl who has been through the school, and put them at the best work they can do. That is statesmanship; that is organization. It is a matter of congratulation that Dr. Hailmann is being retained, because he has organized this service so that we at Hampton, and the people at Carlisle, and other schools all over the country, can work together.

Dr. Frissell read extracts from an account of what has been accomplished by Miss Annie Dawson, a Hampton student at Fort Berthold, N. D.

"I have just been visiting a young Hampton graduate who is now a field matron among her own people in a forlorn camp, 80 miles from a railroad or town. I found her up to her elbows in salt and ice, busily engaged in making ice cream. The thermometer was running up and down among the nineties, and the hot wind and dust made the very thought of any coolness delightful, and I wondered where the ice had come from. 'Oh!' she answered, 'you know I have an ice house this year;' and sure enough, out by the log barn, not far from her own little three-roomed log house, was a big log icehouse, promising a luxury and comfort not often found on an Indian reserve. I found, too, that I had arrived just in time for a lawn party, and soon groups of young Indian boys and girls, in wagons and on horseback, began to arrive. I found a tennis court had been marked out on the prairie, and with tennis, and croquet, and ball, the young people were soon having a glorious time. Nice white bread and butter, boiled eggs, ice cream, and cake were served on the boundless lawn, and darkness closed in on a very civilized and happy-looking group. As I watched each come up and bid the young hostess good-night at the door of her little home, I recalled the picture she had once given me of herself, —a little girl stealing a watermelon, and offering a part of it with a little prayer to the sun god, with whom she felt obliged to share even her stolen blessings.

"About as many years of education as a white girl would consider her due, had transformed the heathen child into an efficient, earnest woman; one who has already repaid, in simple service to her people, all the money and time that has been spent upon her.

"The little log house, with its sod roof, its neatly white-washed

interior, its three rooms tastefully and simply arranged, its cellar and storehouse, is a model of its kind, and one that is being adopted by the younger Indians all about. Already five houses after the exact pattern of this (mistakes and all), have been completed, and three more are going up now.

"One day while at table the dining room was suddenly darkened by a big six-foot Indian, who, quite unconscious of the gloom he was casting over our dinner table, stood just outside the one window, taking very exact measurements of its frame and sash. The next day another model cabin was started.

"Thus in practical as well as other ways, this young girl is changing, with remarkable success, the whole character of her neighborhood. Not every returned student can do this,—only a few can be given the opportunities she has had, or could use them were they given,—but out of every 100 students, there are a few who need and can use to advantage a training beyond Hampton's curriculum. These are usually dependent in some measure upon the aid of friends, and have proven, in many instances, the advantage of a higher education of head and of hand."

MISS MARIE E. IVES.—What in our idea constitutes a home? It is not the building, for many a mansion is far from being a home. It is the husband and wife loving each other, mutually helpful and considerate, and the little children trained by wise love. That is the ideal which I would set before the Indians. The position of the Indian family is far from what we want it to be. We want to help it to rise nearer to our ideal. The work of the field matron helps on this line. They go into the homes scattered here and there and show the women how to care for the children, and tend the sick. The idea of starting homes has been taken up by some of the young people. Certain Indian boys who have taken up allotments, in their holidays have been home and started work on their farms, putting out fruit trees and making fences, with the idea of having a future home. It was the influence of the school to help them to prepare for the future.

My special work is to influence the young people to work for the Indians. I have charge of the young people's department of the Women's Indian Association. I still send out the Christmas boxes, which are not of so much value from what they contain, as that the little gifts bear sympathy and love from those in the East to the Indians scattered in the West. Last year I sent out between nine and ten thousand gifts to the various schools, largely to the government schools. I want to have our work broaden, and I am planning now for a school in California. The government will pay the salary and we are to raise the building. I pledged \$500, not knowing where the money was to come from. The money came to me easily. Then I found we could buy a church building, an acre of ground, and a parsonage for \$1,100. I agreed to take them, so I have still \$600 to raise. There is an excellent missionary there with a Sunday school of 68 people. The government will pay her

salary, and she will carry on this educational work in addition to what she is doing. We hope to have a field matron, for, after all, the important thing is to care for these homes. We want the Indians to learn to sing, "Be it ever so humble there's no place like home."

MISS SCOVILLE.—That the home-going of an Indian girl is not easy Miss Carter has already told us, and, better still, has told how "good old work and fair wages" righted one discouraged daughter; but it is not every mother and daughter who have a wise woman ready to tell them how to reorganize the home life. At a reservation where I was a while ago an Indian girl came to see me. She drew her blanket over her face and refused to talk, but wanted me to tell her about school. Her story was a sad one. She had been to school, and at the end of a few months was forced to return. She went at once to the mission and asked if she might stay there. They refused her, and before she left she took off her hat and school dress and put on her blanket and Indian ornaments, saying, "Then I've got to be an Indian again." She had made her choice, and yet she loved to hear about school.

This summer, high up in the mountains of North Carolina, I called on Mrs. Sampson Owl, a Cherokee woman. Her little log house was shining clean and bright with flowers. She told me with pride of her daughter, who was at Carlisle, and how they were going to build a new room for her home coming. Mrs. Owl makes pottery, pipes, and bowls, bakes them in her wide fireplace, and so earns at least fifty dollars a year; not a great sum, but it meant money in the house and hope in the heart.

These are samples of home-coming for us to think about. Shall we lower the girls' education to the tepee level, or shall we give the mothers a hand so that they will be ready to share with their daughters?

First and foremost, as has been said, we must give them a God who will not stand between them and progress; but crowding close on that comes the need of business chances, of training in the house and field. For this we must depend on the missionary, the hospital, the school; and yet in a reservation where in one camp I saw a baby starving to death on account of the ignorant love of its mother, and a leading man dying of the bleedings of the Indian medicine men, we have shut up the hospital. That hospital not only nursed the sick, but it was the only place for over a hundred miles where these people could see how to care for a sick person.

In the same country every two weeks the people go twenty or thirty miles for their rations. By Friday night the fields of our village were left alone, while every man, woman, and child, sick or well, went to the agency for three days. Major Woodson has told us what effect this has on the health, what does it do for the home?

The missionary and myself were the only white people who did not go to see the Indians shoot their beef, for there is no issue from the block there. This in no sense elevates the home life.

From the loneliness, the degradation of this life, the mission, school, and hospital, are lifting these people. But we must this year close the hospital at Fort Yates and the Oahe School, and thus shut great districts from their chief hope.

Dr. HAILMANN.—Emancipation from a god of fear, and trust in the God of love, are at the root of all successful efforts to make true home life. Movements in this direction are gradually crowning the work of our schools. Blessed be patience, and may patience continue with us, for all this must be slow work. The vine does not rise suddenly to the top of the house by leaps; it creeps slowly and laboriously. He who is impatient will lose the reward. We must be slow. We must recognize the fact that the Indian has within himself excellent qualities which it is good statesmanship in us to preserve in the development of our own developing nationality. We do not want to make him a white man, but an American citizen, who shall bring to American citizenship that which is best within him fully developed.

I have a sincere regard, which amounts to more almost than admiration, for those heroic young Indian men and women who go back to their reservations heroically facing all the untold difficulties which meet them there with the determination to help their people. It is true heroism. Some of them, it is true, fall by the wayside. Many lapse, and "go back." We admire the valor of an army, not because some fell by the way, not because some were lost in the struggle, but because of the valor of all in the onset, and because of the great courage of the few who may succeed in the fight and carry the day. They are heroes, these young Indians who, knowing what they have to face, still go back with a determination to help their people. They are greater heroes than those who remain behind and think only of themselves and of their own personal advancement. But there are few of the latter. Blood is thicker than water, also, within an Indian's veins, and the most of them feel that they must go back to their own kin, to confer upon them and to share with them the blessings they have received.

In this direction we are engaged in a movement in which I would ask your help. Heretofore we have been working for the Indians, largely from the outside, pouring education into him, improving him intellectually. Then we have allowed the young Indian to go back into the tribal relation, and left him there to do his best without guidance and protection on our part, without telling him what to do, and how to do this, and many have been lost. There is now a movement to establish upon the reservations, where this may be possible—it is not possible everywhere—associations of returned students and other progressive students for self-help; associations that shall make it their business to study the resources of their reservations, to stimulate individual and joint effort in the development of these, to find a market for their industries, and to carry on their undertakings as white people carry them on; to learn the advantages of thrift; to establish savings institutions; to develop

more and more the spirit of self-help; to prove to the white people that they can do as well as white people in their own way; and to protect returned students against the octopus of tribal tradition. Along this line, too, we hope to see the establishment of rational amusements,—for amusement is a necessary thing in social development,—rational entertainment, and movements for the establishment of schools and churches built and run by the Indians themselves.

Rev. GEO. W. SMITH, D.D., of Trinity College, called attention to other work that had been done by the women of Connecticut, in addition to that mentioned by Miss Ives. They have lent money to young Indians for building homes, which in every case has been repaid; they have helped to educate trained nurses, who have secured work in the East, and have received the warmest commendation of those who have employed them, and they have helped to educate young Indians in medicine, some of whom have taken degrees.

Mr. FRANK WOOD.—We were all touched, the other day, by Dr. Ryder's story of the lonely missionary and the good that she accomplishes, so far from civilization, alone among the Indians, at an outstation of the Oahe mission. He also told us that the Oahe mission station in South Dakota, with its fine equipment and splendid record, is to be discontinued for lack of funds. The thought of that missionary, Miss Dora B. Dodge, has haunted me ever since. She is a capable, earnest, refined, cultivated woman, fitted to grace any sphere in society; but, with rare consecration, she has separated herself from nearly everything that constitutes life for us, and buried herself in the midst of the densest savagery, ninety miles from the nearest town, Bismarck, where she frequently has to wait several weeks for her mails, and is sometimes months without seeing a white face. And she does this for the love of Christ and the despised red men, these pagans in a Christian land, whom He died to save. How will she feel when she hears that this mission is to be given up? How will Rev. Thomas Riggs, the founder of this mission, feel when he hears the sad news? Many of you have met him here, and some of us know him well,—a man of fine talents and rare executive ability, that would have made him a fortune if he had engaged in mercantile pursuits; but he has not thought of self, and has given all for the people he loved, and to-day his health is broken by the deprivations and hardships he has had to bear in his Christlike work. The son of a missionary to the Indians, he was born among them, and knows their nature and language. He loves them, and they love him. What will his feelings be when he hears that this work, for which he has given his life, has got to be suspended for the lack of \$3,000? For this sum is all that is required to carry on the work for a year. I think I can see a practical way to raise this amount. Many of you are Congregationalists. This work is under the

American Missionary Association, a Congregational organization working among the despised races. I propose to bring this matter before the church of which I am a member, and I pledge myself to raise a part of the amount needed. Will you do the same? Go to your churches and raise this paltry sum that the work may go on. What a waste and shame it will be if this well-organized mission, with its buildings for teaching and preaching, and its trained, devoted, and efficient missionaries, is not permitted to continue the work so greatly needed, and that it is so well adapted to do! If we will go to our churches I believe that they will furnish the money. But it should be understood that all gifts for this purpose should be in excess of the regular gifts of the church to the A. M. A. We would probably do more harm than good if we should try to divert money from other work in order to sustain this. Let us make an additional gift to keep up this work at Oahe, and thus give new courage and strength to the consecrated workers. If they are taken away the Indians will relapse into barbarism, and it may be necessary to send the United States Army to look after them. Which is the cheaper way? This exigency is on account of the abolition of the grants of money by the government for the Indian contract schools, which nearly all the churches favored, and the fact that the churches have not made up this amount in their gifts to the Missionary Association. We all remember that when this change was debated, the advocates of the measure promised that the churches would more than make up the amount then paid by the government. I am confident that the churches will do it when the need is properly brought before them. As we plead for these heroic missionaries, let us remember whose representatives they are, and who it was that said, Inasmuch as you have done it unto these least, you have done it unto Me.

Dr. LIPPINCOTT suggested that the opportunity to contribute for this good work should be extended beyond the limits of the Congregational Church.

Mr. JOSHUA W. DAVIS said that he should be glad to present the matter to his church in Newton.

Mr. Mr. WOOD announced that Mr. Davis and he would receive money and pledges for the continuance of the mission. Eleven hundred and thirty dollars were promptly contributed by the members of the Conference for this purpose.

Mr. ROBERT M. FERRIS, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—No one could have listened to Major Woodson without feeling what is possible at a reservation with such an Indian agent. . . . As I listened to him my memory went back to twenty years ago, when the organization with which I was connected sent a missionary to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and it was my pleasure to correspond with that missionary. I recall the disadvantages and hopelessness of the work at that time, and I realize what might have been done with good agents and employees. A few months ago I

had in my possession a letter from missionaries in an agency where there is a demoralizing agent, who speak of the impossibility of establishing home life among the Indians there, since the agent will not even discountenance demoralizing dances and other evil things. Some attention should be paid to these complaints about agents, and there should be further reform in this direction. They should be brought to the attention of the Executive. It is impossible for our missionaries to appeal directly to the government, but the information should reach the ears of the Executive in some other way.

Dr. W. A. MOWRY.—I cannot tell you how much I have enjoyed the discussions of this Conference. I am sure great good will result from them. I am heartily in favor of a compulsory law,—a law, Mr. Chairman, by which you would compel the attendance annually at this Indian Conference of the President of the United States, the heads of departments, and all the members of Congress, both of the House and the Senate. If these rulers of the Nation could hear the discussions of this Conference, they would know more, I am sure, about the affairs of the Indian than they will otherwise know. It is essential that before acting upon a subject of such grave importance, the actors should have full and definite knowledge of the subject in hand.

In the Legislature of Rhode Island, at one time, a city member made a long, eloquent, and “hifalutin” speech upon the subject before the House. His high kite-flying, however, failed to grasp the essential principles underlying the subject. A hard-headed member from “Way-back” rose to reply, and began his speech with these words: “Mr. Cheerman, I have often observ-ed that it is exceedingly deefficult for one pearson to convey to another pearson an i-de-à that he is not fully possess-ed of himself.”

From frequent references to Indian matters in the early times, especially in the discussion yesterday forenoon, I am inclined to relate to you two incidents, widely separated both by space and time.

In the town of Swansea, in the old Plymouth Colony, but a few miles from Mount Hope, the seat of King Philip at the outbreak of the great and terrible Indian War, lived an honest, sturdy yeoman named Hugh Cole. He had always been both just and friendly to the Indian. To him King Philip sent a messenger to inform him that trouble was coming, but that he and his family need not fear; no harm should befall them. A little later another messenger was despatched to Hugh Cole to say to him from King Philip: “I cannot longer restrain my young men. You must look out for the safety of yourself and your family.”

Hugh Cole immediately took his family to a place of safety, but his house was not burned, and no harm, either at that time or subsequently, ever came to his family or any of his descendants.

The other incident has to do with the Pacific Coast. Mexico became independent of Spain in 1820, and established a Republican Government in 1824. All the Mexican States ratified the new

Constitution, and took the oath of allegiance; but the *padres* of the missions in California refused to acknowledge the Republic, or to take the oath of allegiance to it. They declared their intention to remain loyal to Spain and its sovereign.

The Mexican Congress passed an act secularizing the missions, ordering them to be broken up and their property confiscated for the benefit of the state. In 1826 this order was carried into effect by Alvarado, Governor of California, using the troops at his command for this purpose. None of the missions made resistance except San Gabriel, a large and wealthy mission, situated a few miles east of Los Angeles.

The story of the taking of this mission by the Mexican troops was told some years ago by Señor Philippe Lugo, a native of Los Angeles County, then more than eighty years of age. He described this mission as being very wealthy, as having thousands of Indians in its employ, and as cultivating the land in this great San Gabriel valley for miles around. He remembered the wheat fields which extended a distance of ten miles from the mission. After the wheat was threshed it was taken to San Pedro, the seaport, in carts drawn by oxen, and then shipped to Mexico, where it was sold for silver money, which was brought back in canvas sacks and stored in the mission treasury rooms. Señor Lugo had seen 400 carts at one time, in single file, hauling wheat to San Pedro.

Large quantities of hides were also sold to trading vessels sent to the Pacific coast from Boston. The mission had an immense quantity of money stored away, and was very prosperous. When the Governor, Alvarado, advanced against this mission the *padres* armed and drilled the Indians to defend it. Their first battle was on the plain east of the mission, where the Mexicans defeated the Indians and put them to flight. They fled to Arroyo Seco, and fortified themselves in the deep cañon a mile from where Pasadena now stands. Here they were again attacked, and driven from their place of refuge. They then fled to the Sierra Madre Mountains, 4 or 5 miles to the northward, and took refuge in the cañon now called Los Flores cañon, on the south side of Mount Lowe.

They were led thither by a man who had been bribed to betray them. The Mexicans had planted a masked battery at the entrance of the cañon concealed from the Indians. After they were all in the cañon, the soldiers fired down upon them from the bluffs above with deadly effect, and when they tried to escape through the entrance to the cañon, the masked battery opened fire upon them so destructive that very few escaped. In these three fights nearly all the Indians in San Gabriel valley were slain, and this is the reason why so few were found when the Americans took possession of the country.

The victorious troops of Alvarado returned to the mission, exiled the *padres*, seized all the money in the mission treasury and sent it to Mexico. The mission lands were secularized, and declared to be government property.

Doubtless these Indians were in a condition little short of slavery

to the *padres*, but the incident shows to what an extent those early Catholic missions had obtained a controlling power over the Indians, and tells us that those Indians were easily made an agricultural people.

The first incident relates to New England, more than two centuries ago; the second to the Pacific coast, 4,000 miles away, and within the present century. What a wealth of Indian history, and what a long series of cruelty, perfidy, and, may I say, savagery toward the Indians by the whites lies between!

Major WOODSON said that he hoped he had not been misunderstood in what he had said with regard to allotments. He would qualify his remarks by saying that *wherever practicable* lands should be allotted in severalty, and where agricultural interests dictate the necessity. Many Indians are living where farming is impossible, and exceptions must be made in such cases.

Mr. SMILEY said that he had been asked to state to the Conference that Miss Annie Dawson, to whom reference had been made, is now a field matron, doing excellent work.

The next subject for discussion was with reference to the names of Indian citizens.

Dr. A. E. DUNNING said, in substance, that names have grown in value within the present generation. They are becoming heirlooms of great worth. In the light of this it is difficult to understand that paternalism which would rob the Indian of the last vestige of his history and race, and impose upon him the names that have been worn out for ourselves. He could not understand why we should strip him of the last thing that he owns. Is the trouble that his names are untranslatable? Then leave them untranslated. Let us leave one thing to a people who have contributed more than we are yet willing to acknowledge to American life and American civilization. He said that he had been cheered by hearing it said that the Indian has some characteristics which are worth keeping. "I would not," said Dr. Dunning, "make an aboriginal Indian even into a modern Bostonian! I would leave him, and let him work out for himself certain treasures of humanity which God has deemed it best to give to him alone, bequeathing him then to us as a precious treasure."

Mrs. QUINTON read a list of Indian names translated into English, and showed how barbarous, legally unsafe, and mortifying they are to bright, civilized Indian children. She said that General Morgan, when Commissioner of Indian Affairs, instituted a system of naming Indians, which had proved good, though, perhaps, it might be improved. The idea is, wherever practicable, to preserve a portion of the Indian name, and thus to institute a family name. The children in the schools do not like their barbarous names, often beg for new ones, and changes in this direction are taking place in the frontier schools. What is wanted is some general system faithfully applied in this matter. The practice has been to retain a part of the root name when pleasant to the ear, and to add more if necessary. Superintendent Frank Terry had

an able article on this subject in the *Review of Reviews*, and another article in a recent *Forum* deals with the same subject. She believed that a reform in the names of Indians would be necessary for their legal protection, as it is now next to impossible in many cases, from lack of a family name, to ascertain where an Indian belongs, or to defend his land title.

Adjourned at 1.15 P. M.

Sixth Session.

Friday Evening, October 15.

The Conference was called to order at 8 P. M. by the President, Mr. Garrett, and Rev. Joseph Anderson, D.D., was introduced as the first speaker of the evening. Dr. Anderson spoke as follows on the Literature of the American Indian.

THE LITERATURE OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN.

BY DR. JOSEPH ANDERSON.

Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen.—The business committee has been, as usual, leading this Conference along the heights of philanthropy, ethics, and reform; but it has seemed to them desirable to descend for a little, at our closing session, to the lower levels of science and literature. Those who constitute this Conference from year to year seem to be interested in the Indian, chiefly, because he is in trouble. But the Indian is interesting in many ways even when he is not in trouble. And it is because I feel sure of this that I am glad to say a few words this evening in regard to the wide subject of Indian literature, regretting only that I could not have had access to some public library, wherein to refresh my memory:

No one who has not made a special examination of the matter can begin to appreciate the extent of the literature of the American Indian. When called upon, some years ago, to write a review of T. W. Field's "Essay Toward an Indian Bibliography," I had occasion to look the matter up, and I found that Mr. Field's volume of five hundred pages, filled with titles of books relating to the Indians, was very incomplete. The volumes which he did not mention are numbered, not by hundreds but by thousands. I found the same to be true in this domain which is true in all others: when you once get inside of a subject you discover an immense literature relating to it.

I use this word "literature" in its broadest sense, of course, and it is necessary to make some sort of division and classification. I may divide the field into three or four sections, and enumerate, first, the books of voyagers, travelers, missionaries, and the like,—a collection which has been steadily accumulating for four hundred years, from the first letter of Columbus down to the last report of the Mohonk Conference. There are thousands of such volumes,

some of them of exceeding value. The reader who is repelled by the titles or external appearance of some of these books commits a serious oversight. Let him take down the narrative of some old voyager or traveler, and he will find himself face to face with scenes of the utmost interest. Prominent among books that are worthy of special mention is the long series of "Jesuit Relations," the narratives of the Jesuit missionaries in Canada, which are just now, by the way, being published in a new and elaborate edition.

Secondly, there are books relating to the Indian languages, and translations into those languages, such as dictionaries, grammars, primers, catechisms, and versions of the Bible. It would take a long time to describe all these, and I hasten on to the class which you have particularly in mind when you hear of Indian literature,—I mean literature produced by the American Indian. You will conclude that this must be very meager, but there is more of it, I venture to say, than you think.

I listened, not long ago, to a lecture by Mr. H. E. Krehbiel, the musical editor of the *New York Tribune*, in which was given an account of Dvorák's American Symphony, a composition suggested by negro melodies and the songs which Dvorák had heard sung and whistled on New York streets. From these the composer had produced, after returning to his own country, a symphony which had moved the hearts of musicians and of the people. But at the Worcester Festival, a fortnight ago, Mr. Krehbiel heard a new composition, by Professor MacDowell, which he considers more American than Dvorák's, because it is based entirely on themes suggested by Indian melodies. Mr. Krehbiel's language is fairly glowing as he describes the little transformations through which, under the skillful fingers of a true musician, this music of the Indian has passed, while at the same time retaining its aboriginal characteristics. This morning, as the seven o'clock bell rang, a cricket outside my window raised its cheerful chirp, continued it as long as the ringing of the bell continued, and then stopped. As I heard it I said to myself, "Yes, the chirp of the cricket holds about the same relation to the ringing of the bell which the music of the American Indian holds to the music of our civilization." But one is astonished, as he listens to Mr. MacDowell's new "suite," to discover what has been made out of those little melodies,—how much has been developed from them. All primitive literature begins in song; and from the days of Schoolcraft until now the songs of the American Indians have been a subject of study to a few, and have been gradually collected. So have some of their melodies; and it is from Theodore Baker's collection of these that Mr. MacDowell has derived his aboriginal themes.

Then we have also the folk tales, which students have been collecting for some years past. There is nothing that brings the American Indian before us more interestingly than to listen to the stories that are told in the wigwam or around the camp fire, and in that way to put ourselves in the Indian's place.

We have, again, the various specimens of Indian oratory which

have been preserved to us. This field ought not to be lost sight of. But there is a literature of more account than all this. Within a few years past a series of volumes has been published, under the supervision of Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, of Philadelphia, consisting entirely of aboriginal American literature. There is a volume of *Chronicles of the Mayas, of Yucatan*; there is a volume devoted to the *Annals of the Cakchiquels, of Central America*; there is another containing the *Walam Olum, or Red Score*, a curious Delaware legend; there is the *Iroquois Book of Rites*, a remarkable liturgy used in the installation of chiefs of the Iroquois Confederacy; and there is a collection of ancient Mexican poems in two or three volumes. All these ought to be interesting to anyone who is a student of literature; but they are specially precious as survivals of that prehistoric American past of which so few memorials remain. In addition to these we have the *Popol Vuh*, the sacred book of the Quichés, of Central America; we have the *Ollantay*, that famous drama of ancient Peru; and I might mention many things more.

There is still another section of aboriginal American literature, the nature and extent of which cannot be fully appreciated until we have learned to interpret more fully the Mexican picture writing, and have deciphered the Central American inscriptions and the Central American manuscripts in aboriginal characters that have come down to us. A few courageous men and women are attacking the problems which these present, and we may look for achievements of skill in this field which shall parallel those of the Egyptologists, although, of course, we cannot expect any so valuable results.

My attention was directed the other day to an article in *The Forum*, for August, on "The Future of the Red Man," bearing the signature of Simon Pokagon, who is described as "the last chief of the Pokagon band of the Pottawatomies." The opinion is expressed in this article that the Indian is going to be absorbed in the white race, which is probably true, so far as the United States are concerned. But when I read this, I wondered what elements would be added to the American race of the future in that way. I think we may well believe there will be, at least, an element of seriousness, of solemnity,—an element well worth taking into account when we consider the tendencies of the times in which we live. But the article suggested also another and broader view of American literature; for if Simon Pokagon wrote it, we may conclude that the Indian is capable of producing literature in the English language. I venture to say that, after the "Indian question" has been thoroughly disposed of, we shall have products of the Indian's pen which will be worth treasuring in the libraries of the future alongside of those of the white man.

In closing some remarks which I made here a year ago, I ventured to suggest that we might see sometime, on some hillside in this vicinity, a noble building to be known as the Smiley Institute of Aboriginal Research. In addition to the museum which should be gathered together in that building, there ought to be a library of

ten or fifteen thousand volumes relating to the American Indian. And in a conspicuous place on one of the floors of that Institute there should be two glass cases, one containing an unbroken set of the reports of the Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian, and the other an approximately complete series of versions of the Bible in the various Indian languages, John Eliot's wonderful translation heading the list.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE INDIAN.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

There was a time when the Indian problem was a question how the Indian would treat the white people; but it has been a century and a half, at least, since the problem became almost entirely the question of how the white man should treat the Indian. It has always seemed to me that the manner in which white people will treat the Indians depends greatly upon their conception of the Indian character. Hence such testimony as Dr. Anderson and many others present is of great value, as giving us what I believe to be a true impression of the excellent native qualities in the Indian character.

What was said by several speakers to-day, including Dr. Hailmann and Dr. Frissell, as to the importance and necessity of conserving for the future American people those admirable native traits of the Indian, is, I believe, a suggestion of the greatest importance. We do not need, even if it were possible, to make the Indian precisely after the pattern of such civilization as we have seen in the past. There is a tradition that this is an Anglo-Saxon race. It is not mythical altogether, and yet it is not far removed from that. The American people to-day—and much more, the American people 50 or 100 years hence—are, and will be, a composite people. And into the mass there will be absorbed, we hope and believe, this Indian element. It is of importance, then, that the Indian should bring into the mass of citizenship those elements which have given to his race great dignity, great firmness, great persistency, great courage,—doubtless I should add, too, great honesty. The approach that we make to the problem should be lighted up by such a conception as this. Theoretical and sentimental as is believed to be the estimate of the Indian in the novels of Cooper, there is an element of truth in them. Whether you read of the Indians of the early times, like Philip, or of the Indians of later times, like Chief Joseph, or whether you listen to the stories that are told here by mission workers who come from close contact with the Indians, the story is the same.

And the approach to the problem should be made, also, along the line of Christian brotherhood. I am not going to dwell on that at all; but I wish to mention a historical fact to illustrate it. Reference has been made to David Brainerd, and to his missionary labors among the Indians between 1743 and 1747,—a very brief

work, and perhaps rather disappointing. But there were mission workers in the field before Brainerd, who approached the Indian upon the basis of a true brotherhood between the white man and the red. These were the Moravians: their first mission at Shekomoko, near the Connecticut line, is not far from here. They were driven out of New York by the action of the Colonial Assembly, and resumed their work in Pennsylvania, at Bethlehem and Nazareth. From that time to this—that was in 1741—the Moravians have never ceased their systematic and persistent and Christlike endeavor among the Indians. And if you will read the account of the Moravian missions, you will find that they went to them as brothers, as freely as if their complexions had been the same. There were a number of “Christian Indians” by 1750, and there was Christian marriage between the whites and the Indians. The wife of Christian Frederick Post, the intrepid missionary who went on his perilous mission to the hostile Indians at Fort Duquesne, in 1756, was an Indian woman.

I would suggest that the motto of the Mohonk Conference, which might be put upon this wall,—but would be better placed in the Museum, of which we have heard and which we hope to see on these hills,—should be the words of Paul on Mars’ Hill, when he said that God had “created of one blood all nations that dwell on the face of the earth.” That is the fundamental truth which underlies not only this work, but all such work; unless we believe in that, our efforts are in vain.

I want to add a very few words on a different line. Miss Scoville spoke this morning of the situation of some of the tribes of the Northwest, and of the difficulties impending over them. That suggests to me, and I think it ought to suggest to this Conference, that the time to help those Indians with regard to their land, and to prevent their being driven away from the valleys where there is wood and water, to the arid and unfertile hills, is beforehand and not afterwards. When the mischief is done, you may struggle in vain to apply a remedy. If you get there twenty-four hours before the wrong happens, your service will be infinitely greater than if you arrive twenty-four hours afterward. There should be more foresight in regard to these matters, and such suggestions as Miss Scoville has made should not pass unheeded.

Rev. Addison P. Foster, D.D., presented the Platform of the Conference. It was read as a whole and by sections, and, after a little debate, was adopted in the following form:—

LAKE MOHONK PLATFORM.

The Lake Mohonk Indian Conference, during the fifteen years of its existence, has seen vast changes for the better in the condition of the Indian. In this period the education of Indian youth has been systematically undertaken by government (the appropriations for this purpose having increased one hundred and thirty fold): this education has been for the most part freed from anomalous alliance with religious bodies, has been steadily elevated and made

more efficient by improved methods under a competent superintendent, and has become more and more industrial in character; the Civil Service Reform has been extended to nearly all subordinate officials who have to do with the Indian; corruption and fraud in the purchase of Indian supplies are largely a thing of the past; Congress has given unwonted attention to Indian reform, and has framed wise laws for securing to the Indian his lands in severalty, thus breaking up the tribal relation, protecting him from injustice and securing order; Indian wars seem to have ceased; while the religious bodies of this land have increased their missionary effort, and brought the larger part of the Indian tribes under the influence of the gospel.

The most recent advance made has been in the line of an effective extension of law for protecting the Indian from the liquor traffic, and in the great reform inaugurated in the government of the Indian Territory. We congratulate the United States government on the success of the commission appointed to treat with Indians in that Territory, and we are glad that Congress has decided by legal enactment to put an end to the unhappy condition of affairs there, and to establish a government, essentially territorial in character, in the Territory.

In view of all these facts it is plain that the civilization of the Indian is steadily advancing, and that our great task must be to see that the machinery already provided to secure this end be kept at work, and be rightly worked. We have the following suggestions to make;—

1. This Conference urges that the Civil Service Reform should on no account be impaired in its efficiency in Indian matters. There is reason to fear, however, that there is a failure in some quarters to enforce the law, both in its spirit and the letter, and there are abuses remaining on certain of the reservations which a strict application of the law would remedy.

2. The severalty law has already proved itself a great blessing to the Indian, and we are convinced that the time has come when certain of the existing agencies should be discontinued, both for the better progress of the Indian, and in order to save the people of the country a needless expense.

3. It is recognized that the issuing of rations to the Indians is a great injury, pauperizing them, and destroying their energy and character. We again affirm that in all cases where such rations are not issued under treaty obligations, wherever such action can be taken, they should speedily cease, and that it is most desirable that, as rapidly as possible, treaty rights or contracts which require the issuing of such rations be modified, so that national obligations to the Indians may be met in less objectionable ways.

4. We recognize the great value of industrial education for the Indian, but it is plain that, while we teach him habits of labor and ways of work, it is necessary also to help him to find a market for the results of his industry.

5. We commend the admirable system of the present superintendent of Indian education, and we think that it should be continued.

6. We reaffirm our conviction that government appropriations to contract schools under the control of any religious body whatever should cease without further delay.

7. During past years the friends of the Indian have been repeatedly obliged to raise considerable sums of money (this year amounting to over \$6,000) to defend in the courts of law the rights of the Mission Indians of California, although such defense was conducted in the name of the government. Since this is a matter which properly belongs to the government, we urge upon it to make adequate provision for such legal defense in any emergency which may arise.

8. Recognizing the success of the effort of Dr. Sheldon Jackson to introduce domesticated reindeer among the Eskimos of Alaska, we urge Congress to increase the appropriation for this purpose. We request it also to furnish better postal facilities to missionaries and others in Alaska, using the reindeer, if necessary, for winter service.

9. We earnestly renew our request that the number of field matrons be increased, and that an additional appropriation be made to cover their needful expenses and supplies. We do this believing that their work is vital in its influence on Indian homes.

10. We recognize the wise liberality of the present Secretary of the Interior in restoring to the Indian youth of the State of New York the privilege of education at Hampton and Carlisle.

11. In the progress of events a new emphasis must now be laid on the importance of religious training for the Indian. All doors are open as never before for him to receive the uplifting influence of the gospel. We call upon the Christian people of this land, and especially upon the missionary societies, by no means to diminish, but rather to increase their missionary efforts, and to seek to win the whole Indian race as speedily as possible to accept the Christianity which is the strength and blessing of this nation.

After the adoption of the platform addresses were made as follows.

OUR WORK AND ITS RESULTS.

BY REV. J. G. VAN SLYKE, D.D.

There is an old utterance, by an authority we all respect, which declares that "a nation shall be born in a day." But God counts time not by earthly chronometers. We are not to beguile ourselves with the thought of any supernatural magic, which can extemporize results without any antecedent processes. If these Conferences have prompted the iridescent dream of a transformed Indian, who shall emerge out of barbarism to become at once a church deacon, we ought to correct the illusion. There is a great deal of refractory human nature in the Indian yet, after all our long incantations to exorcise his barbarism, and after all our blundering medication.

And yet we have achieved results, the largeness of which can only be appreciated as we see, through the process of the years, what has been accomplished in moulding legislation, and in supply-

ing inspiration to the multiform activities of Christian benevolence. These annual gatherings have distilled influences which have made it impossible for our churches to forget their debt of service to the Indian. They have quickened the pulses of zeal, they have raised the temperature of devotion, and, above all, they have spread among all our churches a broad illumination of sanity and sagacity.

What has been accomplished in the moulding of legislation has been admirably and succinctly told in the preamble and resolutions which have been adopted. I have but this to say,—that these annual gatherings have impressed a sullen and reluctant Congress, as by a sense of some superior power residing here, and have coerced it to register the decrees which have emanated from under the roof of this great dictator of philanthropy.

Some of you remember that very entertaining picture of Zamacois, “The Return to the Convent.” A monk is tugging away at a reluctant mule; the animal is determined not to come. His brethren of the monastery are much entertained; but the monk, with teeth clenched, and with his heels braced in the ground, is pulling at his obstinate animal, and gaining inch by inch. So we have been gaining inch by inch from Congress, and have achieved such results that the propositions formulated at Lake Mohonk have actually been solidified into the decrees of the nation.

But our work has been, not so much the history of a series of acts as the history of a process,—a process by which those disintegrating conditions which divide races have been removed, so that the Indian has been brought into something like homogeneity with our American people. In the amalgam of our civilization the Indian must be made a harmonious part. As has been said here to-night, the distinctive features of the Indian character need not be effaced, but he must not remain a foreign or an insoluble ingredient. The essential ideas which underlie all Christian civilization must be kneaded into the very fibers of his being by Christian education, and his whole life must be made to correspond with ours. “For how can two walk together except they be agreed?”

The next speaker was Rev. E. H. Rudd, of the First Presbyterian Church, of New York City.

EDUCATION, AVOCATION, LEGISLATION, SALVATION.

BY REV. EDWARD HUNTING RUDD.

Mr. Chairman and Friends of the Indian.—I feel as if I were a general practitioner coming into the presence of a number of trained specialists,—specialists who have been carefully looking at the red-man patient whom they have been trying to cure, and whom they have successfully brought on toward health and vigor, toward manhood, womanhood, and Christian citizenship. The specialist in

surgery has been at work, and has cut out much that was harmful and which foretokened corruption. The eye specialist has opened the eye of the Indian to see with a larger vision the unique opportunity that lies before him. The ear specialist has made the Indian's ear open to something beside the sound of nature, to a larger and broader sense of humanity, civilization, Christianity. As a general practitioner, a minister busy in his routine church work, I come up to this mount of privilege to see what these specialists are doing for the Indian, and I feel that I am gaining much from them, and it is a pleasure to express the gratitude I feel for this broader touch with humanity.

The Mohonk Indian Conference stands for a benefit to the Indian along four lines, which I shall briefly mention. It aims to provide for the Indian, Education, Avocation, Legislation, and, best of all, Salvation. As you group the progress made for and by the Indian under those four heads, you touch every department of the work that has been so magnificently done.

When we consider what this Conference, which is a body without the right of legislative enactment or immediate educational agencies, has accomplished in the way of Education for the Indian in the last fifteen years, we are brought face to face with a wonderful achievement. See what has been wrought in education in the home. One of the workers in this splendid service told me to-day that the Indian mother and father, when a daughter or son went from home, used to look upon the event in the same light as a death. They went into a period of mourning, prostrate upon the ground, feeling that the child had gone from them, and that the occasion called for the saddest of lamentation. That is so changed now that a son or daughter, going forth to an education, goes with the equipment that comes from motherly love and proud fatherhood, and with the blessing and enthusiasm of the parents. The Indian wigwam has become a home; and the Indian mother, no longer a squaw, is the center of that Christian home, the giver of comfort and of inspiration.

Then, this Conference has provided for positive and abiding blessings along the line of an Avocation. Young men and young women going out from Hampton and Carlisle and the other schools, feel a new throb of manhood and womanhood as they face a profession. They are entering the professions of medicine, the ministry, the law, and are learning some trade, and thus more and more are they coming to take the place which God meant they should take, as citizens under the American flag.

Again, as to Legislation: when an intelligent body of men and women, such as is here, comes together with singleness of purpose, with enthusiasm of heart, with tactful wisdom of utterance, and with the fearlessness which has so marked these conventions, it makes itself felt upon legislation at our state capitals or at our national capital; it has something to say, and is listened to with respect. The words spoken by one and another here have shown how our legislators at Washington, the members of the Cabinet, and the President himself, stand ready to listen earnestly to the requests

that come from this body. And the very phrasing of your platform shows that you feel that, back of this Conference, there is a great social, moral, and spiritual force, which shall have its effect upon the powers that be.

And, finally, this Conference has provided inspiration for giving to the Indian Salvation. That is best of all,—salvation in his mental life, salvation in his professional life, and in following that which shall call out the best there is in him; but, better still, salvation from sin,—salvation which brings a larger, grander view of life, a stronger grasp of eternal verities. Then the child of God, new born by the blood of Jesus Christ, humbly and reverently looks up to the One whom he knew only in a mystery in the past, but now intelligently, because faith and grace have opened to him the mysteries of God, and made of him a saved man.

Those four things are splendid things to have accomplished in fifteen years of activity and service; and we may thankfully realize that each of us has had some little part in bringing about this blessed result.

Hon. W. M. Beardshear, the President of the State Agricultural College at Ames, Iowa, and a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, was then invited to address the Conference.

THE UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.

BY HON. W. M. BEARDSHEAR.

Mr. President and Friends.—It was my lot some years ago to attend the meeting of the National Educational Association at Nashville, in Tennessee. Being in the city over Sunday, and desiring to attend the service of the colored people, a number of us went to one of the principal colored churches, where it was announced that a prominent member of the Association would speak. The colored minister of the church, in introducing him, closed his remarks by saying, “Brethren, the speaker of the evening has a white face, but a black heart!” So I find, as I come among you, that you have Eastern faces but Western hearts.

I am carried back to my memories of a frontier home,—one of those homes from which are drawn the best elements of boyhood. It used to be the custom, before churches were established on the frontier, to hold services in the houses. My father’s house was a place where these meetings were frequently held. What was called a “two-days’ meeting” would be announced, and for 20 and 30 miles around the people would gather, until there would be 70 or 80 to be entertained, and the house was tasked to its utmost. The best influences of my life came from that large-heartedness, that large-mindedness. I have been lamenting, in these later years, that that spirit of hospitality has flown with the freedom and breadth of those early days. And I do not know when in all

my life I have been so gratified and so uplifted as in the discoveries that have come to me here, an utter stranger, amid the environment of Lake Mohonk. Its magnificent hospitality makes you forgetful of the giving, and leads you into the great spirit of the brotherhood of man. "A man's a man for a' that." East or West, or North or South, whatever his creed, whatever his nationality, black or white, Indian or civilized, let him be as he will, here he is a brother; here he is at home, in the boundless hospitality of this great-hearted man. He reminds me of the whole spirit of the broad West. He has a Western heart, broad as the prairie, and wide as its horizon.

I am going to make a confession. I believe I have lived too near the Indian. For eight years I lived on the border of the reservation of the Muskogees in Iowa. For a time I had great hope of them: I admired the physical manhood of the young men as they came into the town, and the brightness and promise of the young women. All that hope and poetry was turned to disgust when I saw them eating swine that had died of cholera, and I have been cynical about their future. But since I have come to this Conference I have a new vision. I am not on this Commission by my own solicitation; yet I believe that a good Providence—for my own good, whatever may be the result for the Indian—has directed it. I am baptized with a new spirit of devotion, of consecration, not only to the Indian, but to humanity in every form. I think we ought to have a meeting of this sort for the whites as well as for the Indians. The very spirit that is manifested here is the spirit which the white man of this nation needs to-day more than he needs anything else this side of God's grace.

You remember how the rain fell as we came here on Tuesday,—how refreshing it was, after the drouth through which I had come! As we came up the mountain the sun broke through the clouds; and just as we alighted I noticed in the west, like John Ruskin's "patch of infinite" in a picture, a great, broad garden of blue sky, giving a touch of the infinite as we looked. It seemed to me a symbol of the spirit that reigns here, above creed, above caste, the love for man because he is a child of the same Father. Because of this we want him to have our civilization, our institutions, our duties; we want him to share our government; we want him to stand heart to heart with us, and hold his share in all that we have, and all that we can have in the years that are to come.

We had an old evangelist down in Keokuk a few winters ago, and he had the evangelist's habit of dividing the sheep from the goats. One night he said to his audience, "I want all of you who want to go to heaven to rise," and all rose except one man in the back seat. After they were seated he said, "Now I want all who want to go to hell to rise." Not a soul stirred. Then he looked at the man who had not risen or moved, and said, "You man on the back seat, I should like to know where you want to go?" The man rose, put his foot up on the bench tranquilly, and said:

"Well, I don't know as I want to go anywhere. Iowa's good enough for me." I am fond of Iowa, friends; there is no part of the United States so good. But since I came here,—well, I don't believe I want to go anywhere!

The next speaker was Major William H. Lambert, Chairman of the Municipal Bureau of Charities and Correction, of Philadelphia.

THE APOSTLES OF TO-DAY.

BY WM. H. LAMBERT.

I must confess that, as an American citizen, when I look back upon the relations of this government to the American Indian, I find very little cause for congratulation. The century passing has indeed been "a century of dishonor." We do not in the slightest degree waver in our devotion to our country, or in faith in its magnificent institutions and its righteous intentions, but we must admit the existence, within our borders, of these thousands of people who have been deprived of their rights, while the great mass of our citizens looked on supinely. And yet, dark as has been the past, there has been a gleam of brightness in the existence through these years of this Conference, composed of earnest men and women from all parts of the nation, coming together to consider the best interests of this wronged race. This Conference, not in itself possessed of legislative or executive authority, has diffused influences which have moulded and shaped the dealings of our government with the Indians, and we stand now looking into a sky of promise. God forgive us and our ancestors that this glorious day has been postponed so long! But, God be thanked, the day has come when many are seeing duty and recognizing it; are making sacrifices fearlessly.

The name of Mohonk is dear to many of us; but it will be dearer still to our country because of the precious influences that have proceeded from this place, the encouragement that has gone forth, the uplift that it has given to our national and religious life.

I must confess that my interest in the Indian has been somewhat vague. This is the first Conference I have attended. For these three days I have listened, with intense appreciation, to the reports and proceedings of this gathering with a sense of reproach that I had taken so little active interest in this great question.

We sometimes feel that we are so far away from the days of the great Apostle, who counted everything but loss as compared with his duty to the Lord Jesus Christ, that it is impossible to emulate now his faith and deeds. But as we listen to the story of these home missionaries,—of these women who, taking their lives in their hands, regardless of ease and home, have gone out on the Western frontier devoted to a great cause,—we feel that they are of the same mould as Paul; that the same spirit which actuated him is

actuating them,—the trust in Jesus Christ and in the power of his gospel.

A few weeks ago there appeared a remarkable poem by Rudyard Kipling, entitled "Pharaoh and the Sergeant." It told how the English sergeant had gone down to Pharaoh in the old land of bondage, with a rod in his hand, almost as powerful in its way as the rod which Aaron had carried; and how, though England seemingly forgot him, and failed to appreciate the work he had done, he had lifted the Egyptian fellah to the level of a man. The burden of the song is,

"Though he drilled a black man white, though he made a mummy fight,
He will still continue Sergeant Whatshisname."

So red men are being drilled white, and those who are doing it are having, seemingly, as little reward as that English drill sergeant. Their names may not be written high on any earthly roll, but on that other roll, when the true adjustment of values is made, who shall rank higher than those who from degradation and paganism have raised up men and Christians?

Rev. WILLIAM E. BARTON, D.D., of Boston, was then introduced. He began by explaining that he had never attended an Indian Conference before, and that he considered himself as a learner. But he had been impressed at once with the practical aims of the Conference, and with the definiteness with which it moved toward the accomplishment of its work. He illustrated by several clever stories the popular notion that benevolent people are mere impractical theorizers, and showed how much truth there is at the foundation of it; but he had gained no such impression from this Conference. He then continued: And I have been impressed also with the spirit which has pervaded these meetings. It is manifest more and more, as the result of philanthropic effort, that there is but one spirit in which any good work may be so put forth as that good shall result. All our man-and-brother theories work better at a distance. It is a great deal easier to pass resolutions against the lynching of negroes at the South, than it is to treat well the negroes upon our own streets. It is easier for us to have great sympathy for the Indian than to love our servant girls as ourselves. It is easier to have disagreeable brothers and sisters a good long distance off, and let other people go and minister to them for us, than it is to apply practically to the problems nearest at hand that same spirit in which we expect our missionaries to labor. But the same spirit must pervade all good work, both near and remote. All our talk, all our alleged philanthropy, all our pleasant phrases about sociology and progress, are but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal, excepting as our work touches the heart with the real spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ.

I have known something of missionary work, though not for the Indian; but I believe that human hearts are very much alike, and that the same principles apply to all phases of missionary effort. I

have little confidence in any "civilizing agencies," in commerce or in education, or in anything which merely varnishes a savage life or veneers a savage heart. I have little hope of permanent good resulting from any system which does not have moral and spiritual power, which shall transform the life of the man whom we are striving to help into the image and the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ himself.

In a certain way our duty to the Indian lies nearer to us because the Indian himself is so far away. Have you not been impressed with the wonderful reasons which the Bible gives for some of the actions therein described? Do you remember what reason John gives for the service of Jesus, in that most signal act of his humiliation? Not, "Jesus, remembering that he was the son of Mary;" not, "Jesus, remembering that he was a carpenter;" not, "Jesus, remembering that he was still human;" but, "Jesus, knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he came from God and went to God, began to wash the disciples' feet." Just because he was not compelled to serve, did he count service eternally fitting. Just because we are so placed that we need not do it, just because we are relieved from the exigencies that compel it, are we the more under obligation, in the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, to apply ourselves to the solution of the problems that vex our brothers. Just because they seem remote are they so much nearer to us in our ability to bring to bear moral, and social, and spiritual agencies by which apparently insoluble problems may be solved.

It has often been said, "Treat the negro as a man and there is no negro problem." It is false. It has been said, "Treat the Indian as a man and there is no Indian problem." It is false. There is a negro problem; there is an Indian problem. The Lord could have saved us a deal of trouble by making us all white, or black, or red. There are problems. The war settled one problem; it precipitated twenty. We have only begun to touch on the outer fringes of that problem in the South. We have hardly begun to wrestle with great problems that are about us on every side, and which threaten the very life of our civilization. Education will do much; it is not a panacea. Education will not solve the negro problem; education will not solve the Indian problem. Nothing will solve any of these problems that does not dig right down to the root of character, and touch men where they live.

It is a great thing for us to be here, where we may consider these things and feel their noble impulses in our hearts, and go again to our duty with renewed determination; to our duty as it lies far from us, to our duty also as it lies nearest to us. It is very pleasant for us to feel that while we are driving about in Mr. Smiley's carriages, and using his boats, we are showing our friendship for the Indian. But our real work begins when we go to apply these principles to the problems around us, by so living, and so loving, and so serving, as that we shall be solving them where they press upon us sorely from day to day, and also where they seem to be most remote.

And now I am charged with a pleasant duty in offering this series of resolutions:—

Resolved, That the Fifteenth Annual Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian returns its sincere thanks to our host and hostess, Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley, for the hospitality unstinted and without grudging which has been displayed by them toward this Conference and its members. We are grateful for the opportunity which this hospitality affords for fellowship and social enjoyment; for the sharpening of iron against iron in the discussion of this free forum; and for the high ideals which obtain here, and raise to their own level the thought and spirit of this Conference. And while not the less personally grateful for the benefits of this Conference to its members, we rejoice far more with these our friends who have called us together, in the ever-crescent influence of their large-hearted undertaking, as manifest in wise legislation, in improved administration, and in the application of successful social and educational methods to the solution of the Indian problem. We rejoice in the evidence, which has become demonstrative, that the Indian can be made something better than a pauper or a savage, or alternately both; and that this promise, which is to them, is yet more largely to their children, and to as many as are far off. In all this we rejoice with our friends under whose roof this Conference has been held these fifteen years. We, having the same spirit of faith that all these years has proved itself here by its works, depart with renewed courage and confidence in all good work for these our Indian friends, and in this faith and fellowship we bid our honest host and hostess a sincere and grateful farewell.

The resolutions read by Dr. Barton were seconded in a pleasant speech by Rev. Wm. S. Hubbell, of Boston, and were adopted by a rising vote.

Upon motion, it was

Voted, That a Committee of five be chosen—of which the President of this Conference, Hon. Philip C. Garrett, shall be chairman, the rest to be appointed by him—to represent this Conference till the next meeting, look after its interests, and especially, if necessary, to call upon the authorities at Washington.

Mr. GARRETT then congratulated the Conference on the harmony and interest which had characterized its sessions. He urged the members to look forward with resolute hope to the future, taking courage from the past and from the remarkable assurances of the history which had been related in the preamble to the Platform.

Mr. SMILEY thanked the Conference for the kind expressions conveyed in the resolutions. It had afforded him intense pleasure to see so many earnest men and women come together to consider, in a kind spirit, and with a single aim, the needs of the Indians, and he felt that the Conference had been remarkably harmonious and successful. It was his intention that the Indian Conference should continue until there is no Indian Bureau and the Indian question is settled. He hoped to see them all another year, and he begged them to work for the Indian meanwhile, and to tell the story wherever they might be.

On motion of Dr. Wortman, the thanks of the Conference were extended to the President, who had so successfully conducted the meetings, to the Secretaries, and to Mrs. Hall, whose singing had added much to the interest of the sessions.

The Conference then adjourned.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
OF
FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
1898

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
1898

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PREFACE.

THE sixteenth Lake Mohonk Conference was no exception to its predecessors in interest. The unwearied hospitality of the hosts, Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley, brought together a large number of guests, many of whom took part in the proceedings.

The Report has been abridged as much as possible, according to instructions, but it is hoped that nothing essential has been omitted.

For convenience of reference the Platform is printed in the beginning of the book.

BOSTON, January, 1899.

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PLATFORM OF THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

Great progress has been made in dealing with the Indian races in our country. The nation no longer regards them as a hostile people, nor even as a foreign people. The reforms inaugurated under President Grant have been carried forward toward their logical results. The policy of discontinuing the reservation system has been accepted; in many of the reservations the land has been allotted in severalty, and the surplus land sold for the benefit of the Indians; less money is spent in rations, which pauperize, and much more in schools, which prepare for self-support; the Government has recognized the value of the education of the Indian women in their homes, in the domestic arts, and has increased the appropriations to carry on that work. The anomalous partnership between the National Government and the churches has been discontinued, and now only one denominational body looks to the Government for aid in support of its schools; the schools of the other denominations are supported by themselves, and the Government itself has assumed the responsibility for organizing and carrying on the work of the secular education of all Indian children of school age on the reservation.

Nevertheless, the Indian problem is still far from solution. A needlessly expensive system is maintained, nominally to care for the Indian, but in too large measure to care for party and political favorites. The schools, the clerks in the Bureau at Washington, and the Agency physicians have been brought under the Civil Service, but, with these exceptions, the Indian Bureau remains a political machine, subject to change in all its *personnel* after every Presidential election.

By both Democratic and Republican administrations men have been put at the head of the Indian Bureau who are neither familiar with Indian affairs nor acquainted with methods of education. Indian agents and Indian inspectors have been appointed without training or evidence of their fitness for the office. In more than one instance a drunken official has been appointed on a reservation, and well-authenticated complaints have failed to secure his removal, or have resulted only in his transfer to another field with an increased salary. In cases in which the reservation has been discontinued and the land has been allotted in severalty, the machinery of the agency has been retained, though no considerable service is required, and the retention is clearly against the spirit of the law. These evils have shown themselves alike when the appointments have been left with the Indian Commissioner, when they have been reserved by the Secretary of the Interior to himself, and when they have been practically left to local politicians.

Some excellent officials have been appointed, and some excellent work has been accomplished; but this is not because, but in spite of, the system. Two illustrations of the evils of the system have been afforded during the past year. The first is the removal of Dr. Hailmann, notwithstanding his splendid record as Superintendent of Indian Schools, attested by protest against his removal from men of all parties and all sections who are familiar with his work, including many educational experts. The second is the outbreak of some of the Chippewa Indians, whose valuable pine timber the Government, by the agreement of 1889, covenanted to sell for their benefit, and is still appraising and reappraising as a preliminary to such sale—two successive appraisements, extravagantly conducted at the expense of the Indians, having already been set aside as worthless, with a third appraisal now in progress.

We have appealed to successive administrations to remedy these abuses, and the abuses still continue. We now appeal to the people of the United States to demand of their Government that the Indian Bureau be taken out of politics, that the Indian Commissioner be no longer treated as a political officer, to be changed with every change of administration; that the work of the Bureau be entrusted to experts, and left in their hands until it is accomplished. And we also appeal to them to demand of Congress that it recognize that the Indian Bureau is of necessity a temporary institution, and should be discontinued at the earliest practicable moment; that it expedite the dissolution of the reservation, and the allotment of the land in severalty; that it give all Indians everywhere a right to appeal to the courts, and render all Indians everywhere accountable to the courts; and that it thus prepare the way for the abolition of a costly policy, unjust to the Indians, injurious to the whites, and an impediment to civilization.

Resolved, That a committee of seven, of which the Chairman of the Conference shall be the Chairman, and which shall have power to increase the number, be appointed by the chair to prepare during the next year a scheme adapted to carry out the policy outlined in the above platform and appeal, and to propose it to the next Conference for its action; that the Committee be also authorized to gather, in the interim before the next Conference, specific facts concerning defects and abuses on Indian administration, and in behalf of this Conference, in their discretion, to present them to Congress, the Executive, and to the Press.

THE SIXTEENTH LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 12, 1898.

The Sixteenth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference was called to order at 10 A. M., Wednesday, October 12, 1898, by Mr. A. K. Smiley, the host of the occasion. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Boardman.

MR. SMILEY.—It gives extreme pleasure to my wife and myself to welcome you all here. Many of you have been at previous Conferences, and I think some have been present at every one of the fifteen Conferences,—this is the sixteenth. It is pleasant to welcome the old veterans in the Indian service. Others are here for the first time, but you are all welcome.

The question has once or twice been asked me why I make so much fuss about Indians, why so many people gather here to discuss the Indian question. Aren't the Indians, they ask, an inferior race? Aren't they disappearing? Are they worth preserving? Is it worth while to spend so much time over two hundred and fifty thousand Indians?

To those who hold such views I would say, the Indians are not diminishing in numbers. They are in many respects inferior to the whites, but have many excellent traits of character superior to our race. Their weakness and defenseless condition call for sympathy and help.

Extremely different views are held in regard to their proper treatment. We bring together at these Conferences men of wide experience in dealing with the Indians, officials of the Indian Bureau, members of the Board of Indian Commissioners, secretaries of the missionary boards of the different religious bodies, the Indian Rights Association, the Women's National Indian Association, the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, men and women who have long lived amongst Indians, and leading citizens who take an interest in helping a downtrodden race.

In a free discussion by experts a general basis of agreement is reached, so that all can work harmoniously, in the future, for the

bettering of the Indian's condition. The Indian problem changes from year to year, requiring new methods of treatment; and this Conference tries to meet these new conditions as they arise."

No nation is safe that does not vigorously undertake to put down the criminal abuses of its humblest citizens. Look at Armenia,—what a storm of indignation swept over the civilized world at the unjust cruelty of the Turk. Oppression of the Cubans brought on the war with Spain. The supposed unjust sentence of Dreyfus comes near overthrowing the French government. So long as there are ten Indians cruelly oppressed, with no proper defense in the courts, it is worth while to make a vigorous effort in their defense.

Any one who attends this Conference is at liberty to say what he pleases in a Christian spirit. Those who come here are all earnest people who want to do good to the Indian. They speak the truth plainly and boldly, even though sometimes it cuts.

I always claim the privilege of naming the person who shall preside here. I propose to-day the man who served us so well last year. I have known him for about fifty years, and have loved him and respected him all that time. I name Philip C. Garrett.

Mr. Smiley then put it to vote, and Mr. Garrett was unanimously elected President of the Conference.

MR. GARRETT.—I am grateful to you for your confidence, and crave your kind indulgence; you will find presently that it will be needed by me.

We are fortunate in having a beautiful morning, and I hope our discussions will be as placid, as serene, as the lake by the side of which we are meeting. This is a republican country, and it is the privilege of the American people to discuss any great national question freely. As regards the Indian question this is an Œcumenical Council, a sort of Pan-Indian Conference, where Government officials and ex-officials, workers in the field, agents, teachers, missionary bodies, editors, thinkers, and those laboring for the Indian's good, and Indians themselves, meet to consider Indian problems from all points of view, and I think we may fairly claim that it represents the best sentiment of the American people on the subject of the Indian. It is our incontrovertible privilege to declare ourselves on all points relating to their welfare.

I say this especially because I think the United States Government should listen to the counsels of this Conference, as if to the *vox populi*. I have sometimes thought that the time was near at hand when the whole Indian Bureau could be safely abolished, and the Indians freed from all peculiar treatment, and recognized as American citizens in common with the Anglo-Saxon race, subject to all the penalties, and free participants in all the privileges which are given to the people of which this nation is composed. The great strides that the Indians have made toward civilization, and the total change in their relations to white people, would seem to demand

recognition in our attitude toward them, and a great reduction in expense in the Indian office, but no suggestion to this effect has come from the Indian Bureau. There is a reason for this which is probably to be found in the desire for place. But it is time that the American people were heard and their sentiments felt as to this question. We sometimes cling too conservatively to old notions and institutions. The idea that we must care for the Indians instead of letting them care for themselves is an idea that we must, sooner or later, get rid of. I believe that the Indian as an Indian has nearly reached the point, and the time is near at hand, when, as an Indian, he shall disappear from the arena, and, as a man, as an American citizen, he shall take an important part with all the rest of us. There are different estimates of his capacity for taking that part. I believe that it is greater than is commonly recognized. I believe the tribes are generally, though not universally, capable of taking their place individually as untrammelled citizens of the Republic. The whites are not all capable, nor the negroes; yet, capable or incapable, they are citizens. That time has not quite come yet, but it is coming.

But we have another problem. We have only about a quarter of a million of Indians. But what about the new problem touching several millions of people, including inferior races, which in the course of a year seem likely to be thrust on the American people for care? There are millions of mixed Malays, Negritos, and Filipinos in the Philippine Islands. There are large numbers in Cuba and Porto Rico. There are many half breeds. What part shall we take with reference to them? Has this Conference anything to say on the subject? I think it is possible we have a duty imposed on us to consider our responsibility to the great numbers who may thus be added to those who need our thought and assistance. This is for the Conference to say.

It is customary for the Conference to name a business committee. The first business of the morning is to elect that committee and other officers.

On motion of Mr. Welsh, Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, Mr. Joshua W. Davis, and Mr. S. A. Galpin were elected Secretaries.

On motion of Mr. Galpin, Mr. Frank Wood was elected Treasurer.

On motion of Mr. James, the following Business Committee was elected: Dr. Lyman Abbott, President W. F. Slocum, General Morgan, Mrs. Quinton, Mrs. Kinney, and Mr. Daniel Smiley.

On motion the following Publication Committee was elected: Messrs. Frank Wood and Joshua W. Davis, and Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, with the understanding that Mrs. Barrows, as heretofore, should edit the proceedings.

Mr. Smiley read a letter from Hon. H. L. Dawes, the "Nestor" of Indian work, regretting the inability of himself and family to be present, extracts from which follow:—

You cannot tell how disappointed we are. It seems like breaking the electric current for a twelvemonth, and cutting us off for another whole year from the inspiration, encouragement, and education sure to come from this week's association with so many good men and women engaged in a common work. And, may I not say, most of all do we lose the benediction that beams in the countenances of host and hostess, whose warm greeting and glad welcome make the sun shine everywhere.

I wanted to be with you more than ever this year, that I might tell you of greater and more encouraging progress in our work in the Indian Territory in this than in any previous year. I venture, in place of what I would say were I with you, to enclose a brief statement of what has been accomplished among the Five Civilized Tribes since I met you last year. I am quite sure that the reading it will give you pleasure.

On motion of General Morgan, it was voted that the Secretary be instructed to send to Senator Dawes and family an expression of the regret of the Conference at their absence, and of the most cordial recognition of the great service heretofore done for the Indian by Senator Dawes.

Mr. SMILEY.—Senator Dawes is still at the head of the Commission to reorganize the 60,000 Indians and the 250,000 white people of the Indian Territory. It is one of the most delicate positions in the country. He is wise-headed, and has had long experience. A Democratic President—greatly to his credit—put Senator Dawes at the head of this Commission.

Gen. E. Whittlesey was then invited to give an address on the present condition of the Indians.

THE SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

BY GEN. E. WHITTLESEY.

Mr. Chairman and Friends.—The only trouble which has occurred among the Indians during the past year is the recent trouble in Minnesota, and this, we hope, will not be of very large proportions. I do not need to speak of that, as I shall be followed by one who has spent twenty-five years of noble, self-denying missionary work among the Chippewa Indians, and knows them every one,—man, woman, and child,—and he will state the situation fully.

I have been asked to give such statistics as I have been accustomed to give at the opening of the Mohonk Conference. They

are merely the dry bones of the subject, but other speakers will give them life, I hope.

The appropriation for the Indian service for the fiscal year 1898, which closed June 30 last, was \$7,431,620; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, the appropriation is \$7,653,854,—an increase of \$222,234. This increase arises largely from the necessary appropriations required by provisions or agreements with Indians on the purchase of their lands.

The appropriation for school service for 1898 was \$2,631,771; for 1899, \$2,656,300,—an increase of \$24,529. The total number of schools, including all the varieties, is 295. The enrollment for the year 1897 was 22,964; for 1898 it is 24,004,—an increase of 1,040. The average attendance in 1897 was 18,676; in 1898 it was 19,671,—an increase of 995.

Of the contract schools there is one Protestant school still assisted by the Government to the amount of \$2,160, and thirty-four Catholic schools assisted to the amount of \$116,884.

The beneficial results of Indian education are manifest to every one. By an investigation recently made by the Indian office, independent of those made by the schools themselves, it was found that not less than forty-eight per cent of the graduates from non-reservation schools, like those at Hampton, Carlisle, Santee, and others, have taken up allotments when they returned home, and have become no mean competitors with their white neighbors; and seventy-six per cent of such graduates, who have returned to their reservations, have become good citizens.

The work of irrigation has been continued during the past year on many reservations. The largest work is on the Crow Reservation in Montana. It is said to be one of the best irrigation works in the country. The labor of constructing the canals has been done almost entirely by the Indians themselves under the supervision of a competent engineer. The same engineer, Mr. Graves, has now been appointed one of the Indian inspectors, and is to supervise all the irrigation work on the different Indian reservations.

Allotments of land in severalty have been made during the year 1898 to this extent: approved, 813; reported but not acted on, 979; patents issued during the year, 1,943.

As to the results of the allotment policy some inquiry was made last year. We have endeavored, by correspondence with Indian agents, to find out something upon the subject. I have written to all the agents on reservations where allotments have been made, and have received replies from about twenty of them. I have an abstract of all those replies, and will give a brief summary. The replies which I have received cover about twenty-five thousand allotments and patents issued. The reports indicate clearly that from seventy-five to eighty per cent of the Indians who have received allotments are living on their own individual possessions, and to some extent are cultivating their lands. The testimony of the agents in almost all cases is that the benefits of the allotment policy are many, and the evils are few. It gives the Indian a

chance to make himself independent. It brings him into contact with white settlers—farmers—as neighbors, and gives him the benefit of their example and help. It breaks up the tribal relations, and makes them individual men. This shows that the Indians are making progress toward civilization.

The Chairman requested a report in detail of these results. General Whittlesey continued as follows:—

On the Pottawatomie and Great Nemaha Reservation, Kansas, 1,066 allotments have been made, and 1,066 patents issued. A majority of the Indians are living on their allotments, but their lands are leased, to a large extent, with discouraging results.

The Nez Percé Indians, Idaho, have received 1,997 allotments and patents, and four fifths are living on their allotments; but many hire white men to do the labor. The benefits of the policy are many. It brings the Indian into close contact with white farmers, and opens to his children the district school.

On the Jicarilla Reservation, New Mexico, the number of allotments is 847, and of patents 845. About one half are living on their lands and cultivate four acres each. Arable land is very limited.

Yakima Reservation, Washington, 1,851 allotments and 1,812 patents received. All practically living on their allotments, and cultivate from ten to eighty acres per family. Many results are good.

Warm Springs Agency, Oregon, 979 allotments and 948 patents. Greater part of Indians are living on allotments and cultivating nearly all arable lands. System will prove of great advantage.

La Pointe Agency, Wisconsin, 2,732 allotments and 2,426 patents. About 500 families (2,000 persons) living on allotments. The system is approved.

Siletz Agency, Oregon, 551 allotments and 541 patents. One hundred families (500 persons) are living on their allotments. All cultivate their land to some extent. Allotment the proper thing to do.

Lower Bute Agency, South Dakota. Number of allotments is not stated; 150 families are living on their allotments. The system a great benefit to Indians, scatters them and makes them individually responsible.

Sisseton Agency, South Dakota, 1,500 patents issued, and 400 families living on their own lands. They cultivate 98,000 acres, and lease 30,000 acres for grazing. Indians are benefited by the policy.

Ponca Agency, Oklahoma, 1,714 allotments and 1,523 patents. Two hundred families (about 1,000 persons) are living on their allotments and cultivate 5,000 acres, but mostly by white contract labor. The benefits of the policy are numerous, the evils few.

Grande Ranch Agency, Oregon, 269 allotments and 269 patents. Ninety-seven families are living on their farms, and nearly all tillable land is cultivated. Benefits very great.

Crow Creek Agency, South Dakota, 879 allotments and 199 patents. All living on their allotments, and cultivate their land to a small extent. The allotment plan is disadvantageous in a stock company.

Devil's Lake Agency, North Dakota, 1,158 allotments and 865 patents. A majority of the people are living on their allotments, and have 4,000 acres in crop. Benefits of the system are many. It gives homes to the Indians.

Sac and Fox Agency, Oklahoma, 2,363 allotments and 2,363 patents. Three fourths of the people live on their lands. They cultivate one fifth in person and lease one half, with good results. Benefits of the plan are numerous.

Mission Tule River Agency, Colorado, 361 allotments and 117 patents. All occupy their allotments, and generally cultivate their land. They are becoming better farmers and more self-reliant.

Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency, Oklahoma, 3,328 allotments and 3,328 patents. Eighty per cent of the people live on their farms, and all able-bodied men cultivate their land. Benefits of the policy are many, evils few.

Quapaw Agency, Indian Territory, all (1,448) have received allotments and patents, and seven eighths are living on their allotments, three fourths lease the greater part, one fourth cultivate all with good results. Leasing should be restricted.

Round Valley Reservation, California, 622 allotments and 604 patents received. Seventy-five per cent of the people are living on their allotments and fifty per cent of the land is cultivated.

Pima Agency, Arizona, 970 allotments and 291 patents. Forty families (about 200 persons) live on farm land, and three fourths of the land is under cultivation. Benefits of the policy are great.

Now, I repeat that these reports of results show, beyond reasonable doubt, that the Indians are making progress toward civilization.

A few weeks ago there was held in Boston a great convention of scientific men, and, according to a report which I read in a paper, one of the scientific men in the course of a discussion said oracularly that it has been proved that the American Indian is incapable of civilization, and that he is doomed to extinction. I could not help thinking when I read those words of a man with whom I traveled toward the Crow Agency twenty-five years ago. He was a rough Mormon stage driver, and very fond of talking about the Mormons and the Indians, and among other things he said: "The last time I drove up on this road I carried up Mr. Felix Brunot, Chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners. He was going up to the Crow Agency, and he thinks he is going to tame and civilize the Indians. I told him I knew how to tame Indians. I have an old well down on my place in the valley,—a pretty deep well. It hain't got any water in it, but if you could look down there you could see seven tamed Indians in the bottom of it." I thought the wise man of Boston and the Mormon stage driver seemed to have come to about the same conclusion.

Now if they would visit Hampton and Carlisle, Santee, Haskell, and some of the other great Indian schools, they would see in the bright faces of those Indian boys and girls proofs that Indians can be tamed in a better way than by putting them at the bottom of dry wells. If such men would converse with Dr. Charles Eastman, or Dr. Montezuma, or Rev. John Eastman, or scores of Indian preachers educated by Bishop Hare and Dr. Riggs, they would have come to a different conclusion. And if they would visit those reservations now where the Indians are scattered about, living in comfortable houses, cultivating their own farms, and training up their children in better ways, they would come to a different conclusion I am quite sure. No; away with such foolishness of science, falsely so called. Let us rather have faith in Him who has made of one blood all the nations of earth. Let us rather have faith in him who gave his life to redeem all mankind. Let us rather believe that in every Indian boy there is the making of a man, and in every girl the making of a Christian woman and mother. Let it be ours to do what we can to give every one a chance to be our equal and our brother.

I am reminded that at that very meeting of scientists in Boston a scientific paper was read by an Indian, Mr. Francis LaFlesche. I should have named some of the educated Indian women, like Isabel Cornelius, and other trained nurses and physicians, Delia Randall, Lily Wind, and others, who are doing excellent work. I have heard it stated by physicians that they had never had more skillful nurses than trained Indian nurses.

Mr. HERBERT WELSH.—It may be well at this point to call attention to Miss Angel Dekora, an artist, who has been at work in the Drexel Institute, and where she gained a prize of considerable value—I think of \$500—for the excellence of her work. Just before coming here I was applied to by a gentleman to have something done for a young Indian girl who is a trained nurse. He spoke of her as exceedingly capable. She had lands in the West which were leased to some one who did not give her a proper revenue, and she wanted to have it looked after.

Pres. W. F. Slocum was invited to speak.

President SLOCUM.—I think that the spirit of this meeting is conservative, and that we are all anxious not to make any mistake in our efforts to improve the condition of the Indian. If I understand the nature of these gatherings it is like the watch on the hilltop,—and a beautiful hilltop it is, too,—where one can gain clear conception of the work that is being done, and where, when an utterance needs to be made, it can be made from this watch tower in clear, ringing tones, so that there shall be no misunderstanding of its meaning and purport.

The Indian work is steadily moving on to the point where we can less afford to have mistakes made than we could a few years

ago. There is greater danger where there is lack of adjustment in a locomotive that runs sixty or seventy miles an hour than in one that runs fifteen or twenty. We cannot afford mistakes to-day, and when anything happens that hurts the educational work we must speak in no uncertain terms.

Whenever a leader in this educational work is removed we instantly ask ourselves, What was the reason? First of all we inquire, Is there anything in the moral character of the man who was removed that warranted the step that was taken? When we ask in regard to the Superintendent of Indian Schools, who was removed from his position, we find that his character is blameless. If ever there has been a man connected with the Indian service whose character has been above reproach it is this man whom we honor to-night, as we utter his name in this presence.

Then comes the question, Was he, in his ability, adequate for the work that was laid upon him? If we can accept the testimony of those who knew him best, and who worked with him,—and I attended this summer the Conference of Indian teachers, and I took as great pains as I could to find out the views of the teachers of Indian schools as to the ability of this man,—the testimony comes again and again that his work was admirable. He was a constant source of inspiration to others; his ideas were always clear; he was a man of unusual ability, was the universal expression.

Then I begin to ask, What was there in his training that made him unworthy of the position? And I was assured that his fitness for his work was unusual. Specially educated in a foreign country and trained along the lines of industrial education; a teacher who had devoted himself heart and soul to the work of fitting himself for his profession; a man who during the years of his work in the service of the country along these important lines, had shown himself constantly growing in his profession; a man better equipped to do it to-day than any other day in which he worked, is the universal testimony, and therefore it is evident that there was no reason in his lack of training or in his devotion to the work for his removal.

Then we might ask, Is it true that the time comes when change in and of itself is a good thing? I think we all recognize that in this work, continuity is absolutely necessary for the best results. In other words we had a man who by his character, by his ability, by his training, and by his devotion, was admirably adapted for this important service which is so essential to the higher welfare of our country.

Now I ask you, Is it not our duty to utter our protest against the violation of one of the great principles that has been laid down for this Indian service? We are above personalities. It is not a question whether Dr. Hailmann is your friend or mine. It is not a question as to which party is responsible. We are not discussing politics or parties; but it does seem to me that there has been a violation of one of the fundamental principles of our Indian service in removing this earnest, able man.

It is not always that we have a clear, definite example of a vio-

lation of civil service principles before us as is this one, and in giving expression to our protest against this removal, we shall find the best sentiment of the country with us. God grant that the day may come when the spoils system shall not only go out, but when there shall be in this country a sentiment so strong, that political parties will find that it is "good politics" to keep in office men who are honest and efficient, no matter where they come from or what their political affiliation. God grant, too, that the higher the work, the more important the station, the more sacred the duty, the more strenuously shall that principle be followed. I believe we ought not to leave this hilltop, this place of sacred association, without saying something at least that shows that we do not believe that a man like Dr. Hailmann can be taken from his work, and the whole Indian service deprived of services so valuable, without some expression that shall be heard and understood.

Rev. J. A. Gilfillan was asked to speak on the recent Minnesota trouble.

THE MINNESOTA TROUBLE.

BY REV. J. A. GILFILLAN.

The public has lately been startled and shocked by the entirely unexpected outbreak of some Chippewa Indians in Minnesota, belonging to what is called the Pillager band, and living on Bear Island in Leech Lake. However, on investigation, it turns out that only a very few, about twenty, were concerned in it. We may observe that the name Pillager is given to this particular band from an incident in their history, perhaps two hundred years ago, when their ancestors, in their anxiety to get goods, pillaged the stock of one of the first French traders who reached them, who was too sick to open trade with them in the regular way.

We naturally ask, then, what are the causes that have led to this. It seems very strange that it should occur at this late day, when we thought Indian outbreaks were over; and especially is it strange that it should occur with the Chippewas. They are one of the few tribes who have never had a war with the Government or with the white man. They have always been most peaceable, and the friends of the whites. When Minnesota first began to be settled, about fifty years ago, and there was only a little handful of whites about St. Paul and Stillwater, and the Chippewas were all-powerful, and could easily have swept them from the State had they so desired, they never molested them in any way, but were ever friendly to them. And, again, when a very critical time came, when the Sioux in Minnesota rose during the Civil War, when most of the white men were away at the South, and in a few days massacred over eight hundred defenseless settlers, strewing the

country with their blood for hundreds of miles, and stampeding, over a large area, those who survived; when, at that critical time, they invited their fellow-Indians, the Chippewas, to join them and sweep from their beautiful Minnesota those whom they thought were so crowding them and encroaching on them, the Chippewas refused, and, though sorely tempted, held back and shed no white blood. Had they joined with the Sioux at that time, they would have swept the infant State of Minnesota, then containing less than two hundred thousand population, and would have inflicted incalculable damage. We should always remember with the deepest gratitude their steadfastness at that trying time.

It may be proper to say that their proper name is Ojibways, corrupted by us into Chippewas, and that it means "To-roast-till-puckered-up," from an incident in their history long ago. They owned the northern three fourths of Minnesota, their hereditary enemies, the Sioux, occupying the southern fourth. There are now about nine thousand Chippewas in Minnesota, including perhaps three thousand French-Canadian mixed bloods, the descendants of the old *voyageurs*, who came over the lakes perhaps one hundred years ago.

What, then, has caused this phenomenon of a Chippewa outbreak? That there is a cause for every Indian war we may be sure. The experience of the writer is that the Indian, notwithstanding his confidence has been so often abused, has yet a deep underlying faith in the white man and in the United States Government, and only when his grievances have become to him intolerable, as it seems to him, and when he has no other means of redress, does he raise the tomahawk.

The origin of these troubles dates back to 1889. Then the Government sent three Commissioners to obtain from the Chippewas a cession of their extensive and valuable reservations, which were covered with forests of most valuable pine. Those Commissioners were ex-Senator Henry M. Rice, a former Indian fur-trader; the Rt. Rev. Martin Marty, Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Cloud, Minn.; and Joseph B. Whiting. At first the Indians were very unwilling to make a treaty; they were afraid of being deceived, afraid of the duplicity of the white man; and it was only after many months of great effort and much finesse and some stratagems that the requisite number "touched the feather," as they call signing. They knew that those reservations and those pine forests were all they had; they knew the pine was worth millions, and that if they lost that they lost all. Knowing that white men attached great importance to an oath, they had the Commissioners repeatedly swear, with uplifted hand to God, and by kissing the Bible, that all the promises made them would be carried out. The report of what was said in those treaty-making councils, both by the Indians and by the Commissioners, with the promises that were made, was printed by the Government, and is accessible to any one who chooses to read it. The Indians endeavored to make sure, as they say that they should be

made "well off" out of the proceeds of their lands sold, and especially of their valuable pine.

But the promises made to the Indians by the Commissioners were not kept. To instance one, the Commissioners promised to the White Earth Reservation Indians and mixed bloods that they would, as heretofore, be allowed to take, each man, and woman, and child, one hundred and sixty acres in severalty; and those Indians signed the treaty on the strength of that promise, and would never have signed but for that promise. But the Government broke that promise, giving each eighty acres only. Again the Commissioners swore to the Mille Lacs band, numbering some eight hundred, that if they signed they should always be allowed to live at Mille Lacs, their ancestral home, to which they were so much attached. They did sign on the strength of this; but the Government broke the promise, withholding their annuities for many years to force them to leave, and so plunging them into poverty and great trouble of mind. In many other places, also, as at Cass Lake, the Indians say that the Commissioners promised them a sawmill if they would sign, a blacksmith, a school, to build them a village, etc., none of which promises were ever attempted to be fulfilled. As one of the Commissioners was a Christian bishop, the Indians thought that his oath would be very binding on him, and his promises carried out. It is to be observed also that many of the Indians refused finally to sign the treaty, and did not sign it, fearing fraud, and principal among them were the Bear Islanders in question; who thus were apt to consider that they were not bound by the treaty, having never signed it.

All the above broken promises, however, might have been passed over, affecting single bands only, as the three thousand White Earth Indians, and not the whole body, but that the Indians saw, or thought they saw, that their money coming to them, the proceeds of their pine, was being absorbed by white men, and that they would finally have everything stolen from them. This conviction steadily grew upon them, watching through the years. There were three ways in particular in which they thought this was being done. One was that a Commission, consisting of three men, ex-Congressmen and others—unexceptionable men in themselves—was quartered upon them for over six years, each of whom received, with allowances, out of their funds \$13 a day, or \$39 for the three daily; and those men again gave offices to men under them—mixed bloods and others—at the rate of \$5 a day, and other sums; so that the daily cost of that Commission to them was, they said, \$88 a day, and there was no work for those men to do to equal that expenditure; most of them seemed to be doing nothing but drawing those high salaries. The ostensible business of those Commissioners was to allot lands to the Indians; but I may mention what a United States inspector sent from Washington—a very honest, capable, and experienced man—said, that he knew one woman in the employ of the Government who would allot more Indians than that Commission, or that an additional clerk under

the Indian agent at \$1,000 a year could have done it all. I think the Indians and the United States inspector were right in their view. Of course it was very aggravating to an Indian who was hungry, and who would have dearly liked just two cents out of his millions of dollars' worth of pine forests to buy himself one pound of flour, but could in nowise get it, to see so many white men and others drawing fat salaries out of him, and doing very little or nothing.

Besides this Commission many other white officials were sent, some to supervise the cutting of timber and many other things, and the Indian had to pay for it all.

Finally this Commission of three, with their numerous retainers, became so glaring an imposition that the members were reduced to one, and everything seemed to go just as well or better under that one.

Another way in which the Indians saw they were cheated out of vast sums was in the estimating and sale of their pine timber. Under President Harrison's administration a corps of estimators, each drawing \$6 a day out of the Indians' money, was appointed to estimate the amount of pine on the Red Lake Reservation, or a part of it, and did so. When the new administration of President Cleveland came in, the cry was raised that the former estimating had been done fraudulently, and that it must be done over again. So a new corps of estimators, numbering, I believe, some twenty-six, was hired, each receiving \$6 a day out of the Indians' pine. This new corps was said to be, as to its members, grossly incompetent. Some of them were paper hangers, some saloon keepers, some had got their appointments from having control of negro votes in the South, some had never seen a pine tree, and most knew nothing about estimating pine. As to how they fulfilled their duties, the general report was that they spent their time mostly in playing cards under a pine tree. They were always well supplied with whiskey, and drank heavily. When there was to be a dance at some neighboring town, fifteen or twenty miles distant, they would go there, and after remaining a few days return to the pines. Some were said to absent themselves for months, but still drew their pay. One took the Keeley cure. Their operations, with those of the former corps of estimators, covered a period of many years. The Hon. Melvin R. Baldwin, Chairman of the Chippewa Commission in the Indian country, and at the head of all the work, said that those first two corps of pine estimators were paid \$350,000, and that the real value of the work was \$6,000; that he could have it done for that sum, and done it honestly, whereas it was done dishonestly, he said, in the interest of the purchasers. He said that much of the pine was very greatly underestimated—sometimes only a trifle of what was really growing on the tracts; that when it came to be sold at the Government Land Office those tracts were snapped up, the purchasers getting them for a small part of their real value, while any tracts that they had estimated up to the actual amounts of pine growing on them were not bought. He denounced

those sales as fraudulent; went on purpose to Washington, and did all he could to prevent their confirmation. There is on file at Washington a report of Special Agent J. George Wright about these gross underestimates of the pine. When that second corps of pine estimators had finished their work, that was not the end; a new corps, the third, was set to work to go over what the second corps had done; and so it seemed as if their pine would be estimated all away. It seemed like an estate sometimes among white people, which is all frittered away in legal expenses till nothing is left for the heirs.

Then the Indians saw another means of fraud introduced in the shape of fire. According to the law, what is called "dead and down pine" could be cut; and the Indians realized 75 cents per thousand feet for such pine. But green standing pine on the lands they had ceded was not allowed by law to be cut at all, unless it had been bought by an individual purchaser. They complained constantly that their green standing pine was being cut by wholesale, under the pretense that it was "dead and down" pine. The cutting was done almost altogether by white men. For the pine so cut they got only 75 cents per thousand feet of logs, whereas green pine logs everywhere were worth from \$4.75 to \$5 per thousand. This was taking their pine from them almost for nothing; and they saw no end to it, nor any means of stopping it, for they complained and tried with all their power to stop it, bringing it to the notice of the authorities in every way they could, but they were not listened to, and the thing was allowed to go on. By this means again they foresaw the loss of all their property; that they would get 75 cents a thousand for their pine—expenses to come out of that—instead of \$4.75 or \$5, which it was worth. A lifelong, experienced lumberman, and an honest man, who examined the cut of logs on one reservation last winter, said that two thirds, at least, of them were green.

Then, as by the law, green growing logs could not be cut, but only dead and down, it was a great temptation to those who wished to cut to fire the pine, especially as by doing so they would get for 75 cents what otherwise would cost them \$4.75 or \$5. So on the Red Lake Reservation, where the largest body of pine was, fires ran everywhere; the whole country was burned over. It was the common report and belief all through that country, and was openly avowed by some who were engaged in cutting pine, that fire was constantly used by those who wished to cut pine which, by the law, they could not cut, being green, and, in addition, to get it for 75 cents instead of the real worth—\$4.75 or \$5. It was a pitiful sight to see the beautiful, shapely pines that formerly covered the country for a hundred miles, and which, like the buffalo, could never be replaced, yield to the devouring element. The Indians all said and believed that the pine was fired that it might be capable of being cut and got for 75 cents instead of \$5. That was what made the Leech Lake Indians, including the Bear Islanders, ask, just before this trouble began, that the cutting of

pine on their reservation, begun last winter, should be stopped. They saw how the Red Lake Reservation pine had gone by fire ; they saw how the White Earth pine was going ; and they knew the same thing was going to take place on their own reservation—that it had already begun. One can make allowance for the feelings of poor men seeing themselves about to be plundered by their elder brothers, who should have loved and protected them, of the last remnant of the noble patrimony they had inherited from their fathers.

It ought to be noted, also, that when the Indians found the promises made to them, by which they were induced to sign, were broken and would not be kept, they repeatedly offered, and would have been most eager, to undo the treaty, to take back their land, even with a great part of the pine burned and cut off it, and release the whites from their promises to pay.

But this, of course, they were not allowed to do. The edict was : We will break our promises to you, by which we got your land, as much as we please, but we shall not allow you to undo that treaty, nor take back your land, and if you attempt to do it we will kill you. You must stand by and see us plunder you all we want to, and if you resist we have soldiers and will send them and shoot you.

There is a very strong and clear sense of justice in the Indian's breast, stronger than in any race I know ; and what they felt and feel may be imagined. Their white brother so rich, and they so poor ! And this was a sort of invisible and intangible enemy that was striking them down ; it was no person they could reach ; it was law, and it was government. No wonder that the poor Bear Islanders, not knowing where to strike, struck at last wildly and blindly. But they struck no woman nor child, nor man without arms ; to their nobility be it said that, as men, they sought men and heroes with arms in their hands.

That is always the way the Indian does : he bears till he can bear no longer ; he has no newspaper nor organ by which to make known what is being done to him ; he does not speak our language, has no powerful organization of friends to champion his cause, and at last he does the only thing he thinks he can do—strikes a despairing blow.

There was another thing occurred which was, as it were, the last straw ; that was the cutting down by the Government of their little annuities from \$9.20 to \$5.50.

Senator Rice repeatedly promised them at the time of the treaty that they would be paid an annuity of about nine dollars a head for fifty years ; that, as their pine was sold and the proceeds lodged in Washington, that annuity would increase to perhaps three times the amount or more ; that this increase might not all be paid to them in money, but in useful things, but would certainly be paid. Having the treaty before it, the Government for many years paid the Indians about nine dollars each—about nine dollars and twenty cents, I believe—as promised by the Commissioners. Then, all at once, without any previous notification to the Indians, the Government cut down the annuity to \$5.50, the amount paid at the last annuity pay-

ment. I believe this cutting down was ordered by some official on the ground of a clause in the treaty that some of that annuity money was to be used for schools. But the Government, having paid \$9.20 per capita under that treaty for so many years, having the treaty before it, had fixed that as the proper interpretation of it, and had morally bound itself to pay them that sum, and not one in a thousand of the Indians was aware of the existence of any such clause in the treaty. All they knew was that the Commissioners had promised them \$9 per capita, and that the Government had always paid it. When, therefore, the annuity was suddenly cut down, it filled them with alarm and dismay. They said: "All our pine is going, by fraudulent estimating, by fraudulent selling, by fraudulent cutting, by swarms of officials at high salaries eating us up, most of all by being fined, and now the only thing left, this annuity, which we looked on as as sure to come as the sun to rise, is cut down almost one half. Won't the next step be that it will be taken away altogether? and then the whites will have got everything we have, and only our bodies left."

An annuity is bad for Indians, and should never have been promised. This annuity was put in the treaty to please the Indian traders, who were anxious to get hold of the money every year, and thus their influence was gained to induce the Indians to sign it. But, having been promised, there is nothing to be done but honestly to pay it. No one but one who has lived among them can understand how they set their hearts on those few dollars; and there are hundreds among them, poor widows and others, who make the best use of them. It is a pity if they cannot be restored to them. Good friends of the Indian, including the Hon. Mr. Baldwin, Chairman of the Chippewa Commission, begged the official who made that decision not to do so. They reminded him that it might cause an outbreak that would cost a million dollars. We see what the accumulating causes behind it, above detailed, have caused.

To any one living among them the things above detailed have been perfectly plain. Even those living at hundreds of miles' distance, who had no such opportunities of seeing, could see it. For instance, the Hon. Mr. Eddy, member of Congress from the Red Lake and White Earth districts, said, as quoted in the newspapers some months ago, "The funds of the Chippewa Indians are being rapidly frittered away," or words to that effect. We all thought that promises solemnly made to Indians only to be broken, and dishonest handling of their affairs, were things of the dim and distant past; but, seeing how things have gone since the Rice Treaty of 1889, one learns that they are just as operative now. It is the same old story.

An admirable official of the Government, an inspector or supervisor of schools, once said to the writer when they were riding along together in the Indian country: "As long as the Indian has ten cents the white man will camp with him, and never leave him till he has got that ten cents away from him. That always has been the history of our Government from the beginning, and always will

In pursuance with the vote of the Conference, proofs of Rev. Mr. Gilfillan's address were sent to Indian Commissioner W. A. Jones.

The following reply was received too late to be published in connection with the address:—

“I have nothing that I desire to add except that, in my opinion, the statements made by Mr. Gilfillan are in the main correct. The cutting of the dead and down timber is now largely under the control of the General Land Office, and it would be, to say the least, in bad taste in me to comment on or criticise the conduct of another Department.”

be." No words could express more accurately what has been going on ever since the Rice Treaty of 1889 among the Chippewas than those words.

The Chippewa Indians have been most patient, forbearing, long-suffering, under very great provocation, for many years, hardly even uttering a complaint, and, in the opinion of those who have seen the working of things, they have been deeply wronged and abused. And the lamented death of the noble Major Wilkinson and his brave soldiers is the legitimate outcome of the crooked work that has been carried on.

General Morgan moved that the address of Mr. Gilfillan should be sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who should be asked to make such statement as he may desire, to be published in the volume of Proceedings.

In offering this resolution General Morgan spoke as follows:—

General MORGAN.—If these facts are capable of explanation they should be explained, if not they should be pilloried by being printed in these Proceedings. There are three or four parties concerned: first, the Congress that makes the laws; second, the Secretary of the Interior, who makes the appointments, and the Commissioner to carry out these agreements; third, the local Senators of the State that recommend the men to be appointed; fourth, the men themselves from Minnesota and elsewhere who attempt to carry out the agreements. The Indian office itself is about as helpless as a typewriting machine under the manipulations of a skilled typewriter. We ought to separate these, and lay the responsibility where it belongs. This can be done, and then we shall know upon whom to vent our wrath. I should question very much whether it can be substantiated by facts in the Indian office that the promise of one hundred and sixty acres in a solemn treaty was violated by allotting only eighty. The Commissioners possibly may have given promises which they were not authorized to make, but I should be very much surprised, because I had something to do with the carrying out of that treaty, if you can locate on the Indian office the slightest responsibility for any variation in the letter or the spirit of that treaty. If you can, I should like to have that located. If not, I am sure that our friend Gilfillan would be very swift to withdraw that reflection upon the Indian office.

Mr. GILFILLAN.—The promise was made by the Treaty Commissioners, whether it was in the treaty itself I do not know.

President SLOCUM.—These facts should be put before the public. I want to add one suggestion. I think the impression has gone through the country that the trouble in Minnesota is of such a nature that it proves a reflection on all Indian work.

Rev. Dr. BUCKLEY.—I am not able to sympathize with this motion made by General Morgan. In the first place, we learn that the proposition relating to the one hundred and sixty acres and the

eighty acres did not apply to the whole body of the Indians. In the next place, it appears that the Commissioners had not the authority to make that arrangement. As I have heard these statements I have been racked with contending emotions. This country has recently rung with declarations that we are the most civilized nation, the most humanitarian in spirit, and that God is leading us out where we are going to take charge of the Philippine Islands, fourteen hundred in number, appoint agents and manage them, and have a vast amount of machinery for all sorts of people. Alas, the history of the treatment of the Indians in Minnesota is exactly what it always has been. It is the same old story.

The motion was referred to the Business Committee.

Mr. HERBERT WELSH.—There are some things in connection with this subject which I think ought to be said in a very quiet and dispassionate way. I think we should make a careful, guarded statement of what we believe to be essential truths which will affect the minds of the American people. There is a popular demand to know the truth upon this matter. The most important result to be reached is to show the influence of the spoils system. It is not so important that we should indict and punish any one man. This evil has been going on for a long time, but at this juncture it will have a very valuable effect on the public mind if we can show the importance of eliminating the partisan spoils system from the management of the Indian service. If the country can be shown that the whole thing is cursing Indian management, it will enable us to do what we ought to do,—separate it from the spoils system. We know that a great deal of what has been said is the simple truth. I know from one of the best inspectors in our service, a competent man, Major Wright, what has been going on with reference to those pine lands. If we can get some of the essential facts, which Mr. Gilfillan has stated, before the public, it will have a powerful effect. Whether you can hold the Government responsible for the promises which were made by those Commissioners, I do not know. That does not seem to me to be the important question; but if you can show the people of the United States that these particular Commissioners have only in one case promised those men what they have not performed, you have done a valuable thing. I know that this trick has been played again and again. If you can prove that the Indian has been deceived by those in whom properly he was led to trust, that is valuable work. The value lies in this, that it shows he, the Indian, had as strong a reason for taking up arms against the United States as our own colonists and the Cubans had in their respective rebellions. I believe the essential facts of this case bring a most powerful indictment against the people of the United States. If it can be shown that in the year 1898 the killing of a number of our officers and men in the Indian outbreak in Minnesota was the direct result of wrong inflicted by our representatives, we have proved that the Indian has

been doing that which we praise in another man, and which we would do for ourselves. You have removed the stigma from the Indian to place it on us. I think this kind of fraud and trickery should be shown to the people of the United States. We are blaming no particular set of men. Our contention is, that, from a human standpoint, the Indian was justified rather than condemned.

Dr. BUCKLEY.—To justify the Indians in an outbreak would be something which no American body would be likely to commit itself to. What we have to do is to show the grievances. As Geronimo is reported to have said in a recent interview, he has learned that it is better to suffer great wrongs from the United States than to shed blood in a useless fight.

Mr. WELSH.—I certainly did not mean that the Indians were, in any sense, justified in causing that outbreak. I meant that the conditions of wrong and fraud which have pressed upon them had put them in a condition where all men, under their circumstances, if they had been deprived of other means of relief, would have done as they did.

Mr. SMILEY.—I think Mr. Gilfillan has made out his case, and shown that the Indians were shamefully mistreated. They trusted the Commissioners who had sworn on the Bible, considering them the representatives of the Great Father, and believing that the United States would carry out the Commissioners' promises. They do not know anything about the Indian office. The agreement made between the Commissioners and the Indians was very materially altered by Congress without consent of the Indians, and they have, therefore, reasonable ground for resentment.

General CHARLES HOWARD.—There has gone out to the country a statement of the cause of the trouble, and it seems to me there ought to be some other succinct statement of the case. I was among those Minnesota Indians twenty-five years ago, and there was cause for dissatisfaction then. To have it go out that the outbreak was the result of resistance to arrest is a lie. We ought somehow to get the truth before the country.

Miss SIBYL CARTER.—I have traveled among those Minnesota Indians a great deal on my long trips. They have a great distrust of the American people. They feel that we do not keep our word. On numbers of occasions I have talked with them about the breaking of this treaty. Once I said to one of our Indian clergymen, "Are you sure that it was in the treaty?" He replied, "We could not read, but the Commissioners told us that it was in the treaty, and we want it because we were promised by the Commissioners. They afterwards told us that it was not, and we felt that they had lied." So do I. On other occasions I have talked about these deputy marshals. I do not know the name of one of them, but the Indians have told me repeatedly that the marshals wanted them to drink, because they got money for every man they arrested.

Mr. S. M. Brosius, Washington agent of the Indian Rights' Association, who had just returned from the Southwest, was asked to speak on the Minnesota trouble. He made the following statement.

THE REVOLT OF THE PILLAGERS.—WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

BY MR. S. M. BROSIUS.

The Pillager Indians have a grievance. It is the old story of promises made and unfulfilled by the Government. Previous to the year 1847 they had long been at war with the Sioux tribe, and readily agreed to a cession of a portion of their reservation to the United States for the future home of the Menominees of Wisconsin, who were alike friendly to them and the Sioux; the land ceded lying between the Pillagers and the Sioux, thus separating them from their bitterest enemies. Relying upon the promises made by the United States, on August 21, 1847, the Pillagers ceded to the Government seven hundred thousand acres, for the occupancy of the Menominees, for the nominal sum of \$15,000, the principal consideration being the settlement of the friendly tribe thereon. The Menominees afterward became dissatisfied, and refused to settle upon the land selected for them. By the Treaty of 1854 they receded the land in question to the United States for a portion of their old home in Wisconsin, and the further consideration of \$242,686. The seven hundred thousand acres receded to the Government was opened to settlement; the game forests soon being destroyed, thus affecting the value of the diminished reservation occupied by the Pillagers. These Indians have never ceased to complain of this unfair treatment. The Treaty of 1847 was negotiated by Isaac A. Verplank and Henry M. Rice as Commissioners on the part of the Government. Mr. Rice fully realizing that a wrong had been done the Indians by the settlement of the ceded lands by whites, executed the following certificate as the only surviving Commissioner:—

“St. Paul, Oct. 4, 1880.—The following statement is made at the request of Flat Mouth, Chief of the Pillager Indians: In 1847, when the Pillager Indians, by treaty, sold to the United States the Leaf River country, for a nominal consideration, it was understood that the country ceded had been selected for the future residence of the Menominee Indians, who were friendly to the Chippewas, and the country would remain Indian territory. Not only this, but the Menominees would form a barrier between the Pillagers and the Sioux Indians, who had for centuries been at war. The old men thought by having the region thus occupied peace would follow. Hence their consent to yield to the request of the Government. They were sadly disappointed, for after the ratification of the treaty other provisions were made for the Menominees. The Leaf River country was thrown open to settlement, the game driven out, and the Pillagers exposed to all the evils that beset a frontier border. The country ceded contains about one million acres; the price paid about one and one half cents per acre. The sale was positive. The Pillagers have no legal claim to the land,

but morally have a claim upon the Government, which claim, I hope, may at some suitable time be acknowledged by giving to this poor band such aid as will improve its condition.—Henry Rice, One of the Commissioners.”

In further explanation thereof he stated to the Council of the Pillagers, held at Leech Lake, Minn., Aug. 12, 1889 (referring to the above certificate written nine years before) :—

“In regard to the land that you loaned your Great Father forty-two years ago, all that you have said is true. It was understood between Flat Mouth and myself that that land was not to be used by the whites, but that it was for the use of the Menominees. In 1855, when Flat Mouth went to Washington and made the last treaty, the question had not been decided that the Great Father would sell the land to the whites; consequently nothing to prevent it was done. Time passed on, and the matter seemed forgotten. As I was the only one living who knew anything about it, and for fear that I might be taken away, that paper which has just been handed to me was given to Flat Mouth. And I believe I am the only white man living whose hand touched the pen to the paper authorizing the cession. The Commissioner who was with me died long ago, and I do not know that there is a witness connected with that paper who is now living. So I am left all alone to receive all the blame that attaches to it, but I know that I am in the hands of my friends. It was not long after Flat Mouth was in Washington that there came a change in the administration, and then, or soon after, came the great war, when everything else was laid aside; and it has taken nearly all the time since to settle the questions that were raised by the war, paying the great debt incurred, taking care of the four million blacks who were thrown upon our hands, of the widows and orphans of the soldiers killed in battle, and of the soldiers who were wounded during the war.”

Under an act of Congress, approved Jan. 14, 1889, entitled, “An Act for the Relief of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota,” Henry M. Rice, Martin Marty, and Joseph B. Whitney were appointed members of the Chippewa Commission. From the report of this Commission, dated Dec. 26, 1889, it appears that the Pillagers were dissatisfied by reason of the broken promises on the part of the United States. The said report reads as follows: “We (the Commissioners) had to give a solemn promise, with raised hands, that we would, to our utmost ability, urge immediate settlement of the unadjusted claims.”

The said Commission further states :—

“The Pillagers, at the time of the cession, were told by the Commissioners that the said tract would be held as Indian lands are usually held, and that their friends, the Menominees, would occupy it. The Commissioners were Isaac A. Verplank and Henry M. Rice. The Pillagers from the time that they heard that the tract was not to be occupied by the Menominees, as stipulated, had to this day considered that they had been injuriously overreached. They have never ceased to complain of this, and never

will until reparation shall be made. We cannot too strongly urge that the Government cause this matter to be carefully investigated, and in some way allow the Pillagers what may be found to be in equity due them. Indians are not unreasonable when fairly dealt with, and as they are about starting out as citizens under this act, aid will be of greater benefit now than heretofore, and is more needful now than it can be at any future time."

This injustice to the Pillagers has never been adjusted by our Government. The Pillager Indians have further cause for complaint. I am informed by a former employee of the Indian Department that cession of large tracts of their lands has been made to the United States from time to time, and they were led to believe they would receive many million dollars when the same was settled by the whites. Lumber experts have been appointed and, in turn, supplanted by others through changes of administration, or on the ground of collusion with lumber dealers; and at this time I am informed that it is doubtful if the Indians have anything to their credit when a final settlement is made. The law allowing *per diem* and mileage expenses to United States marshals has been a source of much trouble to Pillagers, as it is to other Indians. On one pretext or another the Indians have been arrested or summoned to appear at St. Paul before the United States District Court, and often held there for weeks, awaiting some pretended trial. In the meantime boarding houses and cheap hotels were doing a "land office" business, often providing for more than two hundred Indians at a time. Whatever industry had been followed by the Indian suffered in consequence of his enforced absence from home. Indians are fast learning that the way to secure their rights is by open revolution against the authority of the Government, thus calling public attention to their wrongs. The Sioux boast that they have never been conquered by the United States, being uniformly successful in their uprisings, the Government conceding their just demands as the price of peace.

Mrs. QUINTON.—The points that have been made in this case are points that apply to the Indian service elsewhere. I have been asked to speak of my recent visit to California. I found the Mission Indians had improved in industrial work. They have had great difficulties in their path. I think they take in the fact that a new life must be begun by them all, and they are beginning a life of civilized industry. It is crude, but it would be unreasonable to expect perfect fruitage in the first generation. A few years ago where I saw nothing approaching the idea of village responsibility, there are now streets laid out, trees planted, and civilized appliances are used. There are among them about twenty-eight Indian villages, from ten to forty miles apart. The officials in charge cannot do their full duty over such long distances. It is not practicable to go over such an area every month, or even every three months. Not long ago the Government furnished funds to open an artesian well among the desert Indians. Water was found at eight feet, it was said, and again at about four hundred feet. But

more work is needed to secure an adequate supply, and it will take another small appropriation to make the well a success. But the water is there, we are told.

I visited the Hualapai Indians in Arizona. They have gone down from 1,100 to 600 in number in recent years. A few years ago they had nothing in the way of civilization, but on this visit I found them in something like homes. They formerly wore nothing like civilized garments, but many now are well clad, and a majority are making progress. They have a good day school and excellent teachers. The Government will, at an early day, we hope, provide a boarding school for them. The Indians are very cheerful. The old-time sadness of expression has gone from many faces. I had calls from some of their leaders who showed that they were moved with the spirit of true progress. Their agent is capable, faithful, and interested in his work.

I next visited our new mission among the 25,000 Navajo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico, and saw there pictures that would interest you all. You remember Mrs. Eldridge, the Government field matron who was with us here two years ago. She has done admirable work, is devoted and brave, and does not hesitate even to camp out alone, when it is really necessary, with the protection only of a good fire, and her trusty revolver under her pillow. She can groom her own horses, and do many other things at need which are not considered a part of woman's work. She has captured the hearts of some of the leaders of those Indians, and of many of the people. I visited one camp where there are 300 Indians learning the ways of civilization, and Mrs. Eldridge was their instructor. She had told them that they must get a man teacher, but they continued to come to her, and so she continued to give them help. They have placed a dam across a cañon, have made a reservoir, and were irrigating their wheat, which was planted in hills. Cultivation under such circumstances is slow, though sure. White men would not think of doing such work, but the Indians are making crops which will feed them. There was another group of farms seven miles in another direction where Navajoes were also working with success. They are very capable Indians, have ceased to ask favors, and only ask fair play and unhampered opportunity. Some of them were taken to the World's Fair, and were soundly converted to the white man's civilization. From a former trip some came home and reported what they had seen, and the Indians replied, "you have learned to lie like the white man." But when the delegation went to the Fair and were convinced their report was believed on coming home, and the Indians began to clamor for schools, and are still asking for more of them.

There is a new Episcopal hospital at Fort Defiance, and it should be strongly supported, for it is doing an influential work in the way of civilization as well as medically. Dr. Harper, the resident physician, is a woman deeply interested in the Indians, as well as in her profession, and she is doing a most useful work in Indian homes also. I hope that Miss Thackara, who is at the head of the

institution, will have furnished to her all the money needed for its work. There should be there a kindergarten also for the instruction of the many little ones near.

As to the criticisms which have been made this morning I would say that these are not against any one administration nor against individuals, for they apply to all administrations, as they do to all reservations, to a greater or less extent. Drinking has lately been on the increase on some of the reservations, we are credibly informed, and the officials over Indians are never sure to be temperance men. Strong drink is being sold at many places, we are told, and the condition of things is of the saddest at some points. We do not wish to complain. It pains one's loyalty to do so. We thank God for the great advancement made, but some things should be exposed in order to be changed. We are not pessimists about it, but it does seem to us that with the progress already made much more should soon be done in the way of radical reforms. God's great committee of righteousness is in the world still, and we cannot yield to wailing and despair if we are true Christians. I am sure all the wrongs in our Indian system can be righted, since God's promises to righteous work are sure, and not only for our own tribes of Indians, but for all the other people whom God is now forcing into the keeping of this nation. We ought to be hopeful. We must hope ever if loyal to God. What is needed in Indian affairs is honest men in all administrative places. When we have righteous inspectors, supervisors, and agents, the Indians can be civilized and educated. Christians must furnish the religious teaching needed.

Mr. Frank Wood, the Treasurer, made an appeal for subscriptions to meet the expenses of printing the report.

Adjourned at one o'clock.

Second Session.

Wednesday Night, October 12.

The Conference was called to order at eight o'clock, the President in the chair. Dr. Lyman Abbott, Chairman of the Business Committee, announced the following order of business as adopted by that Committee: Two sessions a day, from 10 A. M. to 12.30 P. M.; in the evening from 8 to 9.30 or 10, not later than 10. Unless otherwise directed, speakers in discussion to be limited to ten minutes, with the understanding that the President shall, at his option, confine each speaker in discussion to five minutes.

The resolution submitted by General Morgan at the morning session was read by Mr. Galpin, seconded by Dr. W. H. Ward, and unanimously adopted.

The following paper submitted by Senator Dawes was read by Mr. Galpin.

THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES.

BY HON. H. L. DAWES.

A summary of what has been accomplished during the past year in the work under charge of the Commission will, I think, show the most gratifying results, and a greater advance toward the consummation of the objects aimed at, than in any previous year. Since the last Conference the Indian laws in force in the Territory, and the Indian courts in which they are administered, have given place, by Act of Congress, to laws corresponding to those of the State of Arkansas, applicable to the same subject matter, and applicable to all persons in the Territory, without distinction of race. These laws are to be administered in United States Courts, and enforced by United States officers. Every Indian resident claiming to be a citizen can try his title in these courts in the Territory, and carry his cause, for a final decision, if he desires it, to the Supreme Court of the United States, like any other citizen of the Republic. These courts are now open to every Indian citizen to secure, as against the Tribe or any one claiming under it, the equal use with all other citizens of the common property of the Tribe, or he can, if he choose, have his equal part set off to him by partition for his own exclusive enjoyment. All laws hereafter enacted in the legis-

lative councils of the Tribes are to be, before taking effect, submitted to the President of the United States for his approval or disapproval. All the monies belonging to these Tribes, and all their revenues, are to be paid to, and disbursed by, United States officers. The royalties from their coal mines and rentals from their grazing lands are no longer to be paid to individuals, but into the United States Treasury for the equal benefit of every member of the Tribe. Provision has also been made during the year for the allotment of all the lands of the Territory equally among all its citizens. And this has been attained upon terms to which the Tribes themselves have agreed by popular vote, as to all except the Cherokees, and, possibly, the Creeks; and, as to them, it has been provided by statute. It has also been provided by these agreements and this statute that white residents in the Territory, now numbering many thousands, unable heretofore to obtain title to the land upon which they have built their homes and expensive business houses in flourishing towns, can now purchase, at a fair appraisal, the land upon which they have built, and upon which they have expended large sums in expensive outlays.

In short, whatever rights, civil or political, are enjoyed by the citizen resident in any of the territories of the United States, the same rights are now secured to the citizen Indian, and, largely, to the white resident also in the Indian Territory, if he care to exercise them.

While much work is still before the Commission in the important duty of allotting these lands, as well as in carrying to completion the minor details made necessary by these other comprehensive measures, yet what has been done is fundamental, embracing the elementary conditions essential to the healthy growth of a prosperous people. By them the government of the Indian Territory and its land system will, at an early day, be brought into harmony with those of the United States and of the states by which it is surrounded, assuring it a most encouraging and hopeful future.

The subject for the evening was then taken up, "The Efficiency of the Indian Bureau." The first speaker was Mr. Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia.

THE EFFICIENCY OF THE INDIAN BUREAU, OR THE ADMINISTRATION IN RELATION TO INDIAN PROBLEMS.

AN ADDRESS BY MR. HERBERT WELSH.

The subject allotted to me is the question of administration in relation to the Indian problem. I think that we cannot lay too great emphasis upon the importance of sound administration in the management of any great enterprise. It would seem hardly neces-

sary to take up any time to prove that such is the case. In relation to this Indian question, I think it is true that we never have had a sound administration. We never have had an administration which did not violate the fundamental principles of right management. I look back to-night over sixteen years of personal experience of a very close and intimate kind with the management of Indian affairs, and I beg to lay before you some of the facts and some of the conclusions at which I have arrived.

My interest in this subject covers a period spanning five administrations, those of Presidents Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, President Cleveland again, and President McKinley.

There seem to me to have been two vices in all those administrations. First, a confusion of purpose; second, a division of control in the administration of Indian affairs.

Now what is the confusion of purpose? There have been two purposes where there should have been but one. But one purpose should have animated the management of Indian affairs during all this time—the welfare of the Indian. It seems so simple that it is almost absurd to be obliged to state it, and yet every one knows that it has not been the primary purpose which has animated those in control. It has been at best, and under the most charitable construction, a secondary purpose. The primary purpose has been political, partisan,—the use of the Indian service to reward the partisans of the various administrations. Any one who has tried to do anything for the Indian service knows that this is true. He knows that this is the great stumbling block in the road, and that no one, from the Secretary down, has been appointed primarily for the reason that the welfare of the Indian was to be advanced. Had that principle been in operation I am sure that Mr. Gilfillan would not have been obliged to tell the miserable story that he has narrated so pathetically for us this morning.

Observe this false principle at every step, for it is only by observing and understanding principles that you can ever understand how the difficulties in the administration are to be remedied. Usually the difficulty lies in the first step. It is the first step that costs. During all that time I remember only one Commissioner of Indian Affairs who was appointed for the sake of getting the best man that could be secured for the Indians. With that one exception, every appointment was political. And I know of one Indian Commissioner who frankly acknowledged, when asked to speak on the subject of the Indians sometime after he had been appointed, that he did not consider that he knew enough to speak on that subject, and that he would rather listen to those better informed upon it. Reflect upon the meaning of such a confession as that! Is it not true that the fundamental principle which should have governed the control of this service has been wanting?

During all that period the appointments of agents have been made primarily for political purposes in one administration after the other. Take the Democratic administration for example, since that was the first that came in after I became cognizant of Indian

affairs. When we looked for consideration on behalf of good officials, and for the appointment of good agents, we found that nearly all of those officers were turned out and others appointed for political reasons. During that administration nearly all the employees were likewise turned out. The question of the ability of those who were called to do the work—the question of their fitness—was at no time the primary question which determined the removal or the appointment. Nearly all the appointees were drawn from the two States of Tennessee and Mississippi. Those from Tennessee were the political friends and followers of the Assistant Indian Commissioner, who came from that State. Those from Mississippi were the friends and political followers of the Secretary of the Interior,—an excellent man in many respects,—who came from that State. You see the falseness of the principle on which this great instrumentality for civilizing the Indians was conducted.

I would also ask you to consider what I think I can truly say from my experience, that every advance which has been made in the management of the Indians has come in direct proportion to the amount of pressure—very often necessarily in the form of an attack, and a sharp attack—brought by the friends of the Indian upon the administration in power. The pressure from politicians was only minimized by the counter pressure brought by the organized friends of the Indian upon the administration to do better. In this criticism my position is a purely non-partisan one. I think it is fair to say that about as much harm was done under one administration as under the other. There are some points which should be made in justice to both. During that time there was no president who exhibited a more earnest desire to help forward the Indians or who did more conspicuous acts in that regard than President Cleveland. I think he is worthy of that expression of opinion, but at the same time in his first administration there was a general looting of the Indian service. In some respects the employees sent in were of a lower grade than those under the previous administration, but it is fair to say that Mr. Cleveland in several instances exhibited the utmost courage and decision in support of the rights of the Indians. In the case of the Crow Creek Indians, whose lands had been intruded upon, the order permitting this was revoked, and the rights of the Indians were restored. We owe him a great debt of gratitude for that act. I think it should also be said that he was willing, to an unusual degree, to receive a presentation of the views of the friends of the Indians.

The men who have had a political pull, who could come with the backing of senators and representatives, and other powerful people, have been listened to. You heard Mr. Gilfillan's accounts of those appraisers. I happen to know that some of those appraisers were chosen in this haphazard way, and I know, from testimony outside of what Mr. Gilfillan has given, of the indefensible and wretched character of their work.

What we want to do is to go back to the simplest principles. I

never could see why it is that the Government of the United States in any branch should be conducted in violation of those principles which are considered necessary in every well-regulated business. Why should it be?

It is also necessary to look at the brighter side. I think we ought to bear in mind that it will require only the organization of a small number of citizens who know that this is a false principle, which brings destruction upon any private business; it requires only the organized effort of the people of the United States pressing upon those in authority to bring about a better condition of affairs, and to do away utterly with this false principle. Those who have had experience in such matters feel that there are certain national evils inherent in our national life which must be eradicated before this can be done. We have not the sobriety which we ought to have, and which I believe we shall arrive at.

For our encouragement look at what England has accomplished. She had her days of the spoils system when incompetents were placed in positions of authority, but with the vigor of her civilization she has worked out a different condition of affairs, and those who know her present civil service, as shown in Egypt and India, know that she has reached almost the perfection of administration in such work. How is it done? By proper selection, by picking out the best, by determining what are the sane and sound principles of administration, and allowing nothing to interfere with them; no selfishness, no personal demand, nothing to come in conflict with the great design which the nation has in hand, and the great principles which the nation recognizes as necessary to the accomplishment of that design. I take it that our position at present as a nation favors the accomplishment of this great reform, which the friends of the Indian must urge before their work can be done. We are unquestionably face to face with larger responsibilities in respect to government than we have ever faced before. Whether we like it or not, whether we are expansionists or not, we are committed to a degree of expansion and to a certain degree of administrative expansion which will require, unless we are to be disgraced before the world and in our own eyes, the adoption of sound principles and the exercise of sound methods.

I believe that if we can only hitch on to this movement that we shall get the advantages which are so necessary in order to win success. There must be a harmonious movement, a recognition of the fact that in all these places, so different in many respects, there is a common ground.

With all that we have to mourn there is much to rejoice over; it is not unmixed dissatisfaction. While the advance has been slow, with many slips back, still the general movement has been forward. Under President Harrison's administration a great advance was made. It is true that all or nearly all the agents who had been appointed by Mr. Cleveland were removed. It is true that upon the Secretary of the Interior, who did not resist that pressure, and upon the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who did most fully re-

sist it, that this pressure was brought. Consider their position. What is it that makes it hard to do their duty? They are obliged to get appropriations from Congress for schools, for irrigation, for whatever must be carried on. In order to get those appropriations they must have the good will and concurrence of members of Congress. Sometimes senators, sometimes representatives, will come in and use threats and every kind of pressure in order that their political hangers-on may find places in the Indian service. General Morgan was subjected to that pressure, but he resisted, and President Harrison stood by him. But consider the falseness of the position! What a dreadful state of affairs it is when the man in authority, and who ought to have in his mind only the civilization of the Indians entrusted to him, is continually thwarted by members of Congress, who will tell him that unless he will yield to their demands he will not get the appropriations necessary to carry on the work in his department.

During President Harrison's administration, largely through General Morgan's efforts, the Civil Service regulations were extended to seven hundred places in the Indian school service; which means that they were taken from the hand of the spoiler. We can look with great satisfaction upon the work which has been accomplished under those rules. Better work has been done, better teachers obtained, and they have been able to do their work not with the depressing feeling that at any time they might be removed by political opponents, but that they would be protected so long as they did their work well. That was a great advance, but it is by no means all that we desire. I am sorry to say that at the present time, I think it is fair to say, under the present administration, there is very great cause for regret on the part of the friends of the Indian.

Under Mr. Cleveland's second administration, when Secretary Hoke Smith was in office, some good things were done, and one of the best was the appointment of Dr. Hailmann as Superintendent of Indian Schools. I ask you to note that that was in no way a political appointment; that it was not made at the behest of politicians. It was made upon the suggestion of the head of the Bureau of Education, Dr. W. T. Harris, and it was with the hearty concurrence of the friends of the Indian. I think that that marks one of the greatest advances that we have made. It was a logical step forward. General Morgan had come into the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, himself a trained educator. He had thrown great force and vigor into building up the Indian work, bringing it to a point where it had never been before, and this appointment of Dr. Hailmann was a step yet farther in advance. To-day we must mourn the removal of Dr. Hailmann.

Now notice that in all these changes of administration there was a continual loss at some points; men who were utterly unfitted were placed in the service,—in some cases men who were actually criminals. I remember one man from an eastern city, who had stolen a considerable sum of money from the town and was under

sentence from the court, went out West and received an appointment from the Secretary of the Interior under a Democratic administration, and was placed on a distant reservation. It took us nearly a year to have him removed, and when it was finally accomplished the Secretary said his friends had obtained this place that the man might have an opportunity to retrieve his character! That was a low way to look on the service of the United States Government. There are fitter places for men to retrieve their character than in the Indian service.

What do we face to-day? After all these sixteen years of progress and retrogression we have made substantial progress. It is always difficult to criticise passing events, and yet I hold that there is nothing more important upon the part of any citizen who desires the advancement of the service in the United States than legitimate criticism, not inspired by animosity or partisanship. It may not be based on fact, but the only true view of the matter is that the citizen is the sovereign. He must never abdicate his throne of authority. When those high in position violate fundamental principles in the management of the country, they are subject to legitimate condemnation; and this, when sincere and rational and based upon facts, is one of the greatest elements in progress.

During this administration it seems to me that, upon the part of the authorities, there has been less willingness to hear reasonable and fair suggestions from the friends of the Indian than we have ever experienced in the sixteen years past. I think that many feel this is the truth, and that, instead of the reception of suggestions from persons who have no end to serve but the nation's purpose,—the advancement of the Indian,—there is a very great willingness to listen to the suggestions of partisan politicians. I would have you observe that there are changes going on highly detrimental to the service, and which must push this work of civilization backward. Our experience leads us to believe that it is possible to civilize the great majority of the Indians; that they have the same minds and dispositions as ourselves, and in some respects qualities which really put us to shame. In this work of civilization, if partisanship in politics is to interfere, we are sure to waste money and effort. What we want to do is to so arouse the people of the United States to this subject as to make them feel that it is impossible to have a great educational system successful unless the principles which educators tell us are necessary to success are acted upon.

If, for instance, you have a fine educator, and he is removed, not on sound principles but from political influence, the people of the United States suffer, and the money that is spent for education does not do its full work for education, and so the Indians suffer. We, the friends of the Indian, stand in a representative capacity, and act as your agents. We warn you of what is going on, and beg for your influence.

Another point: Along with this vicious principle of letting partisanship control has been a *divided* control. There must be a

great change in the system under which Indian affairs are administered before they will be administered well. The Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are two heads; there should be but one head. The Indian Commissioner is put in the position of a clerk.

If we were to look to the Secretary of the Interior as the only head of the Indian Service, we should find that he is overburdened with a hundred other important functions, so that he cannot give the time, and attention, and care to their management they deserve. What we must have, if the Indian is to be civilized, is some single point of authority to which the whole people of the United States can look, and demand an account of stewardship. I believe that a much larger authority ought to be given to the Indian Commissioner, and that that part of the burden should be taken from the Secretary of the Interior, before satisfactory results can be reached.

Can we not urge these two things? Are they not both approved by your conscience and intelligence? Can any man pretend that a great organization can succeed which has for its purpose the civilization of two hundred and fifty thousand souls if that organization is used for some other purpose—for a base purpose, for a corrupt purpose? Is it not manifest to every intelligent man and woman here that there should be a complete divorce of the Indian service from politics, and that it should press forward for one end only,—the end of civilizing the Indians? I think in every change of administration there ought to be a public sentiment so powerful that some worthy man could be selected as Indian Commissioner, not one who confesses that he knows nothing of the Indians; not one placed there to satisfy the demands of some partisan, but one known to care for the Indians. Is it worth while to pay out money for the services of a man who does not know his business and confesses it? Is it common sense? If England has been able to solve this problem, and to send her administration into Egypt and India and in a few years bring order, peace, and comfort out of the chaos there by the accuracy of her system, shall we be behind her? If we are to go to Cuba, or Porto Rico, or the Philippines, and care for the depressed races, who have had no education, and who must be educated and cared for, how are we going to do it unless we have first learned to care for ourselves? And as long as we must consider that question, isn't it well now, without waiting longer, to demand that those who represent us in Washington—but who sometimes misrepresent us—shall do their plain duty, and when earnest requests are received in favor of humanity and common sense, those requests shall not be thrown to one side that the whisper of the politician may be heard? If this question is to be solved, it is to be solved by us,—by the thinking people of the United States,—and it cannot be solved by sitting still where we are. It must be solved by the work of the brain, the heart, and the hand. What America needs is an awakening in all this great question of honest administration. She needs it here and elsewhere. We have sometimes had the failure to consider it written

in blood; that has been the tragic result of putting political partisanship before public duty. Shall we not share the responsibility of the crime of those Indians in Minnesota, who have been wronged and robbed as thousands before them have been?

These are national problems, and we are part of the nation. We appeal to the conscience and the brain of the people of the United States. It is as clear as the sun in the heavens. It is a duty as plain as any duty. If we do not meet it we cannot blame those who fail to do their duty in positions of authority. It is our duty to be willing to perform the functions of the citizen.

Mrs. QUINTON.—We women have been in the work since the administration of President Hayes, and a great many instances of the evils spoken of have come under our observation. These evils have not diminished of late. We are asked to speak of some of the things that we have seen. Mr. Welsh has alluded to the fact that there has been a misappropriation of money. An inexperienced man comes in and an experienced man goes out, and two years are wasted. It seems to me that is a misappropriation of funds. I remember one case in which an official had been addicted to drink. He was not himself for a week, and had delirium. Complaint was made, and he was removed from that position, but transferred to another where his salary was increased. Places have been made and filled which did not help the Indian service. I have known physicians to be appointed over so large a field that it was impossible properly to serve it. In some cases there was a good salary, a horse, driver, and an interpreter perhaps. Visits were made here and there, but they were of little avail for chronic cases, and acute cases could not be reached in time. I have seen reservations that should have been abolished long ago. I have seen men who did not do their work, and I have seen supervisors whose reports were far from accurate. All this is a sorrowful thing to talk about. I have seen officers who were anything but gentlemanly in their treatment of teachers, although the teachers were true and faithful. In some cases I have known inspectors, supervisors, and agents to be courteous to those in power, and rude and unjust to others. These are the evils that inhere in the system. The system itself must be changed. How can it be done? By criticism, by kind complaint, by loyalty to truth and righteousness, loyalty to the good of the race which we profess to serve. And the duty comes to every man to bear his testimony, to use his influence, and to give his vote for the needed reform.

Mr. SMILEY.—This is a very important subject, and Mr. Welsh does well in insisting on having the Government conducted on business principles. The views which he has given so clearly apply not only to the Indian Bureau, but to every department of government in this country. There can be no permanent progress in government until Civil Service rules become universal. I believe we are going backward steadily in some respects. Our large cities are going into the hands of political managers. We are not

selecting men of the best character. When I was a boy in New England they used to choose the best men in the town for "select-men," and a man did not propose himself for office, but the community selected him for his fitness for the place. But now a man proposes himself, and argues his own case, and gets as many people as possible to join with him, by fair means or foul, and so he gets the position. That is the case all over the country. It has become, therefore, no credit for a man to be elected to any high office. It takes a great deal of courage for a good man to be a candidate for office because of the corruption of our politics. This is lamentable.

As the first remedy for the inefficiency in the Indian Bureau I would suggest this, that we have a President elected for eight years, and ineligible for the same office afterwards. Then he can appoint a Secretary of the Interior who will hold his office for eight years. It is well understood that the Secretary of the Interior requires from two to three years to become acquainted with the Indian question. All the other bureaus of the Interior Department require comparatively little attention. I do not agree with Mr. Welsh in one thing, in making the Commissioner of Indian Affairs independent of the Secretary. This practically creates a new secretaryship, and will not remedy the evils which we now complain of. Furthermore, this plan will fasten the Indian Bureau upon us forever. I long for the time when the Bureau shall be abolished, placing the distribution of Indian funds into the hands of the Treasurer of the United States. If you are going to get rid of the Indian Bureau don't make the office too high and important.

A large number of the Indian agencies should be immediately abolished, and all of them at no distant day. I am more and more convinced that Indians should be thrown upon their own resources. There has been too much coddling, which tends to pauperize them. Anything which is given to them and not earned is little valued. Most Indians are capable of taking care of themselves if let alone. Put the Indians on their feet; teach them to swim by throwing them into the water. When practicable, I would do away with all rations, but make the Indians work for their food. I long for the time when all the Indians will be absorbed in the body politic.

Adjourned at 10 P. M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 13, 1898.

After prayer by Rev. Dr. Webb, of Boston, the Conference was called to order at 10 A. M. The Treasurer asked for early contributions for the publication of the report.

President W. F. Slocum, of Colorado College, was asked to give an address.

THE FOUNDATION OF EDUCATION.

BY PRESIDENT W. F. SLOCUM.

A few weeks ago I had the pleasure of being at the Trans-Mississippi Educational Convention at Omaha. Among the speakers was a gentleman who graduated with highest honors at West Point,—was at one time a distinguished member of the Faculty of Harvard University, and is at present the President of a leading university in the West. He closed a memorable, scientific, and critical address with these words: “I would rather turn one student from wrong to right than make sixty great engineers.” It is conceptions like that which transform the mere teacher into a maker of citizens.

I trust that in all I try to say this morning in regard to the education of the Indian I shall succeed in making clear that at the foundation of all education is a moral problem, and that, however scientific the discussion into which we enter may be, it will appear to you all that the purpose of it is primarily ethical.

I wish to speak of the problem of larger opportunities for the Indian, and I hope to be able to show that very much that is the outgrowth of the reservation plan is thoroughly unscientific, both from an educational and an ethical point of view.

We all admit that the purpose of the government, and also of private movements, for this ward of ours should be to develop such character in him that he may be fitted for citizenship. I think we are all also willing to admit that no attempt to make a citizen is of value which does not develop both the capacity as well as the desire for a moral life. In other words, the education which does not make a moral being with inherent force of character is inadequate, and will not fit the needs which exist under a republican form of government. It must also be recognized that the mere exhortation to any one “to be good” really accomplishes very little. We may as well say to the stutterer, “Don’t stutter,” and expect him to speak as other people do, as to think that an un-

trained person will become a moral being by simply telling him "to be good." The capacity for right doing is just as distinct a capacity as the one that makes a man into a skillful mechanic, and one needs development just as much as the other. Truthfulness is a habit, and needs to be cultivated just as much as the habit of driving a nail straight.

It will be a matter of great convenience if we can use some word which will characterize that condition which we term moral in the individual, and I know of no word that will better suit my purpose than the word self-control, or the expression, "power of self-control." This is the word that the expert alienist uses to test the sanity of his patient. Power to control one's mind, and especially power to control it for a definite end, is the test of a sane mind. When one loses power over himself, over his thinking powers, over his mind, he is insane; when he can control his mind, especially for a definite and fixed purpose, he possesses power as well as normality. Self-control, however, is much more than a mere negative quality; it is infinitely more than capacity for not doing certain things. Self-control is power to hold one's self to a task until it is accomplished; to do the thing given one to do; to carry through to a successful termination that for which one is in the world. It is power or capacity of this kind that must come into the life of our Indian if he is to be a true citizen; if he is to be what we believe God meant him to be.

President Hall, of Clarke University, has been telling us lately that "character is muscle habit." We can assert that there is a physical basis for the moral and intellectual life, and if it can be shown that we have been violating the simplest facts of this physical basis of character, we shall have at least taken one important step toward a solution of the Indian problem.

We are now carrying very many of our educational problems to biology, and asking what it has to say, and the neurologist is rendering important service. Weismann finds no adequate solution of the question of heredity until he studies the problem of the germ cell, and I think we shall find the same to be true of the educational problem. We have discovered, beyond contradiction, that distinct localities in the brain are for distinct purposes. The study of the localization of brain functions has given most interesting and important results. A recent case in one of the hospitals in Denver, which was in charge of that great authority on brain diseases, Dr. J. T. Eskridge, and which I had the opportunity of studying with him, has helped to show that there is a distinct locality in the brain which is utilized for the memorization and use of words. I think another case of a school-teacher, who, by a fall, injured a certain well-defined locality in her brain, has shown that there is even a spelling center, and that power to spell correctly depends upon a right development of the cells at that locality. Dr. James, of Harvard University, tells us that habit is due to the plasticity of the organic materials of which our bodies are composed; that the reason why an act is easier after being done several times

is because these cells assume certain fixed conditions because of reflex nerve reactions, and that it is the adjustment of these cells to certain demands which are made upon them which makes things easy to do a second, third, and many more times. Dr. Maudsley says in his "Physiology of Mind," that man might be occupied all day in dressing and undressing himself, and that the working of his hands over the fastening of a button would be as difficult to him on each occasion as to the child on its first trial, if it were not for this development by experience of the cell life of the brain. M. Leon Dumont in the *Revue Philosophique* tells us that just as the sounds of a violin improve by use in the hands of an able artist, because the fibres of the wood at last contract habits of vibration conformed to harmonic relations, and so give inestimable value to instruments that have belonged to great masters, so our mental habits affect the nervous system, and produce fixed conditions that establish the moral and intellectual life of the individual.

The truth is being clearly demonstrated that we do not secure the necessary brain development unless we give our pupil the training which produces that development of the cells of the brain which is essential to right habits.

It is a very significant fact that it was the boy raised on the old New England farm who made the well-balanced, clear-minded man of affairs who, in business and in professional life, has been the power for good in the evolution of the nation.

Dr. G. Stanley Hall has rendered a great service to the nation as well as to the cause of education, by showing why it was that the training on the farms of New England produced the moral and intellectual power which has been such a saving force in the nation. The training of the hand aids the development of the brain, and the boy who was obliged to do about everything on the old farm was laying the basis of mental and moral power which made a good citizen of him. In other words, it was making a good machine with a marvelous living mechanism through which the soul could express itself. A leading banker in Chicago told me within a few months that seventy per cent of the successful men on 'change in that city had been brought up on the farms. We want no better argument than that for manual training as an essential part of our educational movement. There is certainly truth in the old German couplet:—

"Bilde das Auge, übe die Hand,
Fest wird der Wille, scharf der Verstand."

("When eye and hand you deftly train,
Firm grows the will and keen the brain.")

All self-control needs certain brain conditions, and there are good reasons why the nervous, broken-down person is impatient, and loses control over himself. It takes a healthy, well-developed person to preserve power over himself; it is the well-developed man who is fitted best to wield himself for work and duty.

The question that every well-wisher for the honor of the nation

asks himself is, Have the opportunity and the training which have been granted to him made it possible for our Indian to secure such development that we can expect him to be ready for citizenship?

There can be no intelligent person who knows anything about recent investigation along the lines which I have indicated, who can for a moment maintain that the life on the Indian reservation, with its pauperizing tendency, its shutting the Indian into a life of laziness, of undeveloped resources, with nothing to stir his ambition, and rouse him to a life that possesses the true elements of citizenship, is not thoroughly unscientific, unnatural, and positively vitiating in its tendencies. Before leaving this phase of our subject I want to bring to your attention another series of facts which support the position that altogether too little has been done to develop the Indian for a useful and self-respecting position among the citizens of the country. Until a man is a hopeless pauper or idiot, let us treat him as if he were material for citizenship, and not make him a helpless ward.

I want to try to show from the types of criminal heads that bad environment, poor training, and one-sided education do produce abnormal brain development. I have here about one hundred carbon sketches of some of the most notorious criminals in the world. They are the faces of those who have made the life of the criminal their profession; and most of them are the children, and often the grandchildren of thieves, forgers, or murderers. Most of them are from the celebrated pictures of criminals gathered by Dr. Cesare Lombroso, of the University of Turin, Italy. [Here there were presented to the audience pictures of criminals, showing in every one abnormal types, curious-shaped heads, and among them all were none that could be called normal. Dr. Slocum told the history of many of them, showing that their education had been exceedingly faulty, and that there had been little or nothing which could be called manual training in their education.] We must all admit as we look at these faces that something is wrong with them so far as their brain development is concerned. There must have been with all these some seriously unfortunate conditions that could have produced such modifications in their normal development.

Some time ago I had the opportunity to make a study of a boy who was operated upon at Denver, under the direction of Dr. Eskridge, for idiocy, produced by abnormal shape of the skull. The boy previous to the operation was the most helpless, drivelling idiot I ever knew. He could not feed himself; he had eyes, but could not see; he had feet, but could not walk; he could not utter a single word, and, apparently, had no intellectual life and no moral capacity. A marvelous surgical operation was performed upon him; the skull was opened, and the poor, cramped brain given a chance to grow. In six months the brain had expanded two inches; and what was the result? He could walk, see, feed himself; more than that, he could use sixty-seven words,—“father,” “mother,” “watch,” “good,” “bad,” etc. In other words the operation had enlarged his capacity for farther development.

Now, we ask for our Indian that every circumstance in his surroundings and his education should help to enlarge his capacity for citizenship: that he may have power and become an intelligent and worthy man. He is by no means a person of naturally weak intellect; but unless the reservation plan is overthrown he never will develop into what it is possible for him to become. The discoveries in the educational movement have made this very clear. Every cell developed adds to the power of the brain, and all training of muscles develops these cells,—the power of self-control; power to use one's self for a definite and high purpose. A self-control that is infinitely more than the power to suffer pain and say nothing, comes only with the development of the highest capacities.

If it is true that we are born with the same number of cells as we have at the end of life, and that the only change is the development of these cells into functional capacity, and that this development comes only under certain conditions and with a definite line of training, how can we expect to transform our Indian into a man of power unless we give him that training?

One reason, and a powerful one, why certain vices appear in school children, is because the child, who has been active from morning until night, is suddenly taken from such a life, put into a poorly ventilated room for hours, so that the physical expansion of his powers is suppressed, and, as a result, there is almost sure to be an intellectual and moral reaction, which is abnormal. Healthful physical and intellectual conditions produce healthful moral results in the child, and the same thing is true of the Indian.

Something should be said in this connection in regard to the matter of environment as affecting the education of the Indian.

The same laws of growth bear upon him as upon all other human beings. The boy who grows up in a wholesome moral atmosphere, where all influences are helpful, the language which he hears is correct, the attitude toward what is right is clearly and strongly on the side of the best morality, has infinitely better chances than the one living under conditions which are just the opposite. Those who have had to do with wise transference of children from the slums to country life and training, have found that the large majority are saved from lives of vice, pauperization, and crime, to those of morality, independence, and self-respect. We are slowly learning that the State is recreant to its prerogative, which allows children to grow up in an atmosphere and under conditions that are almost sure to produce bad citizenship.

Some time ago I looked into the conditions of the Whitechapel district, in East London, trying to see the problem of "darkest London." There was the drunken mother with her babe at her breast, and the drunken, swearing, fighting father, ready for all kinds of crime. There were there, too, city missions, the Salvation Army, "The Palace of Delight," and Toynbee Hall; movements that are filled with noble, self-denying effort, but the sad fact was that they were not solving the problem. They were helping a few

here and there to better lives; but, slowly and surely, is it dawning on the English mind that the only solution for "darkest London" is for the Government to step in, and radically change the conditions which produce it. A state that is true to its high function has no right to let a slum exist at all. The rookery must be supplanted by the model tenement; the sanitary conditions of every section of the city must be perfected; the pseudo home destroyed, and the children placed where they will have the best possible chance to grow up as moral men and women.

This, now, is the law which I wish to enunciate as the working principle for the solution of our long-delayed Indian problem.

The State has no right to violate a scientific law in the development of the Indian into citizenship.

I intended to say something of training as essential to the best results in the education of the Indian. That is, I mean that discipline which brings obedience not so much to a person as to law; to what is right and true for their own sakes; but I have already taken too much of the valuable time of the Conference.

As to the future of the Mohonk Conference, I believe it is entering into its largest work, great as has been its service in the past. If what I have said means anything, it means that the spoils system must let the Indian problem alone. Just as long as men like Dr. Hailmann are to be removed from the work which they are doing so well, and for which years of most careful work has fitted them, the Government is recreant to its sacred trusts.

Am I saying too much, to add that the time has come when it must be accepted as a definite working principle that the Indian reservation must be done away? This cannot be done next week, or in the next twelve months; but one becomes very tired of changing the definite and fixed plan to do the thing which ought to be done into a mere theory, which is tossed about by politicians who never intend really grappling with the problem. I mean not the slightest reflection upon the noble work done by such men as him whom we all delight to know, Senator Dawes. But the Indian problem will never be solved as long as the Indian is shut up to the narrow, and too often demoralizing, life of the reservation. He must be placed in contact with modern civilization,—that is, real civilization; those movements which underlie all that is best in our national life; which make for better physical, moral, and religious ideals. So shall we save him; save him to a useful life, and to those high duties and privileges which are the sacred prerogative of all true citizenship.

In regard to the work of the Mohonk Conference, I believe the time has come to take advance ground on two or three things. I do not mean to say that they have not been said over and over again. The moment you get at these scientific facts, as well as at the great moral facts, you find the real crime of the spoils system. Just so long as men like Dr. Hailmann can be removed, you are striking blows at those Indian children who ought to be trained and made into what God calls them unto. The spoils system, cer-

tainly, as it bears upon this Indian question, must go if we are going to realize the largest results.

Am I saying too much when I say that the time has come, also, to do away with the reservation? I am very impatient with the notion that puts off the doing away with the reservation as a theory rather than laying hold of it as a great working proposition. Just as soon as possible—and that does not mean that we are going to wait and wait—we should say to the Government that the time for that bad condition of things—the putting of the Indian onto a tract of land, usually one that could not be cultivated by a white man, and expecting him to grow up in idleness to a good life—the time has come for that bad condition of things to cease. I do not mean to ignore the hopeful side, and the hopeful thing is that the Indian is cultivating his land; he is training his hands, is training his brain and his moral capacity. You will never solve your Indian problem so long as you put great groups together on the reservation. The reservation must go. That is a great working fact.

You never produce the best kind of citizen or race without getting your individual out into a broad life. This question of environment is a very serious one. We shut ourselves up to a narrow set of opinions, and our intellectual life goes down to them. You must get the Indian in contact with modern civilization, decent civilization. It is the blackest sort of paganism in which he often finds himself. That is de-civilization of the worst kind.

A VOICE.—It is devilization.

President SLOCUM.—It is, indeed. It is not civilization. We must put him, as far as we can, in contact with the great underlying movements of our civilization that make for a better intellectual and better physical life, a better moral and religious life. In that way we shall really save him,—body, and mind, and soul. That is what we are after. So I pray that in all these educational movements we shall deal with scientific facts. Our work is not done; our work is only begun.

Gen. T. J. Morgan was invited to speak.

General MORGAN.—I shall confine myself to sketching an outline of what might be called The Natural History of Indian Education. The first step was the securing of the necessary money from Congress. In 1876 this was begun largely through the instrumentality of Senator Dawes. Twenty thousand dollars was appropriated from the United States Treasury for Indian education. Slowly the appropriations increased from year to year, but it required almost Herculean efforts on the part of the friends of education to secure a sufficient amount from the Government for the doing of this work. There was a wide-spread conviction, or prejudice, that the Indians could not be educated. A member of the Finance Committee of the Senate said to me with great positiveness,—a man who had lived among the Indians, who felt that he knew whereof he spoke,—

“This is a simple waste of money. Every dollar that you put into Indian education is thrown away.” The Assistant Secretary of the Interior, through whose hands the recommendations in the Indian school service passed, said to me: “You are a fool; you cannot do anything in educating the Indians. There is not a case on record of an educated Indian. You are not only throwing away public money, but you are antagonizing Senators, and you are acting very foolishly.”

I might multiply such speeches indefinitely to show the difficulty of getting from Congress the money necessary to carry on Indian education. It was only because of the sentiment expressed through the Mohonk Conference year after year in every Platform, and through the agency of the great religious newspapers of the country, and through organizations bringing to bear upon Congress such pressure of public sentiment, that forced it to grant these appropriations. While Senators would privately ridicule the suggestion of money being given for Indian education, they would, in obedience to public sentiment, vote the money necessary. General Whittlesey reported to us that the money available to-day for Indian education out of the treasury of the United States is \$3,200,000, as against \$20,000 in 1876. That is the first marvelous change.

Second, to secure the proper equipment of Indian schools. The schools were first held in rude buildings without any of the necessary equipments. There were no blackboards, no facilities whatever for industrial training, no attention paid to sanitation. If there were attempts at farming, for instance, they were in utter violation of all principles of business in carrying on farms. After a struggle running over a series of years, such places as Carlisle, Lawrence, and Chilocco were secured. It was at one time proposed to have Fort McDowell, Arizona, which was no longer needed as a military fort, used as a school. This is precisely the place for an Indian school, they said, and the orders were about to be issued for the establishment of one at that point. I concluded I would look into it, and went down to see for myself, and a more desolate or outrageous place for an Indian school could hardly be imagined. The proper denizens of that place were the native Gila monsters, the tarantulas, and other things that live in that heat. Instead of that the school was planted in Phoenix, within two miles of the courthouse, and it has grown to be a school of magnificent proportions, which has changed the condition of those desert Indians, and is helping to change the whole character of the Pimas, Papagos, and others. To secure the proper building equipment and facilities for work there was a hard task, but it has been substantially accomplished. The development has been such that if you were to visit these Indian schools now, you would be gratified to see that much attention is paid to health, and comfort, and facility for work.

The third stage was to secure the attendance of the Indian children. That has been one of the great difficulties of the whole situation. When I was visiting a school at Fort Hall, as we passed along, boys and girls of school age, suspecting that we were after them,

would dodge into the sage bush like so many quails. When it was proposed to fill the schools at Fort Lewis by police force there was practically a rebellion on the part of the principal men. It was difficult to get children away from their parents; to get them to consent to have their children put into school; to overcome their inertia, their prejudice, and their fears. The parental love and devotion of the Indian fathers and mothers are just as strong as that of the Caucasians; the love of home is even stronger on an Indian reservation than it is on Fifth Avenue. This instinctive attachment to father, mother, and home of birth, is one of their strongest characteristics, and one which we have not yet fully recognized. It is the great conservative force which holds the Indian. That has been overcome to a large extent. Nine years ago, when my attention was first given to this, there were sixteen thousand children enrolled in all the schools. Yesterday the number was given as twenty-four thousand. There is a gain of from sixteen to twenty-four thousand, fifty per cent, nearly,—eight thousand more than were in school nine years ago. Those of you who know the significance of that—the toil, the difficulties, the obstacles removed—may well say, Praise God for the marvelous advance we have secured. It only needs patience and persistence along that line until every Indian child of both sexes of suitable age and health will be enrolled in school.

The fourth step was the organization of the school system, the adoption of suitable text-books, an arrangement of a graded course of study, a proper method of securing teachers, and the elimination, so far as possible, of politics from the schools. This, as every one knows, has been a tremendous struggle, but it has succeeded; and to-day, while there is much yet to be accomplished, there is in the main a greatly improved condition of things, namely, in all the Indian schools there is a course of study, beginning with the kindergarten work and ending with normal and academic work. The students are promoted from school to school, and enter according to the standard of the different schools. The English language lies at the basis of instruction, and is the medium of their training. It has been so widely introduced that the Indian language is disappearing, and even on the playground the Indian children talk English. An industrial system has been introduced. The schools are under the supervision of men supposed to be experts. I am afraid, however, that the good of the school service is sometimes sacrificed to lower motives. The blight and mildew on the Indian school work are partisanism and Romanism.

Now we have reached what might be considered the final stage; if not that, then the penultimate stage, that of administration, when the schools are to be administered as a system,—administered precisely as we should administer the school system in Massachusetts or New York, where men shall be selected to supervise the work, and the men and women who are to give instruction shall be selected simply with regard to their capacity as school-teachers. Has not the time come for the removal of school work from the Indian

Bureau and placing it in the Bureau of Education? We all know that Dr. Harris, who is at the head of the Bureau of Education, is one of the ablest educators and scientific thinkers now living. Such a change should cut off politics. The public school system of the United States, wisely administered, would train mind, and heart, and hand, and develop the character of the Indians. We ought to eliminate politics, and put the school system under the Bureau of Education.

General WHITTLESEY.—The progress in the work of education, of which General Morgan speaks, is due in no small degree to the persistent effort of our friend General Morgan when he had semi-control of Indian affairs. I want to say one word more, which he omitted to mention, that the Indian school plant, now owned by the Government, is estimated to be worth at least \$3,000,000.

Mr. WISTAR.—Will General Morgan tell us his thought about getting the Indian schools under state and county organization?

General MORGAN.—An attempt was made to solve that question some years ago, by offering to pay in districts where Indians were located, ten dollars a quarter out of the public treasury of the United States as tuition for every Indian boy and girl admitted into a public district day school. There are so many difficulties connected with this, although the idea is admirable, that it has been hard to put it into practice. The average Indian child whose father and mother live in tepees, or tents, is hardly fit to go to school. He is not clothed properly, he is not washed and combed, and his presence is undesirable. It has been found necessary, therefore, to open boarding schools, and take away the Indians from their homes, and surround them with the environment of which President Slocum has so well spoken. The public school system is not a boarding-school system; so if there is a necessity of a boarding-school system, you see how difficult it will be for the States to take it up. It is said with some degree of bitterness, that in Oklahoma, while the boys and girls from the Indian families are taken to Government schools, and are clothed and fed, and taken care of for four or five years, or taken to Carlisle and surrounded with all the attractions of modern civilization, without any expense, the children of the white settlers, on the next quarter, are left to seek their education for themselves. The time has not come when you can persuade the States in this matter of Indian education, because the State must depend on the day schools, and the Indians are not ready for the day schools. We must, for some time to come, keep them in the boarding schools, where we can break the continuity of the reservation life, and get rid of the traditions of Indian modes of living, and instill new thoughts, ideas, and aspirations.

A compulsory law was at one time enacted, at my request. There is a law on the statute books compelling the Indians to go to school. I had all the power I wanted. It is only a question of administration. The truth is this (I wish some one else would say it), any man who occupies the position of Commissioner of

Indian Affairs, whose heart is in it, and who is willing to pay the price for it, can get about all he wants for Indian education.

Miss Sibyl Carter was asked to speak on Indian industries. The following is an abstract of her remarks:—

MISS CARTER.—My work seems to begin where the others leave off. It begins with the people who have been left out,—the Indian mothers. Other people have taken the boy and the girl and put them to school, but they have left the old woman on the reservation. They have left her completely out of their thoughts. I had occasion, a good many years ago, to make a visit with Bishop Hare all through Dakota. I was struck with the fact that everywhere Indian women were asking for work. Accordingly I established schools for teaching lace-making; and I believe it is the greatest blessing that ever came into the lives of these people, just as it was the greatest blessing that ever came into my own life that I had to earn my own living. I have now seven schools. They all look to me for their support. The lace which they manufacture I dispose of for them.

There is another industry which might be used for the Indians,—that is, the making of pottery. If I had money I could start it to-morrow. The Rookwood people are back of me.

MR. SMILEY.—We will get you the money if you will start the pottery.

MISS CARTER.—Well, I will do it. The pottery, however, will not be so easily disposed of as the lace, which can be sent in the mail all over the country. The Navajoes have blankets for sale; these also ought to be disposed of. I am willing to do my part. I have with me a lady who has just come from Red Lake, who has been making visits to the schools for me because I had not the strength. You must remember, however, that it is the Indian women themselves who are doing the work.

It is the Indian women for whom we are doing this work. It also appeals to the Indian young women who come home. Did you ever think what it is to an Indian girl to come back and have the old home cleaned up? How it must seem to an Indian girl to come back to her dirty old wigwam from Carlisle! I have seen them come back in that way. I have seen their faces and felt sorrow for them. One sweet young woman who had been three years at Carlisle came back. I wish you had seen the little old dirty house of her mother. She could not stay in it. She came and stayed with me in my own house. I discovered she knew very little English, so I recommended that she should be taken to the Lincoln Institute. She learned a little lace work before she went, but I supposed she had forgotten it. When she came home she picked up her lace pillow and went to work at it, and had forgotten nothing. They never forget what they learn. They are worth teaching, I assure you. I have sent this young woman now to Wisconsin, and I am flooded with letters telling how wonderfully

she does. She had been three years at the Lincoln Institute and had not learned to cook meals or to make bread. I had her learn, because no woman passes out of my door without knowing how to make bread.

She went into the lace room and began a piece of work, and to teach the other women. They liked her very much, they said; she is so gentle and so dignified it is a pleasure to have her for a teacher. She is of invaluable help. This is what we must do for our Indian sisters. We must give them industries and let them work for wages.

Miss Carter then exhibited some exquisite lace work, snowy in its whiteness. Some one asked if it had been laundered. Miss Carter replied that in the seven years the Indian women had been making lace there had never been occasion to launder a single piece.

Miss Annie Dawson was introduced as an Indian who had come to Hampton in 1871 for her education.

MISS DAWSON.—I left my field of work at Fort Berthold to bring sixteen young people to put into the Hampton and Carlisle schools. As I have been among the people of the United States I have come across a great many who have known nothing about the three tribes which are settled in the very northwest part of Dakota. I account for it in this way. These three tribes—the Gros Ventres, Mandans, and Arikarees—have been so faithful to the whites that they have been brought little before the eyes of the public. From the very beginning they have been friendly to the whites, and have stood by them. I remember when I was a child, during the Custer massacre, many of our young men, as well as the older ones, went as scouts and soldiers to fight against Sitting Bull and his party, and many of them never returned. They died fighting side by side with the white men,—fighting against their own people, whom they thought to be in the wrong.

I was brought in the first party of Indians who came East to be educated. As I had no family to claim me at home I was permitted to remain at Hampton until I graduated, and then went north for training in the State Normal School at South Framingham. Afterwards I went to Santee to teach. It was from that I received the idea that the homes of the Indians ought to be elevated. While I was there I had the opportunity of escorting young people who returned to their homes on these reservations. When I went back to my own home I found all of our people camped near a white village. They had come to welcome me home. It was very pathetic to me as I heard them calling me by my Indian name, for it was many years since I had been with my own people. As they came to shake hands with me tears fell from their eyes, for they thought I would never come back to the old home. I felt then that my field of work must be among my own people,—that I must devote my life to them. It was with that thought that I came East again for further training in the School of Domestic Science

in Boston. My work as field matron is to carry industrial education into the homes of the older people, who have not been able to have school advantages.

When I returned I was fortunate in having for my companion an earnest, devoted, and capable young woman who had been a classmate of mine through my course in the School of Domestic Science, and who was as much interested as I am in my work. We found things in the most deplorable condition, and it seemed a very discouraging work to lift the homes and life of the people in their one-room cabins. Things are in a transition stage with my people. They are leaving the old and gradually learning new ways. I have preached the gospel of soap, and after three years I can speak encouragingly of the efforts made by the women for themselves, but they are almost entirely without resources. Advance must be slow. In only a few cabins do we find cupboards, chairs, tables, and other things of that kind. The only piece of civilized furniture that you are almost sure to find is a cooking stove. Three years ago the one-room cabins in my camp were little better than pens, the filth being most revolting. The utensils and dishes which had been used were put away under the stove and beds, and often the dogs were the only ones that cleansed them. To-day you will find them washed, and arranged in a cupboard made of boxes nailed on the walls and neatly covered with old newspapers.

Perhaps it is just as hard for the Indian woman to go from her ill-ventilated tepee as for her daughter to adapt her ideas to the present limitations of the Indian home. Better ways of life must be established before the Indian home can be what it should be, but much progress has been made in the last three years.

The laundry is one of the most trying things. Most of the Indians live two or three miles from water. The only way to supply them with water is to haul it. Once hauled it is too precious for such an endless and troublesome work as washing dishes and tables.

The first thing to look into is the condition of the children. They have to be bathed, and put into clean clothes. There is really an evidence that they are caring for better things. The women come from every direction, and ask for clean papers and pictures with which to adorn their homes. There is some awakening of interest among the men. Many have come with plans for new homes. One man there has saved \$60.00 in three years, with which to build a three-room log house, that he hopes to make look like a white man's house.

Many needs of a good home can be supplied only when the people have some industry by which they will get employment and learn economy. There are many idle young men now who have no use for their time and strength.

Cooking classes have been carried on in our house, and the women have shown a great deal of interest, and have carried the lessons into their homes, where they have made dishes for their families as they have been taught in the cooking class. We have sew-

ing classes also. They show skill in learning to make garments. The schoolgirl, who comes back in her well-fitting garments, is an object lesson. At the close of our gatherings we have mothers' meetings, and this gives us an opportunity to talk with the women on various subjects, such as the feeding and care of the sick, or the proper training of children. Protests against bad customs can be made,—such things as giving coffee to babies and stuffing the children at all hours of the day.

We do not claim great results in the work which we have tried to do on our reservation. We notice, however, the greater effort which they make for tidiness in the home. The children suffer less from inflamed eyes, and scrofula has been reduced since they have received good care. The agency physician is a conscientious man, and is doing all he can. He has a warm place in their regard. The homes are being better fitted to receive the returned students, and they are encouraged to keep up civilized ways of living so far as possible. If the spirit of earnestness, sincerity, and honesty of purpose pervaded the whole of the Indian work as it pervades this Conference, I feel that the time would not be far off when this Indian question would be settled, and the blanket would be transformed into the robe of righteousness.

Mr. SMILEY.—This excellent speech shows what the Indians are capable of, and there are thousands among them just as capable as Annie Dawson if they only had the chance. A few years ago some money was raised for the higher education of selected Indians. A noble man from Rhode Island, who died a few weeks ago, when this money was being raised, slipped into my hands a little check, saying that he was interested in the higher education of the Indians. It was a check for a thousand dollars. Roland Hazard was a noble type of man. I wish there were more like him. He left \$100,000 for Brown University, and all his life he was a friend of humanity. I am sure many Indians ought to have higher training. Many Indians are excellent orators. They are most skillful in handiwork. Before we are through here, I am going to hold Miss Sibyl Carter to her promise with regard to the pottery.

Mrs. QUINTON.—I have seen Miss Annie Dawson teaching, and I never saw better teaching, more alert thinking, and better management of pupils. It was really admirable. As I went over the reservations this summer, I was struck over and over again with the fact that there is the same capability and the same aspiration as among ourselves. The people long for work. They feel the necessity for it, are ready to do it, and are capable of doing it well. I wish there were a place where articles made by Indians could be disposed of. I am sure the Navajo women would send blankets. One of the Navajo women made a blanket which took her months. She took it to a trader to dispose of. It ought to have brought at least fifteen dollars. He would give her only three dollars; and as she had to have some money she was obliged to let it go for that. I saw a great many of these blankets on the reservation. The Navajoes are very capable.

Mrs. Quinton called the attention of the Conference to a book entitled "The Red Patriots," a story of the Seminoles, which is now on sale.

Mr. Galpin said that in looking over the last year's record of the Conference, he had found an excellent sketch of Miss Dawson, which he would like to read. It may be found on page 100 of the Proceedings of the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference for 1897.

Reports from the different religious societies were called for. The first to respond was Rev. Dr. F. P. Woodbury, of the Congregational Board.

Dr. WOODBURY.—The work done for the Indians at Ooaho has been most inspiring. The work under Mr. Thomas Riggs had to be stopped, as we feared. Our committee on the 9th of November, by vote, authorized enough money to be added to that already received through the efforts of this Conference, and the results reported at the end of the year were very encouraging. Mr. Riggs, half blind as he is from his devotion, is carrying on his work. At Standing Rock we do not have charge of the school, but we do station work, the work of evangelizing, and of Bible reading, and of going into the homes and teaching the old people there. When I was at Fort Berthold a few years ago it made my heart ache to go into those homes, and I want to testify to the great joy which has come to me, knowing what Miss Dawson is doing to aid our missionaries at that station. I want to emphasize every word that has been said.

Miss SCOVILLE.—For the past two days I have been applying President Slocum's science to the facts stated here by others, and what I myself have seen among Indians.

Two pictures of our method of educating the Indians are stamped on my mind. One is the State House of Minnesota, where the scalp of Little Crow, the leader of our enemies of 1862, now hangs. There, where there are plenty of Little Crow's people to mourn over it, we hang that trophy as a sign of our civilization. When I hear that Minnesota again trembles under an Indian war, I doubt whether the education of such a civilization tends to peace and the highest development of the Indian. But there is another method of educating Indians. I heard an account of it as I drove the thirty miles to Running Antelope with Mr. Noble, the teacher at the Government school. He had come to the village since my last visit, and I asked him what he thought of the people. He answered, "They are the nicest Indians I ever had to deal with." I knew what he meant; they were wild Indians who, when they came onto the reservation, fell into the hands of the A. M. A. workers in general, and Miss Collins in particular.

He went on to say that he heard that the teacher before him had found it hard to get wood and hay, but said he: "I have had no trouble. I got one of my boys for interpreter and went out and showed the men of the village how to measure a cord of wood, and

told them I would pay so much for every cord of wood delivered at the school before November 1st, and by the 1st of August the wood was cut and stacked." As to hay, Mr. Noble said that he found the Indians had no idea but that a load was the same as a ton, so once more he went and gave them a practical lesson by showing them how to measure a ton. "Well," he ended, "they've kept me busy measuring hay all summer, for every man wants to sell me at least one load, and with it all we've not had a word of trouble."

For weeks I came and went among those Sitting Bull Sioux, and I found woodpiles and big haystacks the fashion rather than the exception. It does not seem to me possible to estimate the educational value of that man's work. He is the teacher not only of the children, but the parents; a teacher not in books alone, but in thrift and self-help.

This is the civilization we want the Indian to receive; this, rather than border ruffianism, we claim as white civilization.

These two forms of civilization that we offer the Indian show in their homes, faces, and children.

The old men among the Dakotas have finer faces and better developed heads than the Indians who have lived among the whites; while the young Indians who come to us from wild tribes are better balanced morally and mentally than those who have lived among the whites. This evidence goes to show that the convolutions of the Indian brain were properly and healthily developed before they met the white men, and that in many cases contact with the whites has checked that development.

This would not seem extreme to you if you had taught the boys and girls from Minnesota and Nebraska and other non-reservation schools, and found that your first duty was to root out the teachings, not of their Indian parents, but of their white neighbors.

If the throwing down of the agency limits means handing the Indians over to our border towns for education, every man and woman who knows a reservation and its surroundings will protest. We all want the reservation to go, but we must not flatter ourselves that we can escape from our responsibility by handing the Indian over to be civilized by the worst elements in our communities. We shall have to pay the piper later, if we do that.

Some say that the reservation is a God-given opportunity for training these people; some that it is a colossal blunder. I care not which; but this I know, it is not alone the fault of our Government that the reservation cannot go to-day. It is our fault,—your fault and my fault,—because we do not use the opportunities put in our way. Let us stop growling about the Secretary, and even the agents, and turn our attention to something that is crying for our care.

There is the field matron. You have all heard what can be done by an honest one, and yet there is but one who is doing anything among the 3,800 Dakotas of Standing Rock. The other four draw their salaries, and make out their reports. The agent says

he cannot find anyone to appoint, and asks why the Indian's friends do not give him names of suitable candidates. For the very sake of politics most agents would see that their under officials did their work, if we demanded it.

Then, again, the hated ration issue is allowed to take these people away from their log houses, wood piles, and haystacks every two weeks, and keep them for three days in a camp a hundred times worse than in the days of Sitting Bull.

Mr. SMILEY.—Are those rations issued by treaty stipulations?

Miss SCOVILLE.—Yes; and I doubt if a white man could live without them three years out of five in Standing Rock, but there is no reason why they should not be made educational. They are an opportunity. In every village among the Indians there are some men who could take the whole issue of rations and see that it was fairly distributed to the people, thus keeping alive among the men the sense of responsibility. These rations need not be issued every two weeks, but every month, then every two, until we teach them not to live from hand to mouth; to receive not rations, but interest on their funds that the Government holds.

Again, this land can never support them by farming; cattle are their only hope. Yet Indians know cattle only as game. Few have ever had a glass of milk; they must be taught to use it. But our Government issues coffee and crackers for the dinner of a six-year-old school child, and does not insist on either the farmer, field matron, or schools keeping cows. Here, again, Mr. Noble has felt that one of the lessons he must teach the children is to drink milk, and by always having it on the table he now has a flourishing class of milk drinkers; while Miss Collins preaches to all, "If you want to raise your children keep a cow."

Truly the reservation ought to go; yet it should go, not because we cannot trust ourselves to administer it wisely, but because we have so faithfully used the opportunities offered by our Government as to do away with the need of a reservation.

Rev. George F. McAfer was asked to report for the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. McAFER.—The Presbyterian Church in the United States is doing missionary work among 32 tribes of Indians. It supports 16 white and 35 native missionaries, total, 51. These minister to 91 churches, with 4,348 communicants. It maintains 19 day and boarding schools, with 67 teachers; caring for 1,427—888 day and 539 boarding pupils. It expends annually in support of

The 51 missionaries (white and native)	\$21,230
Teachers and pupils	69,897
Total annual expenditure	\$91,127

In prosecuting this work the school department has erected and equipped 92 buildings, at a cost of \$203,000; and in the missionary

department there have been built about 50 churches and manses, costing near \$50,000. A total property of \$253,000.

Value of the products of the farms connected with the training schools:—

Anadarko, I. T. (Kiowas), corn, oats, cattle, hogs, etc.	\$2,000
Good Will, S. D. (Sioux), wheat, oats, barley, millet and stock	1,600
Tucson, Arizona (Pimas and Papagos), wheat, alfalfa, etc.	1,200
Tucson, Arizona, cash receipts for work done outside the school	2,600
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Total value of labor and products	\$7,400

Henry Kendall College, Muskogee, Indian Territory, has an enrollment of 275 pupils, 70 of whom are in the college department. Received for the school year, 1897-98, in payment for board and tuition, strictly from pupils,—not from the National treasury,—nearly \$8,000. All the five civilized tribes are represented in this school, and many of the smaller tribes.

General Morgan was asked to speak for the Baptist denomination.

General MORGAN.—The Baptists are going on with their missionary work in Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. They have between three and four thousand church members. The Kiowas and Camanches in Oklahoma are to find their own subsistence without rations. The farm region is arid, we have been experimenting with alfalfa, and it is claimed that it is a success. We have shown that it can be grown in that part of the territory, and have furnished the foundation for Indians to care for their cattle and make their own subsistence.

Adjourned at 12.30.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Night, October 13.

The Conference was called to order at 8 P. M. by the President. General John Eaton was asked to report for the Presbyterian Board.

General EATON.—I feel that we must carry the Bible along with all that we do for the Indian. We shall fail if we do not bring the precepts of the Bible to bear on his life and conduct. We are approaching one of the most interesting subjects that can engage our attention, and we want to be prepared for its responsibilities. We have been trying to lift degraded races,—the negro and the Indian. We commenced with the negro. We saw how they could be carried forward under military direction. We have seen diverse sentiments harmonized, and the beginning of the elevation of the Indian. Here you have been studying all these ideas with reference to the Indian. We have now thrust upon ourselves a new responsibility for the same class, and I believe that the Lord God Almighty has been using this preparation that we may see the way to go forward. The Catholics have made their assignments in the supervision of the new fields, and I would not be surprised if the Mormons sent the first missionaries into these new fields. We do not want to lay down a plan that is to destroy our possibilities, but to take the experiences that have given us new methods. We have many other things to learn, but if we use our advantages aright the work must go forward, and we shall be prepared for our wider responsibilities.

The subject for the evening was “The Extent of our Responsibility to the Less Favored Tribes.”

Dr. Gilbert, of Chicago, was asked to deliver an address on the subject.

WE HAVE LIBERATED: NOW WE MUST EDUCATE.

BY REV. SIMEON GILBERT, D.D.

I have been wondering that so little has as yet been said, even in our pulpits and journals of the higher light and leading, as to what we are bound to do for our new allies, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. That we have liberated them at last from Spain's blind and cruel domination has, so to speak, “opened a new door

in heaven" before them. Everyone is now asking, What shall we do with them? Is not the more important question, What shall we do for them?

"A Spaniard" closes a remarkable article in the August *Fortnightly* with this dramatic statement: "Under the *ægis* of Dona Maria Christina and Don Praxedes Sagasta, Spain makes her melancholy bow to the vast Continent which her enterprise opened to the world, and exclaims, '*Moritura te Salutat.*'" The world has accepted the pathetic salutation, not indeed without pity, but with a profound sense of relief.

Colonial Spain is dead, and outside of Spain there are no mourners. A hideous chapter in history is closed; the record of that history will always remain useful to the world as an awful warning. Spain at any rate has shown what not to do.

Yesterday the supreme duty of America was, as at one fateful stroke, to end in the name of humanity the almost infinitely wicked colonial misrule of Spain; now having done that, quite to the wonder and satisfaction of the world, what greater duty can there be for to-day and to-morrow than to undertake in the same spirit, and with the same limitless courage and resource, the further conquest and radical transformation of these several island nationalities by education? But in order to do this, the educational policy on the part of both the Government and the great Christian organizations of this country will have to be of the most comprehensive character, and will need to be up and at it in the time of it.

The point of urgency in this matter, as it seems to me, is this, that at the very beginning, and when all doors are swinging open, we start right. There is a Spanish proverb, with plenty of Spanish history to illustrate it, to the effect that "The road of By-and-by leads to the City of Nowhere." We shall, of course, make sure from the start of the "open door" for commerce, and the industries, and all that. We shall insist upon the American way as to the entire separation of church and state; there should, also, at the same time be made some comprehensive and thoroughgoing provision for the public education. If we are not to have infinite trouble the "schoolmaster" will have to be abroad there the same as here. The fact is, even in America, where so willingly we vote our millions for the public schools,—New York City its ten millions, Chicago its seven millions a year, and so on,—we do still but scantily realize how much of all that which makes us the envy of the world is due to our provisions for the universal popular education. What Porto Rico wants is just that which early gave to New England its educational distinction, with such potency for good to the whole national commonwealth. What Cuba wants, and without which its sorrows, distractions, and perpetual turbulence can never be healed, is just that which the glorious "Ordinance of 1787" put into the primary organic law of the original "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," providing from the outset and forever for Freedom, Religion, and Education; an ordinance so incomparable in its wisdom, beneficence, and timeliness, that alone

among all the laws of the United States Congress it is known simply by the year of its enactment.

Naturally, and in a vital and very efficacious way, the Government of the United States is to be itself in the place of school-master, as well as protector and sovereign, to these peoples—people who have so many really primary lessons to learn in matters of honesty and justice, of personal rights, social duties, and public responsibility. And especially will it be one of the greatest of lessons to them if they see the American Government intent from the beginning in laying plans for the education, the personal and social uplifting of all the people. Following up its brilliant achievements in war by such an educational policy as this, the great Republic will show itself to be a world power of quite a new sort—all in all, the foremost educator and leader among the nations. As President McKinley expressed it in his noble speech at Omaha the other day, “An inspiration to the whole human race.”

It is a wonderful and quite unique relation of opportunity and moral advantage which the Government and the people of the United States now have toward these liberated peoples, brought as they are so strangely, so providentially, within our new “sphere of influence.”

With even-handed justice, patience, kindness, consideration, and tact, it will be possible to do great things for them. At first and for some time military government will, of course, have to keep its strong hand on the situation. The chief dependence, however, will have to be upon forces and influences of another sort. There is but one way in this matter if we would avoid infinite trouble.

I am aware that Sagasta is reported as saying, “We have at least the consolation, amid our misfortunes, of knowing that we have in Cuba and the Philippines bequeathed to the United States almost insurmountable obstacles for years to come.” It is indeed, in many respects, an *hereditas damnosa* which the Spanish rule, civil and ecclesiastical, has left in the Islands. But America knows a way poor Spain never dreamed of.

The truth uttered by President McKinley some years ago is as pertinent to-day as it could ever have been, “We might just as well remember now that God puts no nation in supreme place that will not do supreme work; and God keeps no nation in supreme place which will not meet the supreme duty of the hour.” The London *Spectator*, speaking of Mr. McKinley himself, says that he has “risen to the height of his circumstances.” It is just that which history glories in saying of Washington and Abraham Lincoln. What if history shall have occasion to say the same thing also of the great Christian churches of the country; the same thing of the young men in our seminaries, universities, colleges, and other schools,—at least of those among them whose souls are touched to the finer issues of the new age and the greater America?

For how can we fail to see here right at hand the opportunity of the century. And how befitting it must seem to be that we, too, whom God is trusting with such a transcendent missionary and

educational responsibility, should, at this new turning point in our history, as in their history, take good heed

. . . "lest we forget
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine."

We have conquered; Spain vacates; now we must protect, lift up, and educate. As Dr. Cyrus Hamlin puts the case, "Now we have them, we've got to keep them, and govern them, and educate them, or woe will be to us and to the world."

It used to be commonly enough remarked a few years ago, referring to America's place in the world, that it was "bounded on the east by the sunrise, on the north by the Aurora Borealis, on the south by the Equator, and on the west by the Day of Judgment!" Now surely nothing less can be said of it than that the new, the greater America, at every point of the compass, is bounded by the Day of Judgment. And still, as every one may see, and may expose his heart to the most complete inspiration of it, alike for our own dear America and for our new allies on the Islands, there is a "door opened in heaven," a "throne in heaven," and, thanks to Him who sits thereon, "a rainbow round about it."

LIBERTY FOR THE INDIAN.

ABSTRACT OF AN ADDRESS BY DR. LYMAN ABBOTT.

Dr. ABBOTT.—Sixteen years this Conference has been in existence. During these sixteen years the nation has made great progress. For one hundred years, and, indeed, before its existence as a nation, it has been facing the Indian problem, and during these years it has made great progress. We began by treating the Indian as our enemy; then we shut him up in distant reservations, and treated him as an exile, for whom we did not care, and to whom we owed no responsibility; then we began to consider him as our ward.

Sixteen years ago this Conference found him as a ward of the nation. It also found the nation fighting this ward, and not doing much else than fight him. There has been a steady change. The facts are familiar to you. We have begun to see, first, that the Indian was not to remain as a ward of the nation. In all this attempt to treat the Indian as a ward, we have been hampered by evils of administration. These evils have been continuous and persistent, and have shown themselves under every administration, Republican or Democratic. They have shown themselves under good administrations and under poor administrations, but I think, on the whole, the history of the administration of the guardianship of the Indian may be criticised as varying from bad to worse. It has been the regular custom of the nation to appoint as Indian Commissioner a new man with every change of administration, and with rare exceptions—with one eminent exception illustrated by a gentleman on this

floor—the man selected has neither had experience with Indians, nor experience in philanthropy, nor with education. Just about the time that he began to get a knowledge of the Indians, and of the philanthropic work, and of the education needed, the four years were up, and he went out, and another inexperienced man was put in his place. We have acted on the fatal self-conceit of the American people that any man can do anything at all without experience or special training. There have been other errors growing out from this one vital error. Instead of selecting an Indian commissioner, and keeping him in his place to carry out a settled policy, we have changed him, and we have changed, in spite of his protests, his subordinates, the inspectors, the agents, and the whole machinery of the bureau every four years. The change has been bad whoever has made it.

We tried for a little while having an agent appointed by the churches. Mr. Smiley has told us that that was a lamentable failure. Under President Cleveland first, the experiment was made to leave it in the hands of the Indian Commissioner, and we know how under that system men were sent into the field who were absolutely without experience, and in many cases without fitness. Under General Morgan the power of appointment was taken from the Commissioner, and exercised by the Secretary of the Interior. That it did not do any more harm than it did was due to the efficiency of the Indian Commissioner, not to the goodness of the system. Under the present administration appointments are left to the representatives and senators, and that system has worked worst of all.

The result has been that while there have been many excellent men appointed, it is also true that we have appointed drunken men to see to it that the Indians do not drink, and ignorant men to see that they are educated, and lazy men to see that they work. We have seen cases, and they have been reported here, of men proved to be incompetent and intemperate, retained in place through political influence. We have seen an able, efficient, capable educator whose work nearly all men who knew it commended, and whose retention nearly all who knew his work urged, dismissed without any reason whatever except politics, and one appointed in his place concerning whom at least this may be said, that she had neither the training nor experience to fit her for the work, however well she may fit herself by the time she has to be removed.

What are the causes of this thoroughly evil system was pointed out with great earnestness and force by Mr. Herbert Welsh last night. We have not in this Indian administration been single minded. We have not aimed at a single target. The positions have been sometimes sacrificed wholly, sometimes partly to the party in power. I appeal to you business men, I appeal to you who are lawyers, I appeal to any man who is a judge, to ask you whether you would, for twenty-four hours, allow a trustee to remain in charge of a ward when, confessedly, he was using his trust not solely for the ward's interest, but partly for his own.

That is not the only cause. There is another, and a deeper one.

It is this: a democratic government is not competent to exercise paternal functions. That is my whole speech. A democratic government is not competent to exercise paternal functions. A paternal government is a government of the supposedly best over the great mass. The czar is the father of his people, and rules them as you and I rule our children. We do not, while they are little, determine by their vote the questions of family government. The ancient governments were paternal governments. Government was framed to put the power in the hands of the best men who would undertake to exercise the paternal functions. But democratic government is on a different basis. It does not attempt to put the best men in Congress.

Our whole system is based on the idea of securing a representative house; that is, one that represents all the people,—wise people, ignorant people, the most virtuous people, the least virtuous people, the intelligent and the least intelligent. Whether that was wise or unwise I do not stop to discuss. On the whole, I believe it wise. It requires a great deal of faith and hope to believe it, but, still, I believe in it. Certainly it is our system, wise or unwise. Congress represents Fifth Avenue and the East Side; it represents the native American, and the Irish and the Pole just landed: it represents the best, and it represents the worst. Such a government concentrates in itself what? The intelligence and the virtue of the nation? Not at all; the average intelligence and the average virtue. Democratic government does not rest on the theory that the majority of such a heterogeneous population is infallibly wise, that it always knows best what to do, or that it is always virtuous. Democratic government rests on self-government. It rests on the aphorism that any man is better able to take care of himself than any government is to take care of him. We believe that as to ourselves. There is not a man here who wants government to come in and tell him how to conduct his business. There is not a woman here who wants government to tell her where she can shop. But that is what we do with our wards. The fundamental theory of the American government is self-government; that every man is better able to take care of his own interests than the government is to take care of his interests for him; and, therefore, that it is the function of government not to protect a man against himself, but only against the wrongdoing of his neighbor.

Now, such a government is not competent to exercise the functions of paternal government. It is not competent to have wards. We have in this country a great, ignorant foreign population; they are not our wards; we do not put a fence around them and appoint an agent to take care of them until they are competent for self-government. We throw them into the stream; we let them learn to swim. Some may drown in the current, and some may be bruised against the rocks, but on the whole they go steadily forward and upward. They learn to swim by swimming.

I read in this morning's paper of a riot in Illinois—miners against employers. But no man says miners are incompetent for

self-government, and must have an agent. Perhaps some of the criminals will be arrested and punished; certainly some of them will go free; but the miners will go on as miners, and learn liberty by exercising it.

We have a great negro population. On the whole, I think those who have worked among the Indians and negroes will say that the Indian is quite as competent as the negro to take care of himself. He is as intelligent; he does not steal any more; he does not lie any more; he does not drink any more. He fights a little more, but he is far more regardful of the duty of chastity. And yet we do not take this great negro population and put them on reservations, and appoint an agent to take care of them. We say, Take care of yourselves. Some go to the wall; some are trampled under foot by local injustice; some are outrageously wronged by their neighbors; but no man thinks of making the negro a ward of the nation. It is evident that we are going presently to stand in new relations to foreign populations in foreign countries—Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Cuba. We have broken down the old government, and the responsibility lies upon us to see that a better government is put in its place. In Luzon we have driven away the only government there was, and Spain can never restore her authority there. The responsibility rests upon us, whether we like it or not, of seeing that a reputable government is established there. Are we to send a commissioner to Luzon with local agents to take care of the people there and treat them as wards? Why not? If this is a wise thing to do with American Indians, why not with Cubans, with Porto Ricans, with Hawaiians, and Filipinos? No. If we undertake any responsibility in those islands I venture this much of prophecy, —it will not be for the purpose of carrying out any policy of imperialism. It will not be to wield a sceptre and exercise control. It will be to establish in other lands, and over other places, and in the institutions of other countries, the same blessings of freedom which we ourselves possess. It will be to declare that the church shall be separate from the state. It will be to declare that the courts shall be administered on principles of Anglo-Saxon justice, and not on the principles and by the methods on which the trial of Dreyfus has been conducted in France. It will be to declare that the courts shall lie open to every man; that there shall be a public school system free from ecclesiastical control, to which all the children shall be admitted; that the conditions of suffrage shall not be conditions of race or color. There may be conditions of intelligence, of thrift, of property; but the conditions of thrift, intelligence, virtue, and property shall apply equally to men of all races and all conditions. (Applause.) You applaud that for the people of Cuba, for the Filipinos; why not for the Indians? How long will such guardianship as a democratic country gives to Indian wards have to go on before under that system they are prepared for freedom? We have given them money, and they go to the nearest shop and drink it up. We give them land, and they leave the land to lie idle until the wave of white civilization, looking on these forests, and

mountains, and plains, can be kept off no longer, and the lands are taken from them. We have given them ploughs, and the ploughs rust in the furrow. We have given them schools, and the problem is how to get the scholars into them. What does this mean? That what they need is not money, nor lands, nor tools, nor schools, but liberty. You remember that Demosthenes, the Athenian orator, said that oratory is, first, action; second, action; third, action. What is the solution of the Indian problem? Three things: first, liberty; second, liberty; third, liberty: the liberty of the Indian to go where he will, when he will, and as he will; liberty to come under the authority of the law; liberty to do what he will so long as he violates no man's rights; liberty to go into court and plead his cause and demand justice. I wonder if some inimical neighbor of Mr. Smiley were to set fire to his woods what he would do. He would not go out to deal with an agent; he would apply to the courts; but these Indians on the reservation cannot. An Indian has no standing in court. He must see his timber burned. It was said here yesterday that the Indians were not justified in Minnesota in their rising. I think that is true, because no hopeless revolution is ever justifiable. But that is the only reason. If they could have succeeded, they would have been justified. They had immeasurably greater reason to take up arms and fight for their native land than our fathers did in the colonial days. Liberty! We have given them ploughs, we have given them schools, we have given them money, we have given them food, we have given them everything but liberty. I hope to see the nation declare that wherever its flag goes it shall carry freedom with it, and wherever it has once gone up it shall not come down again until freedom is planted under its protecting folds. If that be true for other lands, it is surely true for our own.

I remember the third meeting of this Conference. A few of us came here and plead for liberty; a few of us insisted that the reservation must go, and the Indian be a free man. I remember, and you remember, how even here liberty was thought a dangerous thing, and the suggestion to give it to the Indian too radical. The one thing we need is to claim liberty for the Indian. Education, religion, food, clothing, ploughs, all are important. All these may be given by philanthropy and the church. But the primary function of government is to give that which thus far it has failed to give—justice and freedom.

Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley was invited to speak. The following is an abstract of his remarks.

Dr. BUCKLEY.—With respect to the less-favored races, though the cells of the brain may be of the same number, the convolutions of the brain, on which the intellect depends, have been wonderfully multiplied; so that to behold the convolutions of the lowest under the microscope, or even with the naked eye, and the convolutions of the highest, shows an amazing contrast. But there is

no faculty possessed by a genius, the greatest of men, whether you call him a man of talent or genius, that is not possessed by all in a certain degree. We fancy that we are extraordinary, but we are only extraordinary in the application of our faculties, not in the possession of faculties that these less-favored races do not have. It is a mistake to suppose that a great scholar, a teacher, a preacher, a statesman, possesses any faculties that his servant girl does not have. Differences arise. The French, as a race, are more oratorical than the Germans, and the Dutch are more phlegmatic than either. But a Dutchman may be as intense and as corrupt as Byron, and a Frenchman may be as sullen as Carlyle. What makes the difference? The Indians have the third largest heads among all the nations of the globe. The difference is this, that their environment and tradition have caused them to develop more and more certain propensities. The vital current runs in certain grooves, that is all. It has been said that the Indian does not swear. The Indian does not need to swear. Give me a right to knock down my foe and I will not swear, nor feel like it. In a state of things such as ours no one can tell what swearing does for the lower classes. No one can tell what murders are not committed because the men work off their energy in things they may know are wicked, but are not contrary to the law. The Indians are not to have credit for not swearing.

What is the condition of the Indian, and what have we come here for? A New York paper the other day said that a few people who love fine scenery and good eating, and have plenty of time to waste, were about to have a conference over a race that is fast proceeding to extinction. A part of that was true, with regard to the extinction. Major Powell, in 1893, in the *Forum*, said: "That one third refuse to take on civilization, and are slowly diminishing; one third are stationary, and may be expected to increase; and one third have passed the turning point and are increasing; and that the Indians, as a whole, are increasing, and will continue to do so."

Taking into account all that has been done, we have everything to rejoice in, and nothing at all to consider from the view of failure.

It has been my lot to visit every State and Territory in the United States. I have seen the Indians in Alaska, and talked to hundreds. In an official capacity I visited the Lake Superior Indians, and I declare that what has been said is true. They are as intelligent as the negro. Several times I have visited Hampton, and I have spoken to the Indians under Captain Pratt. It is only a question of "back action" on the convolutions.

The address to which we listened referred to a man who has brought his whole influence to bear on the medical profession to recommend that all criminals should be treated as irresponsible. It also brought in the speaker's declaration that he himself believed in responsibility, and that he did not commit himself to these peculiar and extraordinary views. I hold that the Indian will be

reticent for ages, notwithstanding the beautiful example of the absence of that which we had this morning. The characteristic Indian will be reticent, as is to be expected of a nation of solitude and wildness.

With reference to the negro, he must take care of himself, and it may not be a survival of the fittest. Social equality will be obtained only by the few.

And now comes Cuba. It is a pretty bad state of things. We attempted to stop a man from abusing his children, and now it appears that we have got to take charge of the whole family and fight the miserable condition of things. Here we have got to come in with all kinds of educational movements; the more Americans the better it will be for them, and the worse it will be for the Americans.

As for the twelve hundred Philippine islands, I do believe we are not fit for paternal government, and I prophesy that if we attempt it they will be treated exactly as we have treated the Indians. There will be agencies, all of which will constitute patronage, to be distributed from year to year, and I fear from age to age. "Further deponent sayeth not."

Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD.—From the fulfillment of such a doleful prophecy as Dr. Buckley's, good Lord deliver us!

I think we need to keep in mind certain settled principles; but the great trouble is in the application of those principles. A chief one is this: that liberty is the safest thing in the world. We have learned that, and we have got to stick to it. It is hard work to apply it. Too many of us believe in it as a principle, but are "agin the enforcement" of it.

Another principle is that those who are self-governing ought to be educated for it. Those are the two principles that we ought to hold before us, and we must apply them without fear. I tell you that there is not a people on the globe so savage, so rude, so degraded, but self-government is better for them than it is to be governed by some one else. The Indians were better governed when they were free, when they were wandering by themselves, than they are to-day. I do not mean to say that there was not barbarity then, but, on the whole, there was more manliness, more courage, under those circumstances, and a higher quality of manhood, than there is under the paternal system of the reservation.

I want to call attention to the different way in which we treat the negro and the Indian. It has come to be a habit,—and a mighty poor habit it is,—to talk against the system which was brought into operation when the war came to an end, of allowing every ignorant negro to vote. It was one of the most wonderful things that ever happened in this country. It gave our Southern States a free school system. What did we do? We said that every negro should vote who was willing to take the oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States, and we established government on that basis, and we established those conditions which in the end are bound to regenerate those States. That was the system of popular education.

I thank the Lord for that extraordinary and providential action that took place, and which gave the ballot to the freedman.

Some people say that a free democratic government cannot exercise paternal functions. Half of this audience is women; they are governed paternally by the United States. They have no voice in the Government. But leaving out the women, and leaving out the District of Columbia, and leaving out all the territories which we govern paternally, it is a fact that we accepted the principle that a democratic Government must, on the whole, govern democratically, and on the whole it is working well. It is coming out well in the end. We must be patient. The colonies of Spain in South America and Mexico became free. At first there was anarchy and insurrection. That was a good education. They have got over that now. We can do the same thing in a couple of generations for the negro.

What is the application to the thing before us? I should say that we ought to get rid of this abominable "boss" system for the Indian as soon as possible. Break up the reservations. Try to introduce a government by themselves for themselves. We have a popular heresy that a man must be capable of reading before he is capable of governing. I presume that half of this audience believe in the heresy that a man should not vote unless he can read. But it is a heresy. The whole principle is, that when we give them responsibility we shall be responsible that they are educated. That forces the education. The common sense of the people will see that they have got to be educated.

Now apply this further. Do you know that education begins at the top and not at the bottom? It is a pyramid that rests on its apex and not on its base. A common school education, an education that is primary, never lifts up a people. The education that lifts the people is that at the top. The common school does not educate men; it is the higher education that lifts up the common school. We have had that illustrated in this country. In 1630 the Puritans settled Charlestown and Boston. Six years afterwards they founded Harvard College. What happened then? From that have come the educational efforts of the United States. Go to Virginia. It was eighty-five years after Virginia was founded before they had a college. In New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, it was well on to the middle of the second century before they had colleges. I will not say but the Scotch-Irish were as good and pious as those Pilgrims who came over, but they did not found a college.

What shall we do with the new regions that we are likely to control? We cannot discuss that here, but the providence of God has put us there, and we are responsible. We are not responsible for Cuba. We made a definite promise that we did not propose to take it, and so I except Cuba.

A VOICE IN THE AUDIENCE.—Thank the Lord for that.

Dr. WARD.—What have we got to do? Just as we have promised; and if we do not, within six months, have an arrangement by

which they will call a constitutional convention, and take action whether they will be annexed or independent, we shall not have done our duty.

But we have Porto Rico. What shall we do with the undeveloped races there? I am not one of those persons who believe that because a person has for a father a Spaniard, and for a mother a negro, that he is necessarily degraded; that he is not as capable as an Anglo-Saxon. I do not believe in heredity by races. I believe that the general quality of humanity belongs to all races, and that the digger Indian and the Hottentot have that quality. It depends on the size of the brain, and what comes to us by education, by teaching, by environment. How often has Captain Pratt told us that an Indian baby, allowed to grow up with white people, will be a white man. Take a white baby, and it will be an Indian if it grows up with Indians.

What have we got to do with Porto Rico? It is our duty, just as soon as possible, to put the people under their own government as we do in our own territories. Let them establish their own territorial government. Let schools be established under the control of the people themselves. We can give them advice about schools, and they will follow our advice.

The same conditions exist in the Philippine Islands. There are many Roman Catholics to consider in this work. As soon as our American school system is established you will have ten or twelve million Roman Catholics about your ears. Archbishop Ireland will be one, and he is one of the very best. You will have trouble among all the priests. But those people do not love their priests too well. If they can see a government that will give them our school system, under our Constitution, they will be more ready to accept it. We have got to look after these things.

We have got to be careful about the whole system of education with the great population of Porto Rico, and the influences we shall have there. So in Luzon, if the Philippine Islands come to us, we can, by indirect methods, by personal influence, by the influence of our churches and people, control all the system in accordance with the principles so admirably laid down by Dr. Abbott. Establish all the self-government you can. I am not one of those who are afraid of our Government, that we cannot do these things. We want to look at the bright side, and have faith in the power of the American people, and the American conscience, and the service which American Christians can do for the world. It is the memory of the wicked that shall rot, and the memory of the good people which shall rule in the great work which I believe the providence of God has put on us.

Mr. Howard M. Jenkins was the next speaker. He gave a spirited résumé of thoughts suggested by the preceding speeches in the form of a reverie or vision, referring to various books relating to Indian affairs, which in vision he saw transported to certain islands lying in the Pacific ocean; such books as "Ramona," "The Exiles of Florida," the "Red Patriots," the "Massacre of the

Mountains," etc. The "skit," as Mr. Jenkins called it, is omitted at his request.

Mr. SMILEY.—The Navajo Indians are very capable. They have artistic ability. Why should not this be cultivated, and made a source of income to them. They are not lazy; they love to do such work as they can. Miss Carter says that it can be done if a place is provided where they can dispose of the products of their industry. I am ready to be one of a party to make a league that can help them to begin the industry of making pottery for sale in the East. Miss Carter thinks that with a thousand dollars a good beginning may be made.

Miss CARTER.—Some years ago I was told that if I would start a pottery among the Indians and teach them to put on a glaze, that the Rookwood people would help me. It was said that with this improvement the pottery of these Indians would take its place with the good pottery of the world. I was told to let them be absolutely free in making their own patterns, shapes, and decorations. If Mohonk will stand behind me I will try it.

The amount necessary, a thousand dollars, was at once subscribed by different members.

Adjourned at 10 P. M.

Fifth Session.

Friday, October 14, 1898.

After morning prayers the Conference was called to order by the President at ten o'clock. The different religious missionary bodies were invited to report.

Mr. EDWARD M. WISTAR, of the Orthodox Friends.—We are still actively engaged in the work. During the past year we added a special mission in the southern part of Oklahoma among the Otoes, a band where there has been no missionary work, so far as I know. We have been very well received among them, and the work is going on to our encouragement, and we hope for their benefit. We feel that it is a matter of encouragement to us that, during the years when labor has been going on among the Indians, we have added from time to time Indian members to our own congregations. This is not the great thing that we wish to do, however. As a member of my own meeting, I feel that we should try rather to make them members of the church universal. Proselyting is not our object, nor is it desirable that it should be so. In visiting our missions at different times I have felt that they are doing the work which we wish them to do; that they are exercising their privileges, and are lifting up the Indians, and extending Christian civilization among them.

There are nine active missionary stations throughout the Indian Territory and Oklahoma; and a gentleman and his wife visit them from time to time and make reports. Each station makes a monthly report to the standing committee, and they are received, and annotations made and forwarded; and we are kept in knowledge of what is going on.

Passing from our work to the work of the Government in Indian education, I would like to refer to Dr. Hailmann and his admirable work. I found there were many earnest missionaries among the Government officials. I think I am warranted in making that assertion. I rejoice that it is so. There were Indians as well as whites taking part in the instruction and the head management. In one the manager, a lady who was in the position of master of the school, was so earnestly Christian and philanthropic in all her ideas in the government of the school that she seemed to be a real missionary in spirit. It is to me, in common with all the friends of the Indian, a lamentable fact that Dr. Hailmann was removed.

I should also like to refer to Mr. Welsh's remarks, and urge upon this Conference that if we are to attain a great deal we must

cut down to the roots. We may increase our own satisfaction by hacking at the twigs, but it will not avail anything in helping either the Indians or the service. I trust that this will receive our attention, and that the business committee will give us a very strong platform.

Rev. Walter C. Roe, of Oklahoma Territory, was invited to speak. His remarks in substance were as follows:—

Mr. ROE.—Our little church in Oklahoma has been blessed in these two years of its existence. We have ninety-two whites and Indians; and of the seventy-six Indians, sixty-nine have come into the church on profession of faith. We are planning to broaden our borders to include Geronimo's band, which has been fifteen years in captivity, without any systematic study of the Word of God, so far as I know, or any systematic presentation of Christianity. A Christian man is in command of that band, and he invites us to come down and help him. My heart is primarily interested in the Christianization of the Indian, but I have been asked to tell you something of the condition of the allotted Indians, especially among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. In 1837 we began to treat with them, and then began a series of treaties made and broken. At last the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, who have been always allies, said, "Give us some land where we can hunt our buffalo and live in peace; some land from which the white men will be excluded." They gave them 30,000,000 acres in Colorado, and the Indians settled down in peace, and thought their happy days had come. Gold was discovered. The tide of white men followed. The game was killed, the timber was destroyed. Again they went on the warpath, and again the avenging troops of soldiers. Again the old programme: the Indians were moved to "the land of fire," far from their own homes. It is a mistake for us to suppose that those Indians can be lightly moved from this point to that. If ever the instinct or love of locality was developed in the hearts and minds of any people, it is in the redskins of the West. They love the mountains with their streams, and when they are driven to hot, feverish climates they are in despair.

What did we do with them then? Their 4,300,000 acres were sold, and the Government took their money to keep for them. That was the wisest policy. To counterbalance all that can be said of the former history, during the last few years the policy of our Government toward our own Indians has been wise in its aims and purposes. I wish I could say as much in regard to the administration. I wish I could tell you of more unselfish efforts on the part of the officials of the Government. There are exceptions. As has been said from this platform, one of the crying needs of our work—and I speak as one who works with coat off and sleeves rolled up—is that the Government send us plain, simple, unpolitical men who will lay their hands to the problem of the elevation of these Indians,—who will come seeking not their own. As has been

said, too often drunken men go out to teach temperance, and the indolent to teach industry.

Now as to the allotted land. How does it work? The Indians are entering the agricultural stage slowly, but I think surely. If you go into the Indian work, you must first take as your motive love, and you must write over your effort and desires the word patience, patience, patience. So it is among these allotted Indians. They are making headway, though they still live for the most part in tepees. I wish you could see them as they camp in cold weather—tents made of thin cloth instead of the impervious buffalo skins, which used to keep out the driving storm. As you see them wet, and cold, and miserable, and poor, your heart yearns to lift them out of their misery.

We are trying to build a lodge near the church and parsonage which shall be entirely apart from our religious work,—a place to which they shall come as to a clubhouse, where the women can have a stove and Mrs. Roe can teach them to cook, and the returned students can practice what they have learned in the East. They are sometimes criticised for falling back into Indian ways. What can they do? Take the matter of washing. The water is so impregnated with gypsum that when soap is applied it produces an excellent quality of mucilage, which ruins the clothing. They carry water from our well to their homes, fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five miles away; and if I am in their homes a week later perhaps they give it to me as a great treat, it is so much more desirable than what they have.

But they are beginning to work, and that is the basis of hope. They are coming face to face with the necessities of their condition, and the dynamic power of starvation will impel them to systematic industry. Our friend J. H. Seger, the superintendent of the Government school, a man I would like to see on this platform, a man who is as well qualified as any one on the field to know the true state of things, has contributed much to their progress. The Arapahoes of our district have about twenty-five houses, though they live mostly in tepees; but when a storm comes they take refuge in the houses as a sanctuary. Little by little they are working into the houses. Nature drives them there. One Indian has a four-room house, and has a white man to cultivate his land. He said, "White man gets two rows; Indian gets one row." They are learning to get something out of their land. Little Chief raised twenty-five acres of corn and a good crop of Kaffir corn. The Cheyennes have ten houses. They were the stronger race in the past, and are more tenacious of their old ways, but they are coming forward, and we feel encouraged.

I have some hesitation in speaking on one subject in public, but my conviction is so strong that I am willing to put myself on record. We are like the Indians who say they heap look, and who watch a long time before committing themselves. It is wise in us to wait before we utter opinions about the political aspect, or about the giving of rations. I know my views are unpopular; I know my words will be reported to the Indians; but I have taken this ground,

that it will be a blessing to the Indian the day that the rations are cut off. They are starving now, and I do not know that we can do it at once, although I agree with the theory that the way to resume is to resume, and I presume that the best way would be to cut the rations off. You have already been told how the Indians come up for three days out of every fourteen and loiter round in vice and idleness, waiting for their pittance of beef or flour, a package of salt or baking powder, altogether inadequate for their subsistence.

Is the Indian lazy? Not primarily. The buck of to-day is lazy; the women are not lazy. In the old days the buck was usually on the warpath or on the chase. Those occupations were swept away by civilization, and he was left without work. The women were always busy, and they have kept up their lines of activity, caring for the tepee, preparing the food, carrying the wood and water; things that were not for the degradation of women, but that came in the natural division of work in ordinary life. That was her share, and it still occupies her time. The buck is left with idle hands, that soon itch for dice and cards.

So I say that, most of all, these people need industrial and systematic work. Every two weeks they are brought up to the issue station. Sometimes the beef is there, and sometimes it is not. It comes fifty-five miles, and they receive it at the rate of fifteen pounds to each person for two weeks. A miserable little portion of dry or "squaw" rations is also given, which the women carry home. All efforts at systematic development of their land are destroyed. When a man has a crop of corn started, and goes off and stays a week at the critical time of its cultivation, he cannot expect a crop. When these Indians stand face to face with starvation or systematic labor with plough and hoe, they will choose the latter. It will mean distress at first; it will be a strain on us; but the moment they touch bottom the recovery will begin, and we can look forward to a self-supporting people with patience.

Mr. F. D. Gleason, of Hampton, was invited to speak.

Mr. GLEASON.—I have made several trips in Dakota and Wisconsin and Nebraska looking for students, as it is my work to bring back a party each summer. Is it a hard task to get young people for the Eastern schools? Hampton is a long way off from their homes. In many ways it is an easy task, but in some ways it is hard. Almost every reservation that I have visited would be thronged with young people anxious to go, but the difficulty is to find the right quality. First, they must be sound morally, mentally, and physically. Second, they must have passed through the highest grade in the reservation schools. Lastly, they must have their parents' written consent. The consent is hard to get in many cases. Parental love is very strong in the Indian family. It is sad to see a young man who has begun to realize the value of education, prevented from completing it by some long-haired, ignorant old father or grandfather. It seems to me that it would be far

wiser for the Government to say that all who are seventeen or eighteen, and over, can decide for themselves whether they will go away to school or not.

As regards our returned students, what are they doing to carry out the training and exemplify the teaching of Hampton or other good schools? In many cases they are doing noble, self-sacrificing work. Large numbers are holding positions as assistants in the boarding schools, helping in the agency office, and doing a noble work. But it seems to me that those who are doing the best work are those who have gone out on the land, and are working the soil to obtain their living. In many cases they are not able to do much, and are not wholly independent of the ration system, but they are making a beginning. They do better where the rations are cut off than where they are issued, because there is something degrading and humiliating to a young man to go to an issue block every two weeks to receive his portion of beef. They begin to go down as soon as they have to present themselves at the issue block. On the Oneida reservation in Wisconsin many Hampton students are working their own farms. In some cases they have erected black-smith shops. In winter they have plenty of work at that trade; in summer they raise crops. The young people who go back to fathers and mothers find it hard on the farms. The old people are loath to accept new ideas in regard to farming. They say, "How can you teach us farming? We were farming before you were born," and the young men get discouraged. If a young man can marry a good girl and go off by himself, he can show what he has learned, and illustrate the benefits of an education.

The missionaries at Oneida are doing splendid work. At one mission they have started a co-operative dairy and a herd of milch cows, and the attempt is made to teach the Indians to raise cows. They will come to it after a while.

In the Sioux country things are not as encouraging, but there the missionaries are also at work, and are trying to hold in check the rapacious white people around. The missionaries are the most helpful and most encouraging of all the white people on the reservations.

I was pleased this summer to attend a large missionary gathering at Pine Ridge. Five hundred Dakotas came together and camped three days, meeting the bishop. Many of the congregations have to worship in log cabins, and some have nothing but the open prairie. These people would ask the bishop for a house for church, and he would ask them how much they had raised, and tell them if he would be able to supplement what they had raised with Eastern money so that they could have a church. One old man, in his eagerness, said: "Well, bishop, if you cannot build this house for us we are going to build it ourselves; as soon as the cold weather comes and hardens the roads we will haul the stones and the logs, and will try to put up the house in some way or other."

About Government schools. I find many good people employed in the schools in the West, many fine Christian characters among

the teachers. Good missionary work is being done by many of them, but there are some cases where immoral and intemperate men are in the Government employ. On one reservation I heard of a superintendent who resigned in the spring to escape investigation. This summer he is reinstated, and put in as superintendent of another school. This is disgraceful. In another non-reservation boarding school thirty-three children ran away from school last term because of immorality among the employees. An inspector has been there all summer, and eight or ten employees have been obliged to resign. It rests with you and me to see that proper persons are put in charge of these schools. I am glad there are no politics at Hampton. It is a pleasant thing that we can carry on our work free from that.

Dr. STRIEBY.—When a young man comes home and marries a good girl, where does he get means to start a new home?

Mr. GLEASON.—Many of our young people are sent out in summer to New England farms. There they earn money enough to lay up quite a sum. This is a great help when they start out for themselves.

Mr. GILFILLAN.—In the matter of Indian education, we need to begin with the children. Every Indian child ought to be in school at once. They cannot afford to wait. So far as my experience goes the Indians are willing and anxious to have their children in school, if the school is where they can see them. Where I live, in Minnesota, there is a band of seven hundred Indians with not one school. The children are growing up among the scum of the frontier, learning all the worst vices of the whites. Every time I go to Cass Lake, which is once a month, they beg for a school.

The children cannot be educated by sweeping them up and carrying them away. You would not like to have your own children caught up and carried off to Germany or Asia Minor to go to school. You would not stand it. The true way is to have a school where the Indians are. Reservation schools have a reflex influence on the old Indians. They learn to be clean, to be punctual, to have regular hours for meals, and some English. Another thing that is absolutely necessary is to have the teachers in the schools Christians. I have inquired from the Indians all round, and the universal testimony is that the ordinary Government school, that formerly used to be a godless school, is of no use to the Indian. It is as likely to make him worse as better. No person has any business in an Indian country unless he is a Christian. What the Indian needs is Christianity. He has more intelligence now than the white man. He is educated in his own way. What he needs is Christianity. The Government inquires of the applicant, Are you a good teacher? But it leaves out the critical point, Are you going to exert a Christian influence? All the Government employees whom I have known in twenty-five years who have done any good to the Indians, have invariably been Christians.

Politics come in here. We appealed for a school in 1880. No school was built for us; but five hundred miles from us, at a place

where there is not an Indian within miles, where you could not find one if you went gunning for them, an expensive school was built. Why? Because a congressman wanted the money spent in that region to get votes.

Gen. C. H. HOWARD.—There might seem to be a conflict between the last two speakers, but schools are needed, both on the reservation and in places like Carlisle and Hampton also. You and I like to send away our children for a while. I have had one son at Amherst and one at Williams, and my home is in Chicago. That is all right when they are prepared to go, but it is a most serious and deplorable thing to have these children growing up in idleness. If the Government does not establish enough primary schools, our churches ought to put them where they are needed. We need no higher testimony of the value of a higher education for the Indians than what we have seen in Miss Dawson.

I have been deeply pained at one thing. A dear friend, who is thoroughly acquainted with Indian affairs, has said to me since I came here, I am discouraged; the thing is hopeless, that a great and good man like President McKinley should go back on Civil Service Reform. A Christian cannot be discouraged when the work of God is laid on him to do. I am sixty years old, and I have seen a great number of times when we might have been discouraged; but the duty is laid upon us, and we shall have power to meet it, even if the people of Porto Rico and other depressed races come upon us through no responsibility of our own. God will give us means, and resources, and power, and, I trust, faith. We have had setbacks before. We must meet these faults in the administration, and insist on Civil Service Reform, and we shall get it.

Another point in regard to the Leech Lake trouble. I read in the papers in my own home that the trouble arose from difficulty in arresting drunken men. The trouble there is not a new thing. I was counseling with these Indians twenty-five years ago, and stayed with them night and day. They were a discontented band of Indians then, and had reason to be. Their land was taken from them by false pretence. They were lied to. They told me twenty-five years ago that the white men had lied to them, and they were dissatisfied about it. Wrong upon wrong has been heaped upon that little band of Indians. Their means were taken from them, and they had to leave their homes. They love their homes as we do. They have been persistently wronged.

Miss DAWSON.—Some things that have been said have come home to me. I want to confirm what General Howard has said about reservation and non-reservation schools, both being needed. We cannot do without them both. The education of the Indian people and Christianization should go hand in hand. The education is one-sided when the Christian work is neglected. In regard to children being sent East: I worked three years to get the consent of parents to get twenty young people sent East. The agents discouraged them from going. I believe that as long as Government officials act as guardians to our people, agents and employees

should encourage the children to go East when they are prepared, and after they are seventeen or eighteen they should go to school where they choose, if they are fitted.

Dr. WOODBURY.—After all, you have to depend on the personal touch and personal sympathy, the hand-to-hand work in the homes of these Indians. If nothing else had come from this Mohonk Conference but the sending of the \$3,000 last year to Thomas Riggs, it would be a splendid thing. I have driven for hundreds of miles with him through those Indian encampments, and it was an inspiration to see how these people believed in that man. Say what you please about the stupidity of the Indian, they know a man when they see him, and they stand by the man whom they have proved. After some military difficulty, when the Indians made a claim for their ponies, they did not dare to trust the book with the Government employees, but they journeyed hundreds of miles to Thomas Riggs and said, "You take the book; you are a just man; we know you will count right;" and he did it. The Oahe work is going on, the great work at Santee, that great school which you are carrying on to educate and train the leaders of these people in the hands of Alfred Riggs. We are doing all that we can to support him. Very large inspiration has come up there by putting down an artesian well. The well more than doubles the economic value of the plant, and furnishes means of training agriculturally the young men who need this training.

In Alaska the work is going on. The heroic service of Mr. Lopp, journeying with reindeers, is already known. He wrote me that his young Alaska Christian Endeavorers were praying for him, and he felt sure that the perilous journey would come out successfully because of those prayers.

The Business Committee reported through the chairman, Dr. Lyman Abbott, the platform of the Conference, and moved its adoption.

It was seconded by General Morgan.

An hour's discussion of the platform followed, when it was unanimously adopted. For convenience of reference, the platform is printed at the beginning of this volume.

Sixth Session.

Friday Night, October 14.

The Conference was called to order at 8 P. M. by the Chair. The following committee was announced: Dr. Lyman Abbott, Gen. E. Whittlesey, Hon. Darwin E. James, General T. J. Morgan, Dr. William Hayes Ward, Mr. Frank Wood, with the Chairman of the Conference for Chairman.

This Committee was appointed by vote of the Conference to prepare during the next year a scheme to carry out the policy outlined in the platform and appeal, and to propose it to the next Conference for its action; and that the Committee be also authorized to gather, in the interim before the next Conference, specific facts concerning the defects and abuses in Indian administration, and in behalf of this Conference, in their discretion, to present them to Congress, to the Executive, and to the Press.

After singing by Mrs. Hector Hall, a poem founded on a Mo-honk legend was recited by Miss Edna Dean Proctor.

Mr. SMILEY.—The legend on which this beautiful poem is based has always been accepted in this region. It is believed that a young woman did plunge off the cliff and was drowned in the lake, more than two hundred years ago. The story was taken from the Indians.

Mrs. Roe, of Oklahoma, was invited to speak.

Mrs. ROE.—I come before you as a messenger; as one fallen back from the lonely skirmish line upon the main army. It gives me deep comfort to realize the force that is behind us. Face to face with actual problems which have been here discussed, the thought was borne in upon my heart, put there by God himself, that I should tell you some of the difficulties which press upon us in the work in which we are engaged.

From the windows of my happy home I look out on Indian womanhood, and I cannot express to you the feeling of pain and sympathy which fills my heart at some of the scenes which pass so close to me. I think if a plan that I have in mind could be carried out, we could make more rapid advance in the work among the women. Between our parsonage and the church of which my husband is pastor there is a well of pure, sweet water,—the gift of God to us and to our people.

Right opposite that well I hope, before the snow flies, to see a little house built. It should be, as nearly as possible, like those the Indians build for themselves; one that would not be beyond the reach of an ambitious Indian family. I would like to have one room with a stone fireplace mainly for the use of the men, and when the terrible storms come down, and the women and babies are suffering, there they could all take refuge. It might also be made a center of social life, for in trying to get rid of the ghost and sun dances, we must give them something better. At the other end of this house I would like to have a large room for the Indian women, with a good cooking stove, a sewing machine, and laundry with simple facilities, so that they can be taught these various things. It has been said that when the girls leave the Eastern schools, and return to us, they go back to barbarism. Yes; why not? They know how to make bread, sew on the machine, and wash their clothes, but they have no appliances, not even good water. We ought not to blame them if, when they come back,—young girls accustomed to the life of the Eastern schools, and are forced to enter the dirty tepee,—they go back to the old life. In a house like this we should gather a nucleus for women's work. I could collect the women together every two weeks, could give them lessons in the better care of their children, and, perhaps, break up the terrible habit, which still exists, of plunging their babies into the water through the ice, in order that they may render them more hardy. They cannot be reached unless they have such a place. It could be made a model home, kept clean by the women, and warm by the men. It will cost little to run it after the building is there. It would stand for years, representing to those women what a home should be. Returned students could be gathered there. Evening prayers could be held there. Without this home it seems to me as if I could not go back to face the work. It seems to me that such a house could stand between the Government school and the camp life, and, little by little, the women could be shown what it is to have a home, a refuge, and a friend to meet them. I put the suggestion before you hoping that some of you will give it at least an earnest thought.

Below us, on the Kiowa Reservation, there is a beautiful young woman from Philadelphia. She went out and settled there, and has done marvelous work. She told me that not long ago they were about ready to prepare for an Indian camp meeting, and as the people had to be fed, she asked them to do what they could to earn something to lessen the expense. There were two Indian women there who never had any money, and who knew nothing of the luxury of giving. They got a farm wagon and some Indian ponies and drove mile upon mile all over those prairies, picking up the bones of the cattle that had died in the winter storms. They filled their wagon, drove sixty miles to the railroad, and sold them for three dollars; then drove sixty miles back again, and with joy upon their faces they came to this lady and gave not one tenth, but the whole, to carry on the work of the Master among

their own people. These Indian women will help themselves if we will give them a chance.

Mr. SMILEY.—What would such a building cost?

Mrs. ROE.—I have laid the matter before contractors, and they think that in our country it could be put up for seven hundred dollars. If a tank and windmill could be erected, and the water carried from the well to bath rooms, it would bring the cost up to one thousand dollars. Seven hundred dollars, however, would put it into operation.

Mr. SMILEY.—There is food for reflection.

Bishop Gray, of Florida, was next introduced.

Bishop GRAY.—It gives me great pleasure to stand here and see so many friends of the Indian. When the apostles went out, Jesus told them to “go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.” So I feel that no minister of Christ has a right to leave out any class of people who may come within his influence. I felt that in my early ministry, when I determined that I would do what I could among the colored people around me, for I lived in Tennessee, and my work was there. I believe I built the first school for colored people in that part of the State after the Civil War. I worked for those people as diligently as for the whites of my parish; and when the vestry said to me, you are wasting your time,—you will never succeed in doing anything to help them, I said, I feel it my duty to do what I can; it is mine to work, and to leave the results with God. So when called to be bishop of Southern Florida, and I found a great number of classes of people with whom I must come in contact, not only the white people, but Cubans, and colored people, and Indians, I was very anxious to do something with regard to the Indians. I met about fifty of them in some of my visits, and I was deliberating where I could best begin work among them, and how I could best begin; and I believe just as firmly as I believe that the sun will rise to-morrow that God answered my question, for I received a letter from Mrs. Quinton, asking me to take charge of the mission that the Women’s National Indian Association had begun in Southern Florida. By the time I reached Orlando it was June, and though it was a dangerous time to go in that region, I went. I found there those workers, Dr. Brecht and his wife. I said, this is the place for me to begin my mission. I believe God opened the way, and it was started with the understanding that Mrs. Brecht should continue as missionary until I could have my own introduced. A wise provision it turned out to be.

Afterwards a young man came to me and said: “I want to devote myself to work among the Indians. My wife is of the same opinion. We want to give our lives to the Indians. Will you accept us?” I did accept them, and he and his wife are working among them still. There have been difficulties and trials. The Indians are suspicious. They have no land secured to them yet. They

never had a reservation. The history of that tribe is interesting. The United States Government set to work to overcome them, and found it a much more difficult task than was imagined. Seven years of war dragged along, and even then they were not annihilated. Those that were left the Government determined to put in Arkansas and the Indian Territory. They called in consultation some of the leading Indians. After some difficulties a part of the tribe were carried off to Arkansas and Indian Territory, and the remnant found refuge in the everglades and swamps, and the United States troops never could capture them. Finally the effort was discontinued, and they were allowed to remain without any agreement or understanding whatever. So there they are, with no reservation and no standing ground. That little remnant numbered, so near as we can find out, about three hundred and eighteen; it is now supposed to number about six hundred. They are divided into three groups: one on the west toward the Cypress Swamp, another west of Fort Pierce, and one near Lake Worth. The mission is on the west side. I have not seen my work grow sufficiently to undertake anything with the other portions. I want to say with regard to these missionaries that they are thoroughly consecrated. No matter what the trials, the difficulties, the discouragements, they are persevering. The first time I made a visitation after Mrs. Gibbs's arrival at Immokalee it was a very wet season, and we drove for three days, almost all of the time, through water. Upon the evening of the first day we had a guide on horseback, and as it grew late he said, "Bishop, I think I had better try to find a camping place." He found a hummock, where he made our camp fire and spread palmetto leaves on the ground. Supper was prepared over the fire, and, rolled up in blankets, we lay on little pieces of oilcloth for the night, the plucky little woman lying down beside her husband on the wet ground. That was the experience she had for several nights, and that is the kind of spirit she has been showing ever since. When she and her husband found that it would be a great deal better to live down there in the everglades, in the midst of the Indians, they tried to live in a little shack very much exposed, and poor Mrs. Gibbs was taken with a violent attack of fever. We are now building a cottage for them, and I have succeeded in getting a whole section of land. I say land; it is land and water, the larger part water. It is on an island. I hope that the missionaries are now living in it. I had a service there, where I had twenty-nine men, women, and children,—the largest ever gathered together at one time. They enjoyed the singing. Larger numbers have assembled since that time.

With regard to work among the Indians, we have had the trouble that the Government did not begin right. We think the Indians ought to have been made citizens in the beginning. If they had been compelled to be citizens, and not treated as if they were foreign people, it would have been better. Now we must labor to bring them up to the high standard of Christian citizenship. They must have schools and Christianity, and must be taught to become

good citizens. I hope if the Government gives them land it will secure it to them, so that they shall not be cheated out of it, or have it disposed of unwisely. Our mission is to them as it is to others, "to every creature."

MR. WARNER VAN NORDEN.—It is my pleasant duty to offer a set of resolutions, on which I am quite confident there will be no negative vote. We look back, as we have met here in conference, to many years of earnest work for the cause which we are advocating. When we began the work people ridiculed the effort, and said it was a good deal like the Lord Chief Justice's description of Franklin's hunt in a dark room for a black cat that was not there. They said we were like the old New England Puritans, who passed two resolutions: first, that the saints should rule the earth. Resolved, second, that we are the saints. The attempt was also made to belittle the Indians' wrongs—to say that they had been exaggerated. But we have found that these wrongs were not exaggerated. We have found that where there is good work to do there are good people to do it. Not only that, but they will overcome discouragement. I believe this work will go on as long as Mr. Smiley lives, and will not end until the end is reached.

I have become familiar with many of the charming places of Mohonk which Miss Prescott has so eloquently described,—these walks, and nooks, and corners, where often there is room for only two. Some years ago I was traveling in Norway, and among other things I saw a sign that read, "We have many things here that are see-worthy." So Mr. Smiley has many see-worthy things, and it has been my experience that yonder "Sky-top" is less unchangeable than the generosity, the personal hospitality, the pleasant friendship, and the loving-kindness of our hosts. It is, therefore, with peculiar pleasure that I offer these resolutions:—

The members of the Sixteenth Annual Lake Mohonk Indian Conference offer to our host and hostess, Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley, our sincere congratulations on that prosperity, health, and benevolent disposition that prompts and enables them to convene year by year these delightful and helpful gatherings.

They have their exceeding great reward, not in our perishing vote of thanks, but in the imperishable results already attained, and in the prospect of greater good yet to come.

Through these conferences Lake Mohonk has become a national synonym for princely hospitality, genial good fellowship, practical philanthropy, and the application of good sense to the affairs of government. The Indian has been lifted from outlawry, and crowned with citizenship. A century of dishonor is being succeeded by a century of justice and generosity, and there has been fostered a lofty ideal of national treatment of unfortunate races that may be largely influential in guiding the Republic in the new and perplexing problems that loom ominously in our horizon.

May we all go down from these delectable mountains better fitted to resume in private and public life our burdens and our privileges.

Rev. GEORGE E. HERR, D.D.—A friend remarked at supper to-night that he had had the opportunity of visiting all the principal palaces of Europe, but there was not a prince or potentate in the world who had it within his power at once, without great preparation, to entertain such a great company with such gracious hospitality as Mr. and Mrs. Smiley have tendered to us. We have all of us read the descriptions of Sir Walter Scott and the great baronial feasts in Scotland, but, as a matter of fact, I doubt if there is a baronial hall in Scotland that compares in spaciousness with the room in which we sat at supper to-night. And I very much doubt if Sir Walter, in his wildest flights of imagination, ever conceived of such meals as we have enjoyed. The fact is that Mr. and Mrs. Smiley are the only persons probably in the wide world who have it in their power to tender such hospitality as we have enjoyed. In seconding this motion I express to our host the sentiments of every guest here: we say that we have not only enjoyed it, but are grateful for it.

What a fine thing it is for a man and woman to link themselves with the fortunes of a great reform. The impulses, the ambitions, the moral enthusiasm that have been carried into this philanthropy have flowed from this place. Why, the room in which we are gathered to-night is one of the shrines of the American Continent. It is a mount of transfiguration, from which people have gone down to engage in larger and more consecrated service for the welfare of their fellow-men.

Not only this, but what a providence it is that for twelve or thirteen years in the discussions of these great themes there should have been enunciated those principles which our nation most needs to-day. Who could have imagined a year ago that it would be the fortune of the American people, whether they liked it or not, to take up the vast problem of dealing with the depressed races of the world. Yet here in this room, I undertake to say, have been discussed and expounded the principles to which the statesmen of the present and of the future must revert time and again, if we are to have any wise solution of the great problems that confront our people. We have been building better than we knew. We have been laying plans and enunciating principles that are to have a larger recognition in the thought and life of the American people within the next three months than they have had in the dozen years that have gone before. So in seconding this motion, I second it not only as an expression of our grateful feeling for this hospitality, but with the feeling that here has been rendered a larger service to the cause of our common humanity than we could have dreamed.

Rev. William E. Barton, D.D., Pastor of the Shawmut Congregational Church, in Boston, spoke in substance as follows:—

Mr. President, and Friends of the Indian.—I rise to second these resolutions. If there were need, I would do so as a friend of the Indian. But the Indian has friends enough here, and I

speak as the representative and friend of another race which sometimes has need of a friend. I appear as a friend of the white man.

We have an Indian problem, and a serious one. It is a problem as old as the progress of the human race. It is the problem which ever meets civilization where it confronts savagery,—to be loyal to its duty to press civilization to the utmost limit of human possibility, and also to conserve, so far as it may, the rights and feelings of the individual whose system it opposes. There is a white man's problem as well as an Indian problem. And the logic of the progress of civilization is that the Indian problem itself becomes a problem for the white man, already burdened with problems of his own. Doubly burdened, the white man sometimes needs the sympathy of a body like this.

I admire the sympathy of a body of this kind for the under dog; a sympathy which seems all the more ready when the upper dog is our own. It is a sympathy which feels a peculiar virtue in self-condemnation, and which prompts us to take sides with the unfortunate and the oppressed everywhere, even though we condemn ourselves and our own institutions. But the white man's friend may of right say a word for the white man.

Let me say, as the friend of the white man,—and all the time admitting that, if there were need, I might also say some counterbalancing truths which have been uttered here so often and so well that they may now be taken for granted,—that some of the arguments of the friends of the Indian may seem to the white man's friend a trifle far-fetched. For instance, there is this perpetual talk about the right of the Indian to the land. I am not quite ready to concede the right of the savage to more land than a civilized man can use for the purposes of civilization. What gave him that right? He was born here; so was I. I question whether the fact that his ancestors were born here first entitles him to the land in fee simple. For aught I know, I had as good right to be born here as he, and being here have as good right to the land, and a better right if I use the land for some good purpose.

I sympathize with the effort of the white man to atone in some way for the fact that he has the land which the Indian once had. I am told that the gate of a cemetery at Buffalo has a bronze statue of Red Jacket, welcoming the white man, I suppose, to the happy hunting ground. It is the only territory into which he ever welcomed the white man. I remember with deep sympathy his

“Love for his land as if she were his daughter;”

and I also remember his

“Hatred of missionaries and cold water!”

I remember those pathetic incidents in his career, but I also remember that in part those pathetic incidents were inherent in the nature of the struggle of civilization onward. And I remember that, however bad the white man may be,—the white man whom the fierce competition of civilized life has pressed to the frontier, where he stands confronting, as allied opponents, civilization to the

eastward and the savage to the westward,—bad as that man may be or become, grasping and seared of conscience, and prone to take advantage of whatever superiority he may find within himself that enables him to prevail against either of his opponents,—I remember that the savage is no saint, much as he may look it when seen under the halo that gathers on this hilltop. Again I remember the saintly look of Red Jacket:—

“Who will believe that, with a smile whose blessing
Would, like a patriarch’s, soothe a dying hour,
With voice as low, as gentle, as caressing,
As e’er won maiden’s lips in moonlit bower;

“With look, like patient Job’s, eschewing evil,
With motions graceful as a bird in air,—
Thou art in sober truth the veriest devil
That e’er clutched fingers in a captive’s hair!

“That in thy breast there lurks a poison fountain,
Deadlier than that where bathes the Upas tree;
And in thy wrath a nursing cat-o’-mountain
Is calm as her babe’s sleep, compared with thee!”

My friends, this country has not room between the shores of its two great oceans for one single savage. A thousand years from now it will be said that the clashing of civilization against savagery was inevitable if we did our duty in our generation. It is right that civilization should succeed, and we must never allow our sentimentalism to overlook the fact that civilization has a right to our sympathies. The land, every acre of it, belongs to civilization. Leaving the individual out of the question, savagery has no rights to the soil which civilization can respect.

I have heard with deep sympathy and with indignation the story of the wrongs of the Pillager Indians. Let no word that I say be understood as condoning those wrongs. But, my friends, when I consider the opportunity for the commission of such wrongs, an opportunity inherent in a badly devised effort to pension an inferior and savage race, I can only wish I had heard no stories of worse wrong than that the Indian has suffered at the hands of the white man. For, what was the Government to do? When it had bought that land in good faith to be settled by a friendly tribe, and that tribe refused to settle there, what should it do? Preserve that land forever against the encroachments of civilization? That was impossible. The land had to be sold, and ought to have been sold, and the Government could not guarantee that every settler should be a saint. No doubt the Indian thought it bad faith. No doubt one administration forgot some promises of a preceding one. No doubt the Indian failed to understand our intricate system of political changes. I do not see how we can make him understand till, as a free citizen, he bears a share in our own problems of citizenship.

And should we have paid him, above the original price of the land, its value as determined by the advance of civilization? I am not sure but these repeated revaluations were a well-meant

supererogation. Who gave that land its value? The Indian? No. It was the white man's railroads and sawmills that made that timber worth revaluation. I am sorry that white men have squandered so much of it. I blame them for it. But I blame them as the friend of the white man, for it was the sweat of toiling civilization, a sweat mingled with drops of blood, that gave that pine timber its value.

We talk of the Indian's right to land, confusing it with our own right gained, not by mere antecedent occupancy, but by improvement. The occupation of the land by the Indian, though it lasted for ages, did not push forward the civilization of the world. The white man's right to the soil inheres in the assumed fact that possession with him means improvement, means contribution to the general good. I am inclined to think that we have long since overpaid the Indian for the land which his fathers possessed, if the value be determined by any fair estimate of the worth of land to a savage. It takes few acres to support a civilized man. It takes many hundreds of acres to support a savage, and in that ratio land values diminish as you recede into savagery. I believe that on the score of land the ledger may be closed.

And have we done little for the Indian's progress in civilization? How much do we give a year for Indian schools? The Government pays \$3,200,000, and churches and individuals must make it up to nearly or quite \$4,000,000. That, on the basis of an enrollment of 24,000 and an attendance of 18,000, is \$166.67 *per capita* for the children enrolled, and \$222 for the children who attend. How do you think the white man in Montana or New Mexico would like it if the Indian should pay \$200 per annum for the education of the white child? My friends, the amount which we spend for the education of the Indian is simply enormous. Only the fact that the Indians are few and the white men many makes it less than an intolerable burden which we take upon our shoulders in their behalf. Why, in Boston, noted for its liberality in the way of public schools, there is an expenditure, I think, of \$27.10 per child.* That is what we count a large sum when we pay it for our own children, we who are bearing the burdens of civilization, and whose children are to be tax-paying citizens. But for the savage we pay this enormous sum.

And here is your white man on the outer edge of civilization, who must buy his land from the Government and pay a tax on every improvement which he makes; and besides this he pays a poll tax of \$2, and he receives for the education of his child, and that out of his own earnings, possibly \$5 or \$6 per child; but the nearly \$8,000,000 we pay to the Indians makes a poll tax paid to

*Dr. Barton evidently did not understand that, in view of the Indian's condition and environment, Indian schools, to have any efficiency, must necessarily be boarding schools, giving not only tuition, but board, lodging, and clothing. This makes the *per capita* cost larger than the public schools, where the only expense is for tuition.

them of \$32 for every man, woman, and child, and an amount for their schools which bears no just ratio to that which the settler has for his own children.

Do you realize what we could do if we had such a sum of money to expend in uplifting our other belated populations? In the mountains of Tennessee and Kentucky, and adjacent States, an inland empire, we have 3,000,000 white people, who constitute a problem to civilization. Progress must go in there, and it finds obstacles, but not the deadly scalping knife. And we owe a debt to these people not less sacred than that we owe to the Indian. There are twelve times as many of them as of the Indians, and they struggle along, striving for education on a *per capita*, to which they contribute, from their own poverty, of \$1.56 or \$1.63, or possibly \$2.00. Give me the amount of money which we spend for the Indian, and let me take it there, and I will make it go twelve times as far, and have twice as much on an average to show for it in the case of each child enrolled. Two dollars for the child of our white brother, who put his life in peril and saved our nation in the dark days of the war, sending into our Union armies 150,000 loyal troops. We give his child \$2, and make him contribute toward it, and we give to the child of the savage a hundred times as much, and talk of the wrongs which we inflict upon the Indian!

And we have wronged him. We have given him too much. He needs not more land, but less, and needs to be put upon his land, and allowed to get very hungry if he will not work it. It is better that some lazy Indians should starve because they will not work, than that we should bear perpetually this burden, intolerable to us and demoralizing to them.

Not in this fashion have conquering races been wont to treat the races whom they have subdued. Tell me,—you have read history,—did you ever read of a nation that conquered another nation and did for it, either absolutely or relatively, what this nation has done for the Indian? Of whom have the nations of the earth demanded tribute—of their own children or of strangers? Of strangers, surely, and have collected from the conquered indemnities and ransoms that have burst out their own treasuries. And their own children have gone free. But we have robbed our own children that we might heap upon the children of the stranger schools which he does not attend; houses in which he stables his ponies, while he lives in the teepee; plows that rust without the turning of a furrow, while he gathers his blanket about him and posts off to the agency for his rations. And we have fed him, pricked in our conscience, the while, because we are doing so little for the Indian. If the Indian will match what we have done for him by exertion in his own behalf, we shall speedily be rid of the Indian problem.

Why do we spend so much time talking about the Indian problem? It is infinitesimal. Here are a quarter million savages. That is a trivial problem. At the close of the Civil War we took sixteen times as many savages into our population as citizens in a

single day. We have not solved that problem, but we should feel quite comfortable if it were only one sixteenth as large as it is. We take in a quarter of a million savages from other countries every now and then, and while they are a problem for a little while, they are soon naturalized and running for office, and we are soon ready for another quarter million. The root of this Indian problem is in the fact that we have been too willing to assume that the savage has rights as a savage, which may stand against the rights of civilization as a system. But he has no such rights as a savage. Whatever rights he has are his rights as a man. We are morally bound to exterminate the savage. And every time we destroy a savage we are bound, if possible, to save the man. And the spelling book is cheaper and usually more effective than the shotgun.

And if the Indian allows himself to become exterminated? I shall be sorry; but the fact that any one individual or race does a diminishing part of the work of populating the world, may not be wholly an evil. People will be born, and in the end the races most fit will perpetuate the race. I would have a civilization with rigor, based on the good, sound precept that if a man will not work, neither shall he eat. And if that means extermination, it shall be the Indian's fault, and not that of the white man.

But we do owe the Indian something. We owe him a fighting chance for life. We owe him the opportunity to be a man. We owe him a foothold on the earth, secure and inalienable. We owe to him that our sacred promises with him shall be kept. We owe to him to make such promises as we may keep, and promises that are grounded, not on his assumed rights as a savage, but on our manifest duty to make him civilized. We owe to him that he shall have opportunity to realize the hopes, and ambitions, and aspirations of manhood. We owe him ground for a reasonable hope for himself and his posterity. Above all, we owe him this, that his first contact with civilization shall be uplifting, and not such as to increase his degradation. We owe to him that he shall share the blessings and the burdens of our civilized life. We owe him the gospel, not simply as a theory of living, but as illustrated in our living. And as a friend of the white man, I may add, we owe to the white man that we shall perform all these sacred obligations.

Yes, we owe a debt to the white man, and as his friend I claim a right to demand it. We owe it to the white man that we shall purify our civil service; that we shall have done with this abnormal and mischievous reservation system; that we shall take this whole system out of politics, and put it on a basis where politics can never touch it.

All these things which I desire as a friend of the white man I believe you also desire as friends of the Indian. What this Conference desires for the Indian's sake I also desire for the sake of the white man, for economy, for purity, for righteous government, and

for the progress of civilization into every nook and cranny of our land from Plymouth Rock to Puget Sound. And so, as a friend of the white man, I second the resolutions.

The resolution of thanks was passed unanimously by a rising vote.

Mr. SMILEY.—I want to say a few words in response to the generous resolutions and the flattering remarks. They give my wife and myself much more credit than is due us. We have the opportunity of doing what we have done, and we like to do it, and that is all there is of it. Don't you all do just the same thing at home? That is all we do. Nothing in the year gives me more satisfaction than your coming up here to discuss this cause.

A word to strangers here. They must not go away thinking that there is no bright side to this; that the Indians are a very-much-abused people, and that the evils of the spoils system are confined to the Indians. It is no such thing. The spoils system permeates everything in this country. The old Romans used to say that if a general could make a breach in the wall big enough to admit a bag of gold he could take the city. Men love money. That is the trouble with the Indian service. Men clamor for office, and they get the recommendations of respectable men when they are totally unfit for Government service. Members of Congress are not selected because they are the best men, but because they serve a political end. Once in a while there is an exception. S. J. Barrows is a splendid exception; he has just been renominated, and he was selected on account of his great merit; but, as a rule, they are selected by a political party because they have served that party, not because they can serve the whole country well. The Indian service is no worse than any other part of the service. The vice of patronage prevails all over the country.

It has been said that the Indians are an abused people. They are abused, it is true, but there never, in the history of the world, was a conquered people treated so generously as the American Indians. See the amount of money expended for them,—three millions and a quarter for education alone! That is not a bit too much, but it is a wonderfully grand thing on the part of the United States to do it. I say this for the benefit of those who are here for the first time. I hope that before many years this whole Indian population will be absorbed into the general civilization of the country, and the Indians will no longer be either coddled or pauperized by being shut up on reservations, and having no chance to work out their own salvation. The best way is to throw them out and make them swim in deep water—or drown. That is my solution of the question. There would be a good deal of hardship with it, but it would be the best thing in the end.

We are going to have some more conferences, and we hope to see you here, ready to meet the new problems which will surely come up during the present year. And when you are at home do all you can to make people believe that the Indians are worth saving, and that we are going to save them, and that they must help.

Mrs. E. S. Mead, President of Mt. Holyoke College, was asked to speak. After a few words of gratitude for the hospitality received at Mohonk, Mrs. Mead spoke as follows:—

Mrs. MEAD.—I have long had a deep interest in the Indian problem. Seven generations ago my seventh grandfather, pastor of the church in the old town of Deerfield, Mass., was driven from his home with his family and carried captive to Canada by the Indians, who also massacred many of the inhabitants of the little village. His babe was killed before the eyes of her parents, and soon after his wife was drowned as they were fording the river. After months of captivity he was allowed to return home with the remaining members of his family; but his little daughter, eleven years old, refused to leave her captor, and finally married an Indian chief. The burden of desire for the salvation of the Indians that rested on that father's heart rests to-day on the hearts of his descendants. Amid the horrors of that awful massacre I think I hear him say, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do." I have been intensely interested in the Indian home question, because it is the woman that makes the home and exalts the family.

Such an assembly as this, representing the finest culture, the highest education, the largest business capacity, the broadest legal learning and sound statesmanship, sitting in council for days together considering the question of ameliorating the condition of the Indians, is a noble illustration of the influence of the Christian home, of the mother in the home. England has tried the experiment in India of educating the East-Indian man, but with little effect upon the social condition of the race. This university training of men has not changed the degraded condition of the women of India. They are still only the toy or slave of the husband. Their ignorance shuts them out from the possibility of any true companionship with intelligence, or sympathy with the broad interests of humanity. They are not fitted to teach their children, nor can they win the respect of their husbands or sons. No social life can rise higher than the condition of the women forming its society.

Until we reach the Indian woman in her tepee, until we rouse her æsthetic and moral nature, and develop her mental power, we shall never have an Indian civilization worthy of the name of humanity.

The testimony given by one of the teachers of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute as to the mental value of certain kinds of work, is both interesting and instructive. He says that when the colored students enter the Institute, the boys show a natural interest in the study of mathematics, while the girls have little mathematical ability; but after the girls are taught to sew and become expert in the use of the needle, they become interested in arithmetic and algebra, and often outstrip the boys in winning the mathematical prizes. I am glad that the needle and bobbin have gone into the Indian home, and that the women have learned to make this beautiful lace that Miss Carter has shown us. This lace making will help to rouse these Indian women to higher living.

It will train them to concentrate their thought; it will develop their æsthetic sense; it will awaken a consciousness of ability they have never dreamed of possessing. They have already formed habits of neatness that must in time transform the hut into a pleasant home. No doubt some marked effect uplifting the home and social life will follow this elementary and practical education, but it may not be seen at once. We must be patient with ourselves and the Government.

It took the State of Massachusetts long years to recognize the claims of her daughters for a common-school education. Harvard College had been established a century before girls were admitted to her public schools. It was against the law written on her statute book "to use public money for the schooling of girls," and the framers of this law were our Puritan fathers!

Though more than two hundred years have passed away since our fathers first struggled with the Indian question,—how best to civilize and Christianize the Indians; how to make them safe and good neighbors,—and though the problem has broadened into a national one, and we are not yet very near its solution, we need not be discouraged. History teaches us to be patient, yet always alert to take advantage of every opportunity for securing the desired result. It seems to me the opportunity of the hour is the eagerness of the Indian women for work, their readiness to learn, their desire to earn money; and through this new impulse will come a desire for more knowledge and for better homes. I believe the Christian education of the woman in the home is the only solution of the Indian problem.

Mr. Smiley invited those who wished to contribute to the building of the house desired by Mrs. Roe to subscribe at once. The sum necessary, about a thousand dollars, was subscribed within a few minutes.

Mrs. WALTER C. ROE.—My dear friends, I cannot express to you the gratitude I feel,—not only my own gratitude but that of the dear women I represent. When I came away they said, "O sister, when you are far away you must speak strong for us." I do not know whether I spoke strong or not, but surely God must have spoken to your hearts, and I thank you for your generosity and for the kindness which you have shown not only to these women, but to me, whose cup of happiness you have filled to overflowing. I hope and trust that Mohonk Lodge will be in operation before the snow flies.

The last address of the evening was given by Rev. Edgerton Young. Mr. Young's address consisted chiefly of interesting anecdotes of his early life as a missionary. It is omitted here for lack of space.

A unanimous vote of thanks to the presiding officer was passed, and after the singing of "God be with us till we meet again," the Conference adjourned.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

- ABBOTT, REV. DR. LYMAN and MRS., *The Outlook*, Brooklyn, N. Y.
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- WISTAR, MR. E. M. and MRS., Friends Orthodox Mission Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
- WOOD, MR. FRANK and MRS., Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.
- WOODBURY, REV. DR. E. P., Corresponding Secretary American Missionary Association, New York.
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
OF
FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN

1899

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

1900

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PREFACE.

Obedient to the generous call of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference met for the seventeenth time upon the beautiful mountain. To the sincere regret of every one Mrs. Smiley, whose presence is a perpetual benediction, was not well enough to attend the meetings. The sessions lasted through October 11, 12 and 13, 1899. A large gathering was present, including the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and many workers from the field. The weather was perfect and the spirit of the meeting was admirable. Instead of formulating a platform, as has been the rule heretofore, the report of a special committee appointed last year, Mr. Philip C. Garrett chairman, was unanimously adopted, and at the conclusion of the meeting several paragraphs were added. These declarations will be found on page 88.

It is interesting to note that one point on which much stress was laid, the desirability of forbidding Indians who are under the control of the United States to take part in "Wild West Shows," has been met by the recent decision of the Department to allow no more Indians to leave the reservations for this purpose.

The report of the proceedings of the Conference has been abridged, and at the request of two or three persons their remarks have been omitted entirely.

One copy at least of this Report is sent to each subscriber to the printing fund. Applications for extra copies should be made to Mr. A. K. Smiley, Lake Mohonk, Ulster Co., New York.

I. C. B.

Boston, December, 1899.

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THE SEVENTEENTH LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 11, 1899.

The Seventeenth Annual Lake Mohonk Indian Conference was called to order at 10 A. M. Wednesday, October 11, 1899, by Mr. A. K. Smiley, the host of the occasion. Prayer was offered by Dr. Theodore Cuyler.

Mr. SMILEY.—I cannot begin to tell you, my friends, the pleasure it gives me to welcome you here. Every year I think I appreciate more the gathering of persons interested in the salvation of the Indian; and although the problems are being slowly, though surely, solved, there is still a great deal of work to be done. Sometimes I think we shall soon reach the end; and then I see so many things that call for the care of thoughtful men that the need of these gatherings is plain. We have many of the leaders here to-day,—three or four of them who have been in charge of the Indians for the last twenty years,—men of large experience. We have besides men and women from the field and some of the old war horses for the Executive Committee. So we have the promise of a good Conference, and I hope that everything will work smoothly. We have always managed to live together in love, and to speak our minds freely, and finally settle down to a good unanimous conclusion. I am glad to be able to tell you that Mr. Jones, the Indian Commissioner, is coming. He is a good man and wise, and will be a great addition.

Mr. Smiley then introduced Merrill E. Gates, LL.D., Secretary of the Indian Board of Commissioners, as his choice for presiding officer. Dr. Gates was unanimously elected, and at once took the chair.

On motion of Dr. Foster, Mr. J. W. Davis and Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, of Boston, and Mrs. George H. Knight, of Lakeville, Conn., were elected Secretaries.

On motion of Mr. Meserve, Mr. Frank Wood, Boston, was elected Treasurer.

On motion of Mr. Greene, Mrs. Barrows was elected Official Editor, and Mrs. Barrows, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Wood were elected a Publication Committee.

On motion of Mr. Wood, a Business Committee of nine was elected as follows: Dr. W. H. Ward, Dr. Addison P. Foster, Mr. Philip C. Garrett, Mr. Darwin E. James, Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Mr. Herbert Welsh, Miss Anna L. Dawes, Mr. Daniel Smiley, and the President *ex officio*.

On motion of Mr. Smiley, Mr. J. Evarts Greene was chosen to act as press reporter.

Dr. Gates then made an opening address.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

BY MERRILL E. GATES, LL.D., OF WASHINGTON.

Ladies and Gentlemen.—It is a pleasure to be placed by your vote in this chair from which I can look into your faces, although I am sure that the gentlemen who for the last year or two have so ably filled this place would assure me that it is a seat which cannot be occupied without a sense of anxious care and responsibility. I have learned, however, from former experience here, that the spirit of the Conference is such that you pardon oversights or errors, and that he who presides at your Conference must catch something of joy from the spirit of philanthropy and high purpose that marks this gathering.

We should be forgetful of our blessings if we did not recognize the fact that we have this year met under the manifest benediction of the autumn. Such weather! We will not follow the newspaper reporters of the week and call it "Dewey weather"—for we have been used to calling it "Mohonk Conference weather," when the golden smile of the perfect year rests on the landscape. No one has so entered into the spirit of the autumn as did Keats:—

"Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness!
Close-bosom friend of the maturing sun,
Conspiring with him how to load and bless
With fruit the vines that round the thatch-eaves run;
To bend with apples the moss'd cottage-trees,
And fill all fruits with ripeness to the core." . . .

And so the poem runs on through pictures of autumn, vivid, restful, fruitful, to the lines:—

"Where are the songs of spring? Ay, where are they?
Think not of them; thou hast thy music, too,
While barred clouds bloom the soft-dying day,
And touch the stubble plains with rosy hue."

But in this autumnal song of Keats', as in all pictures of English autumn scenery, we miss the wealth of color that delights us here, and that is in itself rich chords of music. At Oxford a year ago I had the pleasure of dining with that famous scholar, Dr. Caird, the Master of Balliol College; and after dinner we were invited to a peculiarly interesting musical entertainment in the great hall of the

college, where a skilled musician played upon the clavichord music especially composed for that instrument a century ago. It was very beautiful in its simplicity. After its stately yet simple progressions the music of Wagner, though perhaps overcolored and stormy, had a new charm of its own, by contrast—you felt its abounding richness and fullness. And so I think our autumn, with all its rich coloring, we would not be willing to exchange for the paler season of our English friends. I have never felt that the American autumn had suffered from the sentence pronounced by an English bishop who was a guest at a charming Westchester County home, near New York, in 1869. He had persistently refused to admire anything American—it was before the days when the English had begun to admire us for everything American. He was playfully challenged by his hostess as he returned from a long walk on a glorious autumn day. They were looking at the glorious coloring of the maples, and his hostess said to him, “You must admit that you have nothing like this autumn coloring in England; surely you must admire it!” The bishop drew himself up and replied, with a hesitating drawl, “Y-e-e-s, to be sure I have noticed it; but—ah—has it never occurred to you that it is—ah—just a little loud?”

As we climbed the hills yesterday the maples stood in serried ranks like the red-coated soldiers now clustering round Natal, struck silent and motionless by the remembrance that civilization demands arbitration, and not war! May they so stand until God sends peace! What a day it was yesterday, without a breath of air stirring—not breeze enough to lift a scarlet maple leaf or to move a sail on the “Shamrock!” What a benediction of the year in these golden autumn days!

THE INDIAN QUESTION INVOLVES PROBLEMS OF ETHNOLOGY,
SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS AND PHILANTHROPY.

But though we cannot forget the beauty of the Indian summer we come together in no spirit of mere enjoyment—in no mood of thoughtless gaiety. We believe in the government of a God whose will is at once beauty in the material world, and moral order in the world of will and action. We believe in the moral government of the universe; and we rejoice in the beauty of the physical earth as part of God’s ordained order. We assemble as those who have faith in Him; and believing in the reign of his holy will we delight in the beauty with which he surrounds us. But we come with earnest purpose, too. We recognize that we are not here for pleasure alone. We believe that we have a duty to the less-favored races; and in considering together the problems connected with these people we are touching almost every question of social reform and governmental administration. It is not strange that work for the Indians interests people who are accustomed to considering public questions. The questions which confront us are not simple questions. We are not dealing with one race. In dealing with the Indians we are dealing with fifty or sixty different peoples.

As I went through the Carlisle school last Sunday with Major Pratt, we found, as we questioned the boys and girls, that sixty tribes are represented there. To illustrate the truth that mere lapse of time does not solve these questions without effort and by mere juxtaposition of Indians and whites, I may say that the only boy in the entire school who could not understand Major Pratt's questions—the only one with whom we had to give up the effort to talk, after three or four attempts to make him understand—proved to be an Indian boy from New York State, an Onondaga. Not a word of English could he speak, although the white people have been all about that race for many generations. The problem is not reached by leaving them where civilization surrounds them. They must be in touch with civilization! They must be reached by the laws and the life of the nation, as are other citizens. They must come under the influence of education, and of an education which prepares the way for that knowledge of God which gives light and strength and the uplift without which you cannot make good homes or develop strong citizens.

LET AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS DO THEIR WORK FOR INDIANS.

Our discussions here are fraught with the many interests which attach to the varied problems of sociology. Questions of penology and reform come up here. Questions of scientific ethnology are involved in the tribal differences which we must consider. Fifty or sixty tribes, at various stages of progress from savagery to civilization, are before us. So keen is the interest attaching to the scientific study of certain of these phenomena of barbarism, that at times we have to meet strong opposition to the work of civilization and Christianization from intelligent men and women who wish to keep the Indians where they are, as objects of investigation and study for the ethnologist. They would keep the Zunis in their savagery and their superstition for the sake of studying those superstitions. We recognize the deep ethnological interest felt in these researches; but we remember that these Indians are human, are men and women who should be lifted up toward God, one by one. Neither for purposes of scientific study, nor to furnish positions to which friends of prominent politicians may be appointed, should such conditions of paganism and pitiable barbarism be continued and perpetuated. Too many experiments have been suggested; too many 'prentice hands have practiced upon Indians! The old scientific maxim, "*fiat experimentum in corpore vile*," seems to have prevailed; and experiments have been tried upon Indians as the *corpus vile* for too many years! They must neither be left to themselves, nor subjected to debasing conditions. But their civilization and their Christianization should go forward by the means and measures which have lifted other races: by the public school; by the invaluable schooling of property held and used, and, if needs be, *wasted*, until they learn the meaning and the value of property; by the home; by the helping voice of the missionary

and the Christian teacher; by the stern schooling of hunger if they will not work—when conditions of practicable self-support are arranged for them; by the admission to the domain of American law and order, to American public schools, American citizenship. Pauperization by the issue of rations not needed must be speedily stopped. Healthful conditions must be insisted upon, if needful, by enforced vaccination, by forcible destruction of pueblos cursed by plagues and dirt and unfit for occupation. And the incorporation of the Indians with the great body of our other citizens must be hastened, with such helps and safeguards (and only such) as shall really further the speedy winding-up of Indian life as barbarous life, the early discontinuance of a separate Indian Bureau and a peculiar Indian administration. We are for a *vanishing policy* in Indian affairs—a policy that shall press Indian peculiarities to the vanishing point, and shall speedily give to all Indians the laws, the privileges, the schools and the opportunities which are good enough for all other American citizens, and are good enough, and none too good, for Indians!

IN WHAT SPIRIT AND BY WHAT METHODS SHALL AMERICANS
DEAL WITH THE LESS FAVORED RACES?

There never was a time when our deliberations had a more far-reaching influence. We are called in these last years, by the new and expanding life of the nation, to deal with many of the less-favored races. All the evidence which we have so far given to the world as to our fitness for such work, as to our ability to deal with inferior races, is summed up in our dealings with the Negro, the Indian and the Chinaman. It would hardly become us to boast too loudly, upon this evidence, that we have been chosen as instruments to inculcate ideas of justice, and to establish social sympathy and good government among less favored nations. And yet I have entire faith that we shall do that thing. Justice and humanity and Christianity will follow the flag wherever it has gone—wherever it may go. But this cannot be the result of a public service at home or in our remote possessions, which is conducted upon the principle that our public offices are plunder, that “to the victor belong the spoils.” Never was there a time when it was so manifest that if the Republic is to live and do its work it must be by the establishment of even-handed justice, the outcome of enlightened political methods, and of Christian sympathy and forbearance, in adapting our institutions to less favored races. There must be the steady application, in the new conditions of colonial administration, of the great principles of Civil Service Reform.

OUR CIVIL SERVICE MUST BE GREATLY IMPROVED.

These principles have been so far applied to the Indian service that, when we must, we can now face a change of the party in power (as we could not formerly) without fear that the service will

be utterly ruined. Then we felt that everything gained by experience in agency, school and administration would be swept away. Now we can hold in place some of the best men and women, whatever their party. I have visited agencies this summer where there have been two to four agents within the year. We know the disastrous effect of frequent changes. The appointment of agents (above all others in the service) should be put under such regulations as to insure high moral character, good business habits, and permanent tenure for capable men, that experience may be of use to the service. The type of man too often appointed by the present system (and this is quite as true of army officers as of civilians) is such as to make hopeless all efforts at civilizing the Indians under his rule. Many good and capable agents are in the service. But these last ten years have seen too many on the list of agents who have been totally unfit for the work. Who can testify to the results of Civil Service Reform, and to its need, so wisely as we can? We must *stand* for this reform, and for a vanishing policy with regard to the agencies.

A VANISHING POLICY IN INDIAN AFFAIRS.

There has been great progress in the fifteen years since I first came to one of these Conferences at Mohonk. In many points I could see this progress in the field this last summer. I drove through several hundred miles this summer in the Indian country, sometimes going from tepee to tepee, from village to village. I talked with the Indians, and I saw what their homes, their farms and their herds are like. I can see progress in many ways. We are within sight of the end. We are for a vanishing policy. And one of the difficulties of our work lies in the fact that we justly wish to make the Indian service as good as if it were to be perpetual. We must be on our guard against measures, otherwise desirable, which would of necessity tend to perpetuate the system indefinitely. I think more highly of the effect of the goodly institutions of our average American states and counties upon the children of the Indians now living, than I do of any Indian Bureau or administration which we might build up to keep them perpetually Indians, even if good Indians. Make them Americans! The separate Indian service should soon go. It ought to disappear within ten or fifteen years. Certain treaty funds must be administered, and the schools must be cared for; but after ten or fifteen years there should be no Indian problem that cannot be managed without agents, and without much of separate machinery.

With hope and confidence let us address ourselves to the work of the Conference.

The following resolution, offered by Dr. Dunning, was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

Resolved, That this Seventeenth Lake Mohonk Indian Conference deeply regrets the absence of Mrs. Smiley, whose gracious

welcome has been to us in previous years the pleasantest experience of our annual visits. We pray for speedy and complete recovery, and assure her of our abiding sense of her noble hospitality and friendship.

By unanimous vote this resolution was telegraphed to Mrs. Smiley, at Poughkeepsie.

Mr. Smiley thanked the Conference for the kind message to his wife.

The order of business for the day was presented by Dr. Foster, of the Business Committee. The first business was the report of the committee appointed last year to look into the defects and abuses of Indian administration and report. This committee consisted of Dr. Lyman Abbott, Gen. E. Whittlesey, Hon. Darwin E. James, Gen. T. J. Morgan, Dr. W. H. Ward, Mr. Frank Wood, Mr. S. M. Brosius, and Mr. Philip C. Garrett, Chairman of the Sixteenth Conference. The report of that committee was prepared and read by Mr. Garrett.

On motion of General Eaton the report was received and the subject was thrown open for discussion. Two hours were given to the discussion, the following gentlemen taking part in it: General Eaton, Dr. Frissell, Mr. H. M. Jenkins, General Whittlesey, Mr. Herbert Welsh, Hon. Henry L. Dawes, Pres. C. F. Meserve, Mr. A. K. Smiley, Hon. Darwin E. James, Mr. Garrett, Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Mr. J. E. Greene, Pres. W. F. Slocum, Mr. E. M. Wistar, Dr. Addison P. Foster, Mr. James Talcott, Rev. W. M. Wellman, and Mr. Frank Wood.

It was then unanimously voted to recommit the report to the Standing Committee, to be reported again at a later session with the omissions and changes that had been suggested by the different speakers.

Adjourned at 1.15 P. M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Night, October 11.

The evening session was called to order at 8.15 P. M. by President Gates, who said that he had great pleasure in introducing one who had a warm heart for the Indians, and whose aims in Indian work were the same as those of the Conference,—Hon. Wm. A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Mr. Jones gave the following address.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE DURING THE YEAR.

BY HON. WM. A. JONES, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

During the summer and for the last month my absence from the office has prevented me from looking into the annual report and making an abstract of the work of the year that would interest you. But I have had some memoranda made, from which I will give you some facts; but I did not come here to enlighten you who have spent a lifetime in studying the Indian problem. I came to learn and to find out what I ought to do.

The first item is appropriations. The appropriations for 1900 are about half a million less than for 1889. Last year we did not ask for as much as we received. Appropriations, like everything else, are tainted with politics. A politician wants an Indian school built in his neighborhood. He appears before the Indian Committee and asks for an appropriation of twenty-five, fifty, and sometimes even for a hundred thousand dollars for that purpose. Some of these are honest in their requests, and have the good of the Indians at heart; but many of these appropriations are secured to gain some political prestige. Education is the only hope of the Indian. You can feed an Indian till doomsday, give him rations, keep him without work, and you will be no nearer solving the Indian problem than you are to-day.

During the year some small agencies have been placed under school superintendents, and, in my opinion, to the great advantage of the service. I am a thorough believer in that policy. I believe it is the only true policy. Those agencies now cared for in that way are the Eastern Cherokee, Grande Ronde, Hoopa, Mescalero, Puyallup, Round Valley, and Western Shoshone.

It will hardly be in good taste for me to discuss the qualifications of the Indian Agents whom we have, but I will say this without

any fear of contradiction, that as a class the superintendents of Indian schools are far better qualified to take care of the Indians than the average agent that we have.

Connected with the educational part of the work the office has 25 non-reservation schools, 76 reservation boarding schools and 142 day schools. It has had contracts for enrolling 359 pupils in 36 public schools, and 326 were thus enrolled; but the average attendance was only fifty-one per cent, which goes to prove that the effort made to get the Indian into the public schools of the country has been a failure. I presume when the policy was established it was thought that the inducement of \$10 per quarter for each child would fill the schools with Indian children; but, as I stated, the results show that only fifty-one per cent of those enrolled are in attendance.

The amount allowed for contract schools during the current year 1900 is \$59,822—fifty per cent less than last year. This is divided among 26 Catholic and 1 Protestant (Episcopal) schools. There are 18 boarding and 3 day schools that do not receive Government aid, except the issue of such clothing and rations as the children would be entitled to in their homes. All but three are supported by Protestant denominations. As you know, the Protestants refused Government aid when the policy to do away with the support of denominational schools was declared.

The enrollment in Government schools was 20,712. Of these 6,880 are in non-reservation boarding schools; in reservation boarding schools, 8,881; in day schools, 4,951.

In contract schools there are 2,510, divided as follows: Boarding schools, 2,468; day schools, 42. In public schools there are 326. In mission schools supported without Government aid are 1,079 boarding and 182 day pupils. Adding to these 393 at Hampton and Lincoln, we have a total enrolment of 25,202, with an average attendance of 20,522.

The Government schools show an increase for the year of 813 in enrollment and 553 in average attendance. In most of the private or denominational schools there is a slight decrease. These figures do not include schools among the New York Indians, nor those among the Five Civilized Tribes. A great deal of work has also been done in the way of improving school plants, the estimated value of which is three and a half million dollars.

The Indian School Institute, held at Los Angeles in connection with the National Educational Association, was unusually successful. The interest and enthusiasm shown was very gratifying.

Of the 2,562 employees in the Indian school service, 1,160 are Indians, about half being pupil assistants.

During the year 2,773 allotments have been made and reported to the Indian office, and 1,112 patents have been issued.

The agreement between the Lower Brule and Rosebud Sioux has been ratified; and the Lower Brules who removed to the Rosebud Reservation will be allowed to remain there.

The leasing of Indian allotments and of tribal lands continues

with some advantage and much disadvantage to the Indians. It has not been a success, though the leasing of tribal lands has been more successful than of individual allotments. The time limit has expired in some tribes, and they are authorized to alienate part of the land, and many have taken advantage of that privilege.

The smallpox, as you probably know, raged with unusual severity among the Moquis and other Pueblos, many dying before anything could be done for them. Some of them steadily refused help from the whites, and we were compelled to go in with force and ask the army to help us fumigate their huts in order to stamp out the disease.

Twenty-two sections have been added to the Seminole Indian lands in Florida.

The Chippewa timber land trouble is in a fair way to be settled. I think we will obtain from Congress a settlement in regard to the cutting and selling of timber and pine land which will be as satisfactory as we can expect, although it is not what we ought to receive by any means. Those people have suffered greatly, as you heard through Mr. Gilfillan last year. The estimating of timber has been suspended, and the Indians will receive approximately what they ought to have had in the first place.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

The Interior Department, under the Curtis Act, has assumed control over all educational matters among the Five Civilized Tribes, except the Seminoles. John L. Benedict of Illinois has been appointed General Superintendent of Schools in the Indian Territory, and under him a supervisor of schools for each nation,—E. G. McArthur of Minnesota for the Choctaws, Benj. S. Coppick (formerly Superintendent of the Chilocco School) for the Cherokees, Calvin Ballard of Illinois for the Creeks, John N. Simpson of Wisconsin for the Chickasaws. Their investigation has developed a deplorable state of affairs,—nepotism, incompetency of school officials and misuse of school funds, a low grade of scholarship and but little industrial training.

The Four Nations have had 24 boarding schools, including orphan asylums, and 365 neighborhood day schools. The Seminoles have two boarding and two day schools. The Chickasaw Freedmen have no share in tribal school funds, the Choctaw Freedmen only a very small share, and forty to fifty thousand white children are almost without schooling.

The agreement made by the Five Civilized Tribes Commission with the Choctaws and Chickasaws was ratified by these tribes last fall, but the agreement with the Creeks was rejected by them. Subsequently the Creeks made another agreement, and the Cherokees also finally entered into an agreement with the Commission, but neither was ratified by Congress. Consequently the Creeks and Cherokees are under the operation of the Curtis Act; the others, also, so far as it does not conflict with their agreements,

which, among other things, provides that their tribal Government shall continue eight years from March 4, 1898.

In administering Indian Territory affairs under the Curtis Act during the past year many questions have arisen and a few decisions have been made. All Indian Territory matters have been placed under the immediate supervisory control of Inspector Wright, except those under control of the Dawes Commission. A number of mining leases have been made in the Indian Territory for asphalt, coal, etc. Royalties on coal and asphalt in the Cherokee and Creek nations are now collected by the United States Agent. White residents are also taxed for the benefit of the nation for the privilege of doing business in the Territory, and to carry on their vocations. Lawyers, physicians and others have taken the ground that the imposition of a tax on their business by tribal authorities had become invalid, but a decision has been rendered against them and establishing the validity of such taxation by the tribes.

The Assistant Attorney General for the Interior Department has decided that the Dawes Commission has such exclusive jurisdiction over the question of citizenship in the Five Tribes that it may exclude or admit persons to citizenship without reference to the wish or action of the tribes themselves. The enrollment by the Commission has been decided to be subject under the Curtis Act to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. It has also been decided that Mississippi Choctaws who settle permanently in the Indian Territory may share in the common property of the nation except in the annuities.

In the preliminary allotments of land the Creeks are allowed 160 acres each, the Choctaws and Chickasaws 240 acres, and the Cherokees 80 acres. Appraisers are at work appraising the lands preliminary to allotment. Under the Act a person occupying more tribal property than would be included in a *pro-rata* share for himself, wife and children is subject to punishment.

Mr. SMILEY.—How many reservations could be given up, and how soon?

Mr. JONES.—In regard to the continuance of the Indian agencies I believe the reservation system is wrong in principle and vicious in practice, and ought to be done away with as soon as possible. In some agencies matters are somewhat complicated and it will not be practicable to do this at once, but there is no reservation that ought not to be surveyed and allotted as soon as possible. It would be an advantage to the Indian and a long step toward solving the Indian problem. But we are peculiarly situated. Although the office has advocated this for a year and a half to my knowledge, and urged the agents to persuade the Indians to accept allotments, I am sorry to say that some of the best agents are absolutely opposed to it,—why, I do not know. Some of the strongest arguments in opposition are sent in by agents; but I believe that the sooner this is done the sooner you will be able to dispense with the Indian Bureau.

Mr. SMILEY.—Why do people generally want the agencies continued?

Mr. JONES.—I do not know, but I can make a guess. I think very many in the neighborhood of the agencies want the pickings. Many cattlemen, especially in the Southwest, do not want them done away with because they pasture hundreds of thousands of head of cattle on them. As soon as the reservations are allotted they will be unable to do this.

Mr. SMILEY.—How about the employees in the Indian office?

Mr. JONES.—I believe we have as efficient a lot of employees as any Bureau in the service. I cannot believe that they want them kept in that condition in order that they may keep their positions; at least that has never developed to my knowledge.

Mr. SMILEY.—How about rations?

Mr. JONES.—On general principles I believe the issuing of rations has been a curse to the Indians, and the sooner it is done away with the better. There is no doubt but that there are many instances where it is necessary to continue this custom. Agents generally are in favor of continuing the ration system, as it makes them popular with the Indians. Not only are they in favor of issuing rations to the Indians actually residing upon the reservation, but they send in their estimates covering the entire number enrolled, very many of whom are children attending the Government non-reservation schools, where they are cared for out of another fund.

With the aid of the agents the question of rations would be comparatively easy to solve. At one time at the Pine Ridge Agency the rations had been gradually reduced to about one half of the regular issue; but during the Sioux outbreak, in order to placate the Indians, full rations were again issued, and no effort has been made since that time to cut them down.

Mr. SMILEY.—Would you have superintendents of Indian schools put in charge if the agencies were abolished?

Mr. JONES.—Some of the reservations might be too large, but I would build more schools; and if the reservation were cut up into smaller communities the superintendent of those schools could take charge each of his portion, and the result would be the best thing possible for the Indian.

Dr. CUNNINGHAM.—Are the Indians decreasing or increasing?

Mr. JONES.—We call everyone who has any Indian blood an Indian. We have hundreds and thousands who are mixed bloods. That element is increasing. The full-blood Indians in many tribes are decreasing. The Indians as a whole (those who hold relation with the Indian Bureau) are increasing, but the increase is largely in the mixed-blood element.

Major BRIGHT.—What State is there outside of New York that has Indians whom it supports?

Mr. JONES.—I do not know of any State. Iowa has turned over the jurisdiction of the Indians there to the United States Government.

The following report of a committee appointed by certain missionaries working among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians was presented by General Whittlesey.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

To the Convention of Missionaries and Others Working among Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians: The committee appointed to consider "What steps can be taken to avoid pauperizing tendencies and to prepare these Indian for the time when rations shall cease," would report as follows:—

In order to ascertain the views of others having had experience in dealing with these Cheyennes and Arapahoes, the following enquiries were made of various missionaries and Government employees.

QUESTIONS.

1. Name what, in your opinion, are the chief pauperizing tendencies in the present methods of dealing with Cheyennes and Arapahoes.

2. The remedy. What steps should be taken?

3. How soon ought rations to cease, gradually, or suddenly?

4. If gradually, how to be arranged?

5. How should the old and infirm be provided for?

6. What industries can you recommend that are (a) paying, (b) suited to Indian tastes, and (c) adapted to their condition?

7. How can these Indians be started in the industries that you recommend?

8. Any additional suggestions.

To the first question the replies received are practically unanimous that "*the chief pauperizing tendency is the method now in vogue of issuing rations to them.*"

As to the remedy, while some would discontinue rations at once except to the old and infirm, others would advocate a year of preparation,—the Indians to have clear and official warning that rations will then cease.

As to how the old and infirm should be provided for, the opinions given differ more widely: some would advocate the issuing of rations to the old and infirm; while others advocate that a "home" should be provided,—either at the agency or at some central location,—where all aged and infirm should be free to go, and be supported under the direction of Government employees.

As to industries, farming and farm stock raising are recommended generally as essential to the progress of these Indians, as is being attempted at present. Some, however, lay stress on the importance of getting these Indians started in stock raising, especially cattle, and believe that greater success can be attained by cattle raising than by any other means of self-support.

The committee believe that a radical change in the present methods is essential to any marked progress in industries of any kind. As one has said, "Cutting off the rations would supply the most powerful incentive for pursuing these industries."

The committee feel that these Indians have in reality been greatly wronged in that they have been so grossly pauperized. Under such conditions it is very difficult to make out of any person so grossly pauperized either a good citizen or a good Christian. It is very difficult to build up a noble, manly character.

The committee, therefore, recommend: First, That steps should be taken by those in authority to tallaly discontinue at an early date the present method of issuing rations, of which action due notice should be given. Second, That there should be provided at Government expense either a "home" for the aged, the infirm and the sick, where they may be cared for, or else some other means be provided for caring for them, and in which they shall be carefully guarded from imposition by other Indians. Third, That greater encouragement should be offered to these Indians by the Government to get them started in various forms of live-stock raising.

With the withdrawal of rations, the committee would suggest that the money hitherto spent for rations might for a few years be wisely expended in the purchase of supplies to start these Indians in the various forms of live-stock raising. Chickens and turkeys (and in some cases ducks and geese) could be raised by these Indians. The returns from these would be quick, while investments in cattle and hogs would yield more profitable returns. The committee urge the importance of making these Indians dependent on their own efforts, not on the gratuities of the Government, the rent money from the lease of their lands, nor the gifts from missionary societies.

Respectfully submitted,

D. A. SANFORD,
MARY E. LYONS,
J. L. KING,

Committee.

NORTHERN TRIBES AND CATTLE-HERDING.

President GATES.—I have in my hand a memorandum of the names of certain Indian chiefs and leading men with whom I attended a council at the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana last August: White Calf (the old head chief of the Blackfeet), Little Plume, Wolf Tail, Shorty Whitegrass (these three, judges of the Court of Indian Offenses); Medicine Owl (Captain of Police); Eagle Child, Cut Finger, Arrow Topknot, Dick Kipp (these four, policemen); Jim Whitecalf, Rides-to-the-door, Young Eagle, Makes-Cold-Weather, Old person, New Breast and Mad Wolf.

In the council we considered, among other things (and at the request of the Agent, Major Logan), the terms of an early treaty

by which a common hunting-ground was to be held open to several tribes for joint use, adjoining the lands set apart for the Blackfeet and Piegiens. The establishment of thriving settlements and towns upon these old hunting-grounds had led to a hope on the part of some of the members of the tribe that the Government might be held to owe the Indians some compensation for these tracts no longer of value as hunting grounds, but no longer "open" to the Indian tribes mentioned in the treaty.

While careful consideration of the language and purport of the treaty did not seem to me to warrant such hopes, the discussion of this question brought out in a most interesting way both the native force of character of these older Indians and their sense of helplessness as they faced the new conditions of a more civilized life, surrounded as they are by white settlements and white ranchmen and cattle-herders. Most interesting was the conviction of the younger and abler men that more cattle for herding should be sought by them, and less of rations and perishable supplies; and that they must steadily look to self-support by cutting and curing hay, by greater care of cattle, and by more care for the education of the young. The opinions expressed by the leading Indians at this agency and at the Fort Belknap and Fort Peck agencies, give me the strong hope that if the new agreements with these great Montana agencies are made and carried out by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in the spirit of strong pressure toward education and self-support (in place of the pauperization of whole tribes by issuing rations, which put a premium upon laziness), we shall see a marked advance among these Northern Indians, hitherto slow in their march toward civilization. A climate and a soil unfit for agriculture (with snow lying on the agency gardens sometimes until late May or June), together with natural pasturage and wild hay-lands among the best in the world, seem to point to carefully systematized cattle-raising as the path to productive industry for these Indians. And this can be pursued by them, not as nomads, but from settled homes, while education for the children, and such agriculture as climate and water-supply allow, go forward about the houses they are rapidly building and are learning to love as homes.

While at this Blackfeet Agency I attended a session of the Court of Indian Offenses, and took some lessons in Indian methods for the administration of justice. There is not so much of dignity, of bearing and orderly procedure, nor a quarter so much of mingled justice and kindness, in the ordinary sessions of our police courts in the great cities of our land. I am convinced that it lies with us whether or not we will continue to feed and pauperize these tribes. The wisest Indians have learned to dread "rations." To my intense delight the younger and more progressive men (and, in several cases, men who had not been in the East at school) said: "We want to see our people have less of rations, less of store-supplies. Give us help in the way of more and better cattle immediately, that we may increase and improve our herds."

And this brings us to the subject of Indian industries; and who can speak upon this subject with more sympathy and knowledge than can the teacher of the Indians in their new manufacture of lace and pottery, Miss Sybil Carter?

Miss Carter was invited to speak on Industries for Indians.

MISS SYBIL CARTER.—Nothing has gratified me more to-day than to hear Dr. Gates say that while he had long been interested in the Indians, he had never been more touched than when brought face to face with them on the reservations. When we go among the Indians we begin to feel that we want to *do* something for them, and there is nothing better than to give them work. I began in my own industrial work among them by gathering twelve women together and teaching them to make lace, as I did not know how to make anything else with my own hands. I have now eight lace schools, and dispose of the lace that is made by the women.

Now about the pottery, which I think we ought to call the Smiley pottery. I have great pleasure in saying that I believe it is going to be a success. I have a teacher, Miss Ford, in Laguna, New Mexico, who understands the business thoroughly. A gentleman came to me to-night and said he was going to double his subscription of last year because he had read a letter from that teacher. The shape of the pottery which the Indians make is all right, but they have never had any glaze, and the articles are very brittle so that they are not marketable. When we had the \$1,500 subscribed last year I wrote to this lady who knows all about putting on glaze, and she responded at once. But if you are going to do anything for the Indians look out for delays! And look out, too, for holes in your pocket, for the money goes so fast. To refer again to my lace work, when I was going to start that I told Bishop Whipple that I must have three thousand dollars to start with, and I would take a month to raise it and then I would come to Florida for rest. I went to work and at the end of a week's time I telegraphed to him, "Three thousand dollars in bank; take nine o'clock train for Florida."

When I began my work I took my three thousand dollars and I spent it. It went like water, but oh, what I did with it! I founded six lace schools in Minnesota. I had to patch up an old log house and get things from all over the country to make it habitable for my teachers, and then I had to teach them the lace making. But those Indians needed just that help. We have to have patience with them and with each other and with ourselves, for there are problems beyond anything that we can foresee when we begin.

To come back to the pottery, the money raised last year is all gone. It has been spent well. We have a kiln; there are photographs of it here. It is an established fact. But there have been hindrances. At first this lady could not get into that part of the country on account of smallpox among the Indians. When she finally got there the old Indians said she could not have land. The

young Indians, however, wanted her. It took weeks and months to settle about that, and the Indians were so vacillating that there was no use in trusting them. Then she tried to get some land from the Government; but before she got her answer from Washington she had an offer of some land that belonged to the railroad, and they have agreed to let her have that for five dollars a year. The kiln is only a little thing but it is the pride of the community. The railroad men and the Government officers who are there are interested in it. When it was done she said one day to the Indians: "Do you see how nice and shiny this teacup is? Well, I am going to teach you to put that shine on your beautiful pottery." And they grunted and said, "Very ugly; all white." She saw that it was hopeless to make them understand by description, so she took one of their old ovens that was meant for soft firing and fixed it up so that she could fire a few pieces with the glaze. The pieces were crude, but the glaze was right. When she took out the first cup and showed it to the Indians then something wonderful happened. When the most intelligent young Indian saw the cup and took in what the glaze was, he leaped up into the air and began to scream. She thought something terrible had happened, and she asked anxiously, "What is the matter?" "Now I know," he cried; "now I understand; Indian make money now, have plenty to eat, have plenty to wear." Oh, I would like to have seen that Indian jumping up and down! I would like to have seen one enthusiastic Indian, just one, in my lifetime! Sometimes people think I am a bundle of enthusiasm,—and perhaps I am,—but I get a wet blanket every time I go to a reservation. Here now is the cup [exhibiting a rude cup with simple decorations but with a fine glaze]. Although it is crude the glaze is there. When that was done before the proper kiln was built you must think that that teacher is a plucky, bright woman.

Yes, industry is what the Indian wants. When you ask what will you put in place of rations, I say put an industry. When you ask what will you do when you take away the reservation, I say get them started to work. I am thankful that for thirty-five years I have earned my own living, and that the Lord has let me do it. I believe I should not have been happy if I had not been able to work. The men are willing to work and so are the women. I tell you it is a pitiful thing to be an Indian woman in cold Minnesota, where it is so desperately cold in winter. But when I am among them and see them making this dainty lace, fair enough to give to a queen,—and some of it was given to Queen Victoria by Bishop Whipple, and she was delighted with it,—and when I see that we are going to give pottery-making to men for another industry, I feel as though I had lived to see a change in the Indian country.

MR. A. K. SMILEY.—I have been very much interested in this. If Miss Ford had not been a good Christian woman she would have given up long ago, for she has had the greatest difficulty in accom-

plishing anything. She shows that she is capable of doing this work by her pluck and by what she has already accomplished. She is the woman to stand there and manage it, but she has not been paid a salary, and we must have some money or else the whole thing will have to be given up. This place, Laguna, on the Santa Fe road to California, is the right place for an industry, and it ought to be maintained.

MISS CARTER.—It is necessary that there should be rooms for the teacher. At present she has to board a long way off, and if a room or two were built by the kiln she would be glad.

Mr. Smiley then invited those who were interested to subscribe for the continuance of this work. In a half hour the sum of two thousand dollars was subscribed.

Mr. SMILEY.—I thank you most heartily for keeping up this most important Indian industry. It will do a great deal for the Indians, just as Sybil Carter's lace industry has done.

Hon. Darwin R. James was invited to speak on the Indians of the Crow Reservation.

THE CROW RESERVATION.

BY HON. DARWIN R. JAMES.

I am quite in sympathy with the proposition to abolish the system of rations as fast as it can be done under existing treaties, provided some arrangement is made for the proper care of the aged and infirm poor and other unfortunates. Take, for instance, the Crows, whose reservation I visited last spring, and where the rations system is not so obnoxious as among some tribes.

The Crows are making a good deal of headway in agricultural pursuits. They have an immense reservation, almost equal in size to the State of Connecticut, with only two thousand Indians upon it. Within a few weeks, however, a treaty has been made with them by a commission appointed by Congress, under which treaty, if it is ratified, they will sell to the Government 1,100,000 acres of land at the price of \$1.00 per acre, so that the area will be largely reduced.

If the sale is consummated a large sum will be added to the amount already to their credit in the Treasury Department at Washington. Much of the reservation is under lease to cattle herders, from which source they also receive considerable revenue. Through the sales of hay during the last two winters to these same cattle men they have also received many thousands of dollars. Apparently they raised more wheat than was needed during the last two years, for the agent was proposing to sell to the Government some of the flour for which it was advertising for bids, and the agent actually went to Chicago to meet the Indian Commissioner who was there to open bids for Indian supplies. The agent

and myself traveled in company from the agency to Chicago, I being *en route* homeward. It may be remembered that the Crows have a flour mill, run by steam, which was erected while Captain Watson was agent. In view of these facts it would seem that the rations system might be abolished upon this reservation. Practically it is largely so, if it ever existed to any great extent (I am not disposed to think it ever did), for the Crows have never been in open conflict with the United States. Small allowances of beef, flour and other articles are regularly doled out to certain of them; and the picture is presented of Uncle Sam giving doles of flour on one hand, and on the other buying the surplus flour of the tribe, ground from wheat of their own raising, in their own flour mill.

Government furnishes farm wagons, tools, mowers, etc., as is customary, and yet the receipts from sales of hay during the last two winters run up into thousands, and many of the Indians harness their Indian ponies to spring wagons when they drive to the agency for their doles or to make purchases at the stores. The agricultural pursuits of the Crows will be greatly developed when the irrigation system, planned by Engineer Graves, and which is in process of construction, is completed. The plans are broad and comprehensive, and much of the work is done in a very substantial manner, particularly that at the point where the large ditch takes its water from the Big Horn River. The supplies of water are drawn from the Big Horn River, the Little Big Horn, and other smaller streams which discharge into these rivers. The entire cost has been met from funds to the credit of the tribe at Washington, and at their recent Council they voted a further appropriation of \$400,000, which will complete the immense undertaking.

The allotting of land to these Indians, which was entered upon several years ago, was discontinued after work for irrigating the valleys was started, as the Indians were wise enough to see that they wanted their sections of land where there was irrigation. Meantime the farm work is a sort of communal affair: they work in large groups, when the season is on, under the direction of an assistant farmer. It is a vicious system, and it seemed to be the consensus of opinion that the Crows have been, during the last few years, making progress backward rather than forward. The Crows, with all their advantages, drew my deepest sympathy, for their progress and all their plans were for material things; nothing higher. With some exceptions the young men who had been educated in the East, where some had occupied prominent positions, one having been a vice president of an Indian Young Men's Christian Association, were not helping forward in the efforts of the missionary who was laboring upon the reservation or the earnest, hard-working teachers. I talked with them freely upon this and other subjects. Of the school work one could speak with enthusiasm. This part of the work was hopeful; the teachers were of high class, and were diligent and faithful; some were enthusiastic. The kindergarten was a sunny spot; the calisthenic exer-

cises taught by a Carlisle graduate were interesting, and an excellent thing for the scholars. The recitations were good. Some of the teachers with the faithful missionary were zealous in looking after the spiritual interests of the scholars through Sabbath school instruction and religious services. At the St. Xavier Mission the boys and girls in the school had learned to use their voices, and were not afraid to read and speak in tones loud enough to be heard, which is not the usual thing in the ordinary Government school. I hope the Chairman will overlook the fact that I have diverged somewhat from the text with which I started, and got in more or less about them in a general way.

Mr. Herbert Welsh was asked to report from the field.

THE RATION SYSTEM—A REPORT FROM THE FIELD.

BY MR. HERBERT WELSH.

I went out last spring with Bishop Hare and my daughter and made a camping-out trip in May and June in a country very familiar to me, the Sioux Reservation in South Dakota. We went from the Missouri River through what used to be the Lower Brule Agency, now thrown open to white settlers, over to the Rosebud Reservation, traveling in wagons and on horseback, and camping out to get a better view of the Indians and the conditions in which they are living and to come into closer contact with them. I was deeply impressed with the great advance made in the educational line since I was there six or seven years ago.

At Chamberlain we first visited a large Indian Government boarding school on the Missouri River. The gentleman in charge of this school, Mr. Flynn, impressed me as a man of great activity and force of character. He has shown great vigor in developing the material features of the school. About sixty-three pupils are enrolled there. The school can accommodate seventy-five. There are admirable quarters for the children. We did not see much of the school work. The whole appearance of the place impressed one with its vigor. Here is one of the instrumentalities for bringing the Indian away from the ration system, one of the means by which character is created, and in which industrial training is given by which he can help learn to support himself.

In all this journey, in talking as I did with teachers, with missionaries, with agents, I think I may say that the universal impression conveyed was the great importance of some definite system being adopted by the Government which would lead as quickly as possible to the conclusion of the ration system. I can only transmit to you the impression which these teachers and workers gave to me, that the ration system is a curse and opposed to everything that makes for progress. One superintendent said that after the boy and girl have learned what the school has to teach, when they go out they go where Government puts food into their mouths. I am aware of the

difficulties of putting an end to the system. They are tremendous. Some point to treaties which seem to warrant a continuance of that system. Grant the fact that these people have been long dependent upon this food supply, the fact remains that any incentive to self-support is largely taken away. I know that Bishop Hare, who is one of the noblest of men, and one of the most intelligent students of the Indian question, and who for twenty-five years has been in close contact with them, feels this profoundly, and feels the necessity for telling the Indian, in words that shall not be taken back, that this system is going to be overthrown. Of course it must be done by some gradual change. The method of reduction must be carefully graduated to the needs of different tribes. I do not wish to outline any particular method, and yet I believe it can be done; and nothing was so borne in upon my own mind during this journey as the necessity for doing this thing. The Indian must be put face to face with the knowledge that during a coming period of years this system will diminish and then close. I do not believe any one thing would stimulate more toward progress than that.

We went to the Rosebud Reservation, having a chance to see—what is an important matter in this Indian question—the character of the people brought in contact with the Indians by white settlement. And here was a cheering thought to me. Very often there may be a bad class of population, but on this trip we saw many good immigrants—Scandinavians and others, a very excellent class of people. I remember in our crossing the White River, which is treacherous and disagreeable to cross on account of the sudden rising of the stream, we had to get assistance to get over. We found there a Norwegian family, a Mr. Havergaard, his wife, daughters and sons. It was an ideally good family. Mr. Havergaard was a physician as well as a trader. He had a store, and I learned that he was a very earnest Christian man, a Lutheran, and he spent much time and effort in ministering to the needs of the Indians. His family were admirable people. We had an illustration of their hospitality. They took great trouble in getting us across the stream, and would not take any compensation. Here was a man working not only for his own welfare, but for the welfare of the Indians.

We went to the Rosebud Agency and visited a number of day schools on the way, and saw the Government boarding school at Rosebud. When I was there before it did not exist. It is under the charge of a first-rate superintendent, Mr. Cox. It fills one's heart with delight, along with so much that is discouraging, to see such a school full of pupils and with an excellent corps of teachers. One feels that great strength has developed in the Government's line of work. It makes some of the mission schools feel that they are being thrown into the shade, and that perhaps their days are drawing to a close.

A pleasant impression was made by the agents, Dr. McChesney and Captain Clapp, at Pine Ridge, one a physician and one an army officer. Both have had experience with Indians. Both are

gentlemen of high type, and I think we are fortunate in having them. At Pine Ridge we touched the wilder class of Indians. Here the ghost dance had its rise and the outbreak took place. Many of the Indians are still wild, or have made little advance toward civilization. In the old times when I visited that country there was some talk of farming, but most of those who tried it have given it up as a bad job. I think the impression is that cattle raising is the industry that the Indians will have to look to for their support.

After spending a little time there I paid an interesting visit to the Government day schools. I was told that there were 32 under the charge of Mr. Dew, who bore strong testimony to the benefit of Civil Service reform. He made this remark in my hearing, without my having said anything to elicit it, "I came in through the spoils system, and I am free to say when asked whether I would not prefer to select my own teachers, that I very much prefer to have them as they are, under the Civil Service system; that I believe the selections are better made than I could myself make."

We visited four or five schools, and here again I was impressed with the character of the teachers. In one school was a young man with his wife from Kansas,—excellent people, earnest, full of zeal. We spent the greater part of the morning watching the work in their school. The day school accomplishes some results which no other school is able to do. Each school has its own work,—the day school, the reservation boarding school and the non-reservation school. The representative of each system naturally thinks his own work the most important; but there is no question the day schools are doing a magnificent work in bridging the gulf between the wild, uncivilized Indian parent, controlled by the old ideas, and the civilization to which we want to bring them. These children come in contact with earnest Christian women who live in a clean, well-managed house, with nice cooking, though simple, and the children flock around there. The contact is constant, and they carry the influence into the camp. A teacher told me of one poor Indian woman who said she wished she could have a table where they could eat, because her boy went to the school and they had a table there, and he wanted one at home. You feel that it is the very beginning of civilization. These children do not know anything about civilization. They do not know how to take care of themselves in the simplest points. At one of the schools a number of boys asked permission to go in swimming; it was granted, and when they came back they had their coats buttoned round them, but water seemed to be dripping from their shirts underneath. The teacher noticed it, and found that they had been in swimming without removing their shirts, so that when they came out they had simply put their jackets on over their wet underclothing. By such acts of carelessness they get severe colds.

Then look at the improvidence of the less civilized Indians: They get their rations at the proper time, once in so often, and then they often eat them up and have nothing. A teacher told me that if it were not for the mid-day meal, coffee and a roll, that they

give to the children, again and again they would go all day until evening without food. Those are the things that you have got to consider in the management of these people. You see how simple, too, is the character of the teaching. It is through the educational system that the knowledge will come to them that there is to be a slow but perfectly irresistible diminution of that ration system, or the turning of that ration into something more useful. It was impressed on me at every point. Now is the time to begin. We should not wait. In the midst of so much that is being done I believe if the department can devise some system fitted to the developing needs of the different tribes in different stages of civilization, and that will convince them that the present system is to pass away, it will be an incentive to still better work. There will be less sadness when the children come home from Eastern schools, and they would go home with more self-respect. I want to emphasize the idea that there can be no system of education which will reach its best results so long as they live under a system that makes for pauperization.

Adjourned at 10.30 P. M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 12, 1899.

The Conference was called to order at 10.15 A. M. The first business was the consideration of the report of the Standing Committee, Mr. Philip C. Garrett, chairman.

Mr. Garrett said that the report had been carefully considered, and certain changes had been adopted in accordance with the suggestions made during the discussion. The report was then read as a whole, and afterward paragraph by paragraph, each being adopted separately. It was then adopted unanimously as follows:—

The Committee appointed at the Mohonk Conference of 1898 under the following resolution,

Resolved: "That a Committee of seven, of which the Chairman of the Conference shall be the chairman, and which shall have power to increase the number, be appointed by the Chair to prepare during the next year a scheme adapted to carry out the policy outlined in the above platform and appeal, and to propose it to the next Conference for its action; that the Committee be also authorized to gather, in the interim before the next Conference, specific facts concerning defects and abuses in Indian administration, and in behalf of this Conference, in their discretion, to present them to Congress, the Executive and the Press," begs to submit the subjoined report.

The Platform of the Mohonk Indian Conference criticised with some severity the present condition of the Indian Bureau, ascribing it primarily to the political system under which it is administered and demanded. It appealed to the people of the United States to demand:—

"That the Indian Bureau be taken out of politics; that the Indian Commissioner be no longer treated as a political officer, to be changed with every change of administration; that the work of the Bureau be intrusted to experts, and left in their hands until it is accomplished;" that Congress "recognize that the Indian Bureau is of necessity a temporary institution, and should be discontinued at the earliest practicable moment;" also "that it give all Indians everywhere a right to appeal to the Courts, and render all Indians everywhere accountable to the Courts."

The Committee agree with the Conference that no course more disastrous to success in the proper administration of our Indian Affairs could be pursued than that of turning good officials out of office to make place for political favorites without experience and often without personal qualification; nor than the policy of select-

ing appointees to gratify politicians, and not on account of their special adaptation to the place to be filled. We find, however, that some have construed the Mohonk platform into an attack of a personal character on the present administration of the Indian Bureau. This, we believe, would be unjust, and we do not so construe the language used. The present Secretary, although but a short time in office, has given evidence of a sincere desire to correct evils in the service. The present Commissioner of Indian Affairs also, however unfamiliar, as he himself avers, he may have been with the duties of this important office prior to his appointment, we believe to be well qualified for the place. Moreover, he is himself favorable to the choice of Indian Agents, and others not in the classified service, on the ground of fitness, and to retaining in the service those who prove themselves worthy of retention.

There is need of guarding against giving too ready heed to fabricated complaints against good officers on the part of political friends of an administration who want places with which to pay political debts. But the basal evil is the *policy* of making appointments, not for fitness, not by Presidential selection, and not at the instance of disinterested students of the Indian situation well qualified to advise, but upon the recommendation of men whose sole idea of patriotism is the service of their party and themselves.

Two subjects were specially referred by the Conference to this Committee for consideration and report: (1) What steps can and should be taken looking toward the early completion of the labors of the Indian Bureau as an office created for a temporary condition of things; and (2) suggestions of improvements in the Indian Bureau which might enhance its efficiency while it lasts. Such suggestions may properly come from a body of citizens who for many years have made a careful study of the Indian question, and are actuated solely by a desire to further the general good.

As regards the first, there are some obstacles to a very early termination of separate dealings with the Indians in some form or other. One of these is the twenty-five year provision in the Dawes Act, which keeps the Indian in a state of tutelage for that period on the theory that he will not earlier be prepared to fight the peaceable battles of life with the shrewder and more self-assertive white man.

Another obstacle to early termination of the existence of the Bureau is the backwardness of some of the tribes, who have yet hardly taken the initial step toward preparation for citizenship.

Then there are certain treaties that seem to have taken for granted that the Indians were to be wards forever, and have made provision for paying the tribes annuities perpetually or through a long series of years.

Perhaps the most that can be done is to adopt a line of policy which is shaped for the earliest possible termination of the present cumbersome system. Let the Government say to itself: "This is a temporary arrangement, designed to last only until the Indians are citizens and have received patents for their lands; it is too expensive

to continue on the same scale for a constantly diminishing number of wards. The system must be simplified and everything done to hasten its abandonment."

This policy of curtailment might begin by abolishing some of the agencies and placing the Indians for a while under the care and advice of school superintendents. The following agencies are suggested, of which many, if not all, could doubtless be abolished with advantage in the near future: Colorado River, Ariz.; Klamath, Ore.; Lemhi, Idaho; Mission, Cal.; Neah Bay, Wash.; Nevada, Nev.; Quapaw, Ind. Ter.; Sac and Fox, Iowa; Santee, Neb.; Siletz, Ore.; Sisseton, So. Dak.; Warm Springs, Ore.; Western Shoshone, Nev.; Yankton, So. Dak.; Pueblo and Jicarilla, New Mexico; also the agency for the New York Indians might be done away with before long.

Another step toward curtailment might be the capitalization of the funds of some of the tribes, thus terminating an annual distribution of money or supplies, from which the Indians receive little benefit. By authority of Congress this has already been done in the case of a few small tribes.

If we turn now to questions of administration, the committee has carefully considered propositions: first, to turn the Indians over to the War Department; second, to give their education into the charge of the Bureau of Education; third, to erect the Indian Bureau into an independent department, separate and distinct from the Department of the Interior and reporting directly to the President.

As regards the first, it would seem to imply a relation to the Indians that does not exist, and we hope never will exist again—a state of war, or at least belligerency. Such a suggestion would probably have an unfortunate effect on the progress now steadily going on toward the general civilization of the Indians, for it would put them into the position of a conquered people placed temporarily under military government. Now, while they are endeavoring to learn the white man's ways and to govern themselves as free American citizens, is hardly the time to exchange the dictatorial rule of an Indian agent for the still more arbitrary control of the army.

As regards assigning the educational work to the Bureau of Education, it must be remembered that that Bureau is not an administrative, but a theoretical bureau for the collection of statistics and the study of questions relating to education. It is not its province to carry on a great system of schools involving the distribution annually of millions of money and the dealing with an extensive and widely scattered corps of employees. The placing of the schools of Alaska in charge of the Education Bureau was an anomalous arrangement, and it causes the officials, unused to dealing with this class of subjects, a vast amount of trouble and annoyance. For these reasons we seriously doubt if the Bureau of Education, as at present constituted, could advantageously undertake the management of Indian schools. Moreover, the schools are the one essential feature of our Indian system which should be maintained until the

states or territories in which the Indians reside receive the Indian children into their common schools.

Perhaps in the direction of the third suggestion something can be done to advantage. It might, indeed, conduce to *efficiency* in the conduct of Indian affairs if the Bureau were made a department; but even if practicable it would hardly be consistent to ask that a bureau, which in the nature of things is temporary, be erected into a distinct department. Yet the Commissioner of such an important Bureau as this is certainly too much hampered and is given too little freedom, either in the choice of his subordinates, or the decision of questions or the expenditure of funds.

He should not only be held responsible for the management of the Indian service, but should also have power to carry out his plans. His advice should largely control in the appointment, removal and retention of Indian agents.

We believe that the solution of the Indian problem by citizenship is rapidly nearing that stage when abandonment of reservations and agencies should become frequent, and some form of guardianship adopted more nearly approximating the individual freedom of American citizenship.

Meanwhile, it is time that the office of Indian agent ceased to be a shuttlecock for political managers, and the appointment of agents should be placed under control of the Commissioner, and put into the lists classified for merit examinations; and the agents retained as long as performing meritorious service, and only discharged when unfit, or when the agency in which they are serving becomes no longer necessary and is abandoned.

While we are very clear that in general it is the duty of the Indian Bureau and the Interior Department to free the Indians as rapidly as possible from all governmental oversight, so that they may stand on the same footing as other United States citizens, even though they suffer in the transition, your committee realizes that administering on the estates of the Indian Bureau will be a slow process, beset with many practical difficulties. Therefore we have made but few specific recommendations, which may be summarized as follows:—

1. Abolishing the Indian agencies as rapidly as possible, and putting the Indians thereof who are not ready to be thrown wholly upon their own resources in the care of the superintendent of the agency school. Seventeen agencies are suggested which might soon be abolished.

2. The complete abandonment of the distribution of rations and annuities to the Indians by some process consistent with justice and wisely adapted to the conditions of the various tribes.

3. The placing of Indian agents in the classified list, thereby relieving the appointing officer from the pressure of politicians in this respect.

4. Enlarging the powers of the Commissioner of Indian affairs, so that he may no longer be held responsible for that which he cannot control.

With reference to the last part of the resolution, suggesting a recital of facts including specific cases of defect and abuse in Indian administration, the committee have this to say: Most of the evils that now afflict the Indian service are due to what is known as the spoils system and the conclusion of the Executive Department of our Government to surrender the prerogative of appointing officials in the service to political leaders, who too frequently select them without regard to merit or special fitness from among those to whom they owe rewards for party and personal fealty; often in utter disregard of the adaptation of their nominees to the place to be filled, sometimes by persons notoriously intemperate, immoral and dishonest. Indian progress was formerly obstructed mainly by the hostility of the whites along the border, by false allegations of warlike uprisings and by robbery on a large scale.

To these evils has succeeded the spoils system, which deprives them of proper instructors and caretakers, and which wins the assent of many good men out of a blind sympathy for the administration or party of which they are honest adherents.

“Abundant evidence in the form of authenticated facts is in our possession which justifies these assertions. This evidence can be produced if necessary. The department is at present required to investigate case after case of gross scandal in the Indian service. This in consequence of a system of appointments in which senators dictate nominations, often imposing unworthy men in payment of political debts, while the department becomes nothing more than the recorder of their will. This is the essential vice of the present system. It can only be cured by the demand of public sentiment which will lead the Executive to accept responsibility for appointments with which he is charged by the Constitution, and execute the same in the spirit, if not under the letter, of the Civil Service Reform.”

Mr. Meserve introduced to the Conference Mr. H. B. Peairs, Superintendent of the Haskell Institute. Mr. Peairs was invited to say a word.

MR. H. B. PEAIRS.—One of the encouragements that I shall carry back to my work, is, that I shall know that outside of the official force in the Indian school service there is such an army of those who are deeply interested in what we are doing. It is an inspiration to do more efficient work. When I am in the field I shall think of those in the East who are giving moral support and inspiration to those who are doing the work in the West. . .

Commissioner JONES.—I want to call attention to the part that the merit system is playing in the school service. Mr. Peairs holds his position by merit alone. He has never asked, and has never received, to my knowledge, a single indorsement from politicians.

THE CHAIR.—To the names of Armstrong and Pratt and Meserve and Frissell we are now going to add the name of Peairs. When the marvelous personality of General Armstrong vanished

from us, some of us were afraid that his place could never be filled, although we knew the strong heart of the man who stood at his side. It is wonderful how that work has been carried on by a man of a different type, but with the same purpose; and to-day we welcome his successor, Dr. Frissell.

Rev. H. B. FRISSELL, D.D.—Someone has said that the last Conference was rather pessimistic. I think that no Indian Conference has a right to be pessimistic. I have said again and again that there is no field which has brought quicker returns than has the work among the inferior races of our own country. Anyone who was at Hampton—as I was—when the last party from Ft. Berthold came, and could compare it with the party that came twenty years before, would realize the progress that has been made in those years. The first party that came was a company of blanket Indians, with every indication of barbarism, with nothing of brightness or cheer about them. The last party from that same agency was made up of intelligent, well-dressed boys and girls. That is one of the results of twenty years' work among these Indians—one of the results of this Conference.

Every year one of my first duties is to gather about me the young people from the different agencies, find out their peculiarities, their home environment, and try to adapt the work to their needs. I believe that is the idea in education everywhere now, and it ought to be in Indian education. We should adapt the course of study to the special needs of the student. I have sent out our instructor of agriculture this year to all agencies from which our pupils come, to study their conditions, so that he may adapt his teaching to their needs.

The work that Miss Collins and Mr. Peairs are doing is of the greatest importance, and cannot be done in the East; but the value of Eastern schools lies in bringing selected Indian youth to such institutions as Carlisle and Hampton, and fitting them, not only for schoolroom work, but also for the teaching of agriculture, trades and domestic science. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is constantly calling upon us for the right sort of Indian teachers. He and the Superintendent of Indian Education realize that such teachers need the broadest kind of culture. So for Hampton we make a careful selection of those who have succeeded in the Western schools. We bring no more from the blanket; we bring only those who have done well, and for whom the Hampton training may be a kind of reward of merit. I think that should be Hampton's attitude.

We have brought students from only a few agencies, but they illustrate fairly the condition of all Indians. When interviewing students recently from the Omaha and Winnebago agencies it was interesting to hear from their lips the difficulties that they encounter upon these reservations that have been thrown open to the whites. I asked them: "What about your land which has come to you in severalty? What are you doing with it?" One boy answered,

"It is there still." I asked him if he worked it. "No." "What have you done with it?" "I have rented it." "And where do you live?" "I live out in the woods." That presents one problem in our work which we must solve.

When we speak of this giving up of the agencies we are all in favor of it. We are all working toward the same end, but we should try to realize the difficulties of the matter, though I believe none can understand them fully except those who go out into the Indian country to study it, or the young people who come from there. We thought years ago when we opened the reservation of the Omahas that the State of Nebraska would assume the care of those Indians, that the courts would be opened to them and that suitable schools would be provided for them. None of these things have been done, and the Omaha Agency is almost entirely left to itself, except that saloons have been established around it, and many unscrupulous white people, wishing to grab the Indians' lands, are trying to corrupt them in every possible way.

We have a number of students from Santee. That reservation also has been opened to white people, but the conditions there are more hopeful. Why? Because there we have for long years had what we should have everywhere—a good Christian missionary. I wish I could emphasize the importance of that sort of missionary work on every reservation. The Christian churches promised that if the Government support was taken away from contract schools they would see that no harm came to the Indians, and they have not kept that promise. It is not the fault of the Indians that they are in this deplorable state; they are struggling under tremendous difficulties, and it is through the neglect of the Christian people of the country, who ought to feel that these Indians are theirs to take care of, and they ought to have on every reservation just such men as Dr. Riggs, who would give them help in all necessary matters.

The movement to put the agencies in the hands of the superintendents of schools is a good one. Many worthy men who were really anxious for the good of the Indian opposed the abolition of the agencies because they did not see the way in which to accomplish it. I believe, though, that the educators are men in whose hands the agencies may be trusted, and I think the suggestion to do this an excellent one.

Farther up the Missouri River we meet at Standing Rock and other agencies still another condition of things. The land is poor, so we must teach our Indian students how to raise cattle, and we are trying to adapt their education to that necessity. We want in this way to help on the work that is being done by such men as Dr. McChesney and others.

Take the reservation of the Oneidas in Wisconsin: here we have an example of the state of things resulting from placing the agency in the hands of the superintendent of schools. Another excellent man, Superintendent Pierce, is in charge of the Oneida Government school. The authority of the agency has been put into his hands, and he attends to all necessary matters on the reservation.

In every agency there are difficulties with the white men near it, especially where there is good land. Sometimes it is the cattle men who make the trouble, and under the spoils system the agent himself becomes a worker with the cattle men and with the land men against the Indians, and farther up the river in Wisconsin, with the timber men. He becomes, not the agent of the Indian, but of the white men outside of the reservation. Certainly nothing could emphasize more than that fact the necessity of putting the agencies entirely out of reach of the spoils system.

Unfortunately we have heard a good deal this year about home rule; and what does that mean? It means that the people right about those Indians, though excellent men in some cases, are for the most part very greedy. They have the power in their hands, and the agent is their representative. Let us all struggle and pray for the spread of Civil Service reform in the matter of Indian appointments.

We are likely to have again a struggle in regard to the appropriation for Hampton,—whether there is any reason for a school like it or not. It receives help from the General Government, and at the same time from private individuals. We have taken the ground all along, with the support of this Conference, that we are not a denominational school. We believe that we are a Christian school, and that as we are doing for Virginia the work of the State for negroes we are doing for the United States the work of the General Government for the Indians. When the struggle comes up, as it is likely to come, I shall ask many of you to help in this matter, because we feel that Hampton has a very important mission to fulfill. Twenty years ago, when Major Pratt first came to Hampton with his Indians from Florida, there was started there an industrial system, which has become such an important factor—for all these Indian schools in the West have been formed on the model of Hampton and Carlisle—that we feel it must continue. Thousands of people from all parts of the land visit Hampton and see the Indians at work there. Those great hotels at Old Point Comfort are helping to create public sentiment on the question of Indian education. Hampton's work must go on. I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude to Mr. Smiley and to this Conference for the cordial support they have given to the Hampton school through all these years; and I have said to Mr. Smiley again and again that after General Armstrong's death I could hardly have carried on that work but for the help given me here.

The CHAIR.—I am profoundly sorry that there is any prospect of attacking the school at Hampton again. No one will hesitate to say that the Government should assist in the industrial training of the Indian, and I hope Government support will not be denied to Hampton. To strike it out would be a grievous mistake.

President W. F. Slocum, of Colorado College, was asked to speak.

PRES. WILLIAM F. SLOCUM.—After listening to the addresses and discussions of this Conference and to the utterances of those who have made such thorough and effective investigation of our friends, the Indians, their needs and their possibilities, I shall return once more to my home in Colorado with an intensified conviction as to two things: First, that the Indian must be educated so as to make a citizen of him, with all that this word implies in our great Republic; and second, that by industry, toil and thrift he must win his way, as others have done, to a position of self-respect and usefulness. The pleasure of honest and remunerative labor must become more and more an important part of his life, and the purpose of the Government, and also of all private effort in his behalf, must be to help him to help himself. Too much paternalism is bad for him, as well as for everyone who is not mentally and physically defective. The Indian needs to be developed and not suppressed. Give him a chance to express himself and he will cease to be stolid.

It is a rare privilege to be here and contribute in the smallest way to what has been done during the years of wise and effective work by such men as Senator Dawes and General Whittlesey; men who, as they have borne the Indian problem onward toward its solution, have established those principles which we all adopt as the guide of what we are trying to accomplish. From time to time I see in our Western newspapers that the Indian is off his reservation. I trust the time is not far distant when he will not only be off his reservation, but will forever stay off from it. Our business, however, is to see that he is fitted to care for himself when the reservation becomes, as it surely will, a thing of the past.

A few weeks ago I had the rare pleasure of spending an interesting evening with the son of that famous chief of the Apache Indians, Geronimo. The hours which we spent together were largely occupied with the discussion of one idea which, as it seemed to him, lies at the heart of this Indian problem as he has studied it in his own tribe and also by close contact with many other tribes throughout our Western country. "What," he asks, "can be done to bring the Indian into close contact with modern civilization?" And I bring that question of the Apache chief to this Conference. Is it possible to bring the Indians into closer relations with whatever is best in our modern civilization? Not into a knowledge of those artificial and superficial things that too often are only the counterfeits of a true civilization, but into an immediate consciousness of those great moral and intellectual forces which are at the heart of what can be justly called civilization. The customs and traditions of the modern city life often have as much of barbarism in them as was ever found in the most primitive Indian tribe, only there is an external gloss that serves to keep this savagery out of sight of all except those who examine it closely. All this we do not want for our Indian, but still there are possible lines of development for him, as for all people, which will bring to him those hidden forces which lie within all true civilization.

There are four great institutions which are the true foundation of the higher civilization, and with them there are four corresponding passions dormant in each human soul which relate each human being to these four institutions. I use these words in the highest and largest sense in which it is possible to use them : home, society, country, and the church. To know the power and influence of these four institutions is to comprehend the real power of modern civilization, and if the Indian is to come into contact with civilization it must be through the four great forces which are represented by them. No man knows what it is to live, in the largest and deepest sense, until he discovers his true and real self by feeling the four great passions of the human soul which express its real life : love of home, love of humanity, love of country and love of God. If my friend, the chief of the famous tribe and the son of the famous Geronimo, ever sees his Indians in real contact with civilization it will be because these four passions have become the inner spiritual forces in them. When love of home, love of humanity in its largest sense, love of country with its commanding loyalty to the Government as a government of the whole country, and above all, around and through all, there comes the supreme passion born of a love of God, then will the Indian become a citizen possessed of that life which makes him, as all other men, a being in whom civilization is finding its true self-realization and its deepest meaning. It is the giving of himself along the line of these four passions, to these four fundamental institutions, that will bear him into the very heart of civilization and make him a citizen of God's republic.

Now, it seems to me that the query which we need to put to ourselves growing out of the question of our Apache chief is this : Is our treatment of the Indian, our training of him, our educational process bringing to life and developing into expression in his soul these four splendid passions? Is the Christian ideal of manhood being realized in him? Is he finding, discovering his true self by giving himself intelligently to these four institutions? Has the only true test of this giving been manifest by the awakening of those four great spiritual forces or passions? These, I take it, are the questions which we need to ask ourselves. It is not the gloss of an artificial pseudo-civilization that he needs, but to be fitted to give himself to home, society, country and God, so that the gift of his life is worth the giving, and so that as he gives himself there will come to him more and more the consciousness of what it is to be a part of civilization in this large and noble sense in which the word has been used. Does not then the crucial question come back to us all? Is he being taught so that his whole spiritual nature is growing responsive to the claims which rest upon every true citizen?

The son of the old Apache chief wishes us to bring his Indians into living contact with modern civilization. How can it be done? There is no way except by those same paths by which people in all time have been led into citizenship. It is work for his home; work which has reward, and so hope in it; work that requires intelligence and thrift; work that lays its self-respecting burden

upon his shoulders, that will bring him into living contact with the institution that is at the heart of all true civilization. Then his education must take him outside of the limited and narrow life of the reservation, until he sees that all men have relationship with him and their history is the history of his people. It is the awakening of this consciousness that will give him the larger meaning of civilization. Then, too, as he comes to the larger meaning of country, and feels that the Government is his Government, to which he must give himself and whose burdens he must help to bear, will he know the meaning of that sweet song, "My Country." Then, above all, as he comes to see in his Great Spirit the Father of all men and women everywhere, will there come that largest ideal of all, and so that spiritual process by which he will become in the highest sense a man, as he becomes, too, a citizen in the republic of God. In many ways he has already become this,—in some respects more than his white brother; but he, too, has his lesson to learn by the deeper experience which is yet before him. Is he being led into this larger life and into the real meaning of civilization?

Rev. J. G. Cunningham, D.D., of Edinburgh, Scotland, was asked to speak.

Dr. CUNNINGHAM.—I am glad to accept the invitation to speak a word, though an address to people expecting their luncheon would be sadly misplaced. However, you will kindly allow me to bring you a greeting from Edinburgh, and to express the intense interest I have taken in this Conference. A man who once went to America was asked when he came back to Scotland whether he saw any Indians, and if they really walked in Indian file. He replied that he saw only one, and he was walking in single file. I have heard many things about Indians here that have opened my eyes and warmed my heart, and I cannot conceive of a more effective way of helping these people than just such a Conference, such an organization of sympathy and prayer, helping them to walk along the four lines of which President Slocum has spoken. I hope we shall never forget that civilization in its highest form means love of home, love of mankind, love of our country and love of our God. I carry that away in my heart with many other things, and am very thankful that I have had the pleasure of being here. If any of you, dear friends, are ever "within a mile o' Edinburgh town" I hope you will find me out. It will be to me a great pleasure to renew the passing acquaintance.

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Night, Oct. 12, 1899.

The evening session was called to order at eight o'clock by the President. General Eaton was the first speaker.

EDUCATION IN ALASKA.

BY GENERAL JOHN EATON.

Dr. Sheldon Jackson is the apostle to Alaska. The work has been carried on the past year as usual. You have seen an incident in the paper that ought to be mentioned. Years ago he was imprisoned by one of the governors of the territory, who feared that Dr. Jackson was coming to the States to tell the truth about the governor. So he put him in jail until the steamer left. This year the grand jury at Juneau indicted him, but he remains the same faithful public officer. He has seen fit to be honest himself and to insist that the virtue of girls shall be protected, and that has been offensive to some persons who have followed and seek to persecute him. This has no effect on him. He is understood in Washington and appreciated there.

You will recall Edward Marsden, in whose education you have assisted. His education was under my personal supervision, and I am glad to report that he graduated from both the college and the theological seminary with credit, and is now a missionary at Saxman, Alaska, among the natives, and his conduct is reported favorably.

The struggle at Annette Island is over for the time, but you will do well to watch for the subject in Congress, lest there be a renewed attempt to break up Mr. Duncan's wonderful community. An interesting thing about his Indians is that they have paid back, principal and interest, the money that was given them to enable them to be transferred from Canada to their present place. This was not required, but they have done it voluntarily with the fruits of their own industry, though it has cost a struggle.

At the opening of Alaska \$50,000 was appropriated for the aid of the Alaskans by Congress, but those at Washington who had their eyes open resisted and protested. The Indian Commission was against it. General Walker resisted it, and by the co-operation of a few of us we succeeded in keeping out the feeding and pauperizing process in Alaska, and these Indians have been continuously self-sustaining.

A word must be said about the reindeers, which, you will remember, Dr. Jackson introduced into Alaska. The natural increase is very rapid. The first hundred in five years became

nearly six hundred. He has now some ten branches in Alaska. The moss on which they live is scattered all over Alaska, and year by year the herds will be increased by purchase.

I must refer to the whalers of Alaska. Sailing ships with whalers are in the habit of going through the straits into the northern seas and freezing in. For a long time the Government kept up a store of supplies there, but agents who were interested informed Congress that they were no longer needed, and it would be better to sell them, and that was done. When the next year came in there were no supplies, and about six hundred sailors were frozen in without food. They sent parties down at great risk to the States, and an order was given at the Navy Department that Lieutenant Jarvis should take charge of an expedition that should go to Dr. Jackson's reindeer station and move supplies seven hundred miles. Meantime Dr. Marsh, the missionary of the Presbyterian body stationed at Point Barrow, had bestirred himself and had sent the natives for all sorts of food, wild animals and food from the sea, for these men. He did what he could do to aid them. The supplies were distributed systematically. Lieutenant Jarvis at the same time was moving with great rapidity over the seven hundred miles, and together the missionary and he saved these sailors' lives. That the reindeer were there was owing to the wisdom of Dr. Jackson.

There are over twelve hundred attending public schools among the natives of Alaska, and about the same number attending mission schools. A part of them are white children,—the children of miners. You would be surprised to know how many women and children go there in connection with mining work. In addition to the Government work there are one hundred and four missionaries of different denominations.

There is another collection of reindeer entirely separate from Dr. Jackson's. The Government hearing that many miners were likely to die in Alaska decided to buy reindeer and send there. Dr. Jackson was sent to Lapland to buy them, and he bought them and delivered them at Seattle without one single death by disease. They were put under the charge of army officers who had no experience with them, and who gave them food that they were not accustomed to. When they began to die they sent for Dr. Jackson, but by the time he reached there over half had died. The reindeer furnish food, clothing and transportation. Training the natives, therefore, in herding the deer in these Artic regions is a most appropriate and comprehensive industrial education.

I have received from Rev. George F. McAfee, Superintendent of School Work, the following general statement with regard to the work of the Presbyterian Church in Alaska:—

The Board of Home Missions has in Southeastern Alaska nine missionaries, all of whom are native, save two; namely, one at Juneau and one at Skagway. They have among the Klondikers three missionaries. The total cost of this mission work is about \$15,000 annually.

There is also at Sitka, the capital, our training school for boys and girls. Last year there were enrolled one hundred and fifty pupils, about equally divided between the sexes. There are engaged in class-room and industrial work thirteen teachers, including the Superintendent. The girls make the most of their own clothing, knit their own stockings, do the cooking for the entire school, care for their rooms, and are taught various other domestic industries. The boys do carpenter's work, blacksmithing, boat-making, and under the direction of a native instructor make all the shoes worn by the entire school. The total cost of this work for the year ending September 1, 1899, was \$12,955.56.

They maintain at Sitka a hospital, over which presides a physician and surgeon, assisted by one trained nurse and two native assistant nurses. There were prescriptions during the year as follows: In-patients, 2,210; out-patients, 1,790; operations, 40.

The total cost of maintenance of the Hospital for the year ending September 1, 1899, was \$2,415. The total cost of the work of the Board in Alaska for the year ending September 1, 1899, was \$30,370.

I have also from Mr. McAfee the following statement of the work of the Presbyterian Home Missionary Board among Indians: The Board has among thirty tribes 18 white missionaries, having charge of as many stations; 34 native ordained missionaries, occupying some sixty out-stations; 20 interpreters (the number varies each year); total, 72. Cost annually \$23,000 (average).

Under the auspices of the Woman's Board of Home Missions there are, 1899, 8 day schools with 13 teachers and 852 pupils; 8 boarding and industrial schools with 63 teachers and 566 pupils. Cost, 1899, \$70,080.

Two of the boarding and industrial schools are provided with food, fuel, clothing, etc., by the Indians, and the children are taught to prepare the food, care for the rooms, cultivate gardens, etc. Thus the board is only at the expense of paying teachers' salaries and providing buildings.

Good Will, South Dakota Sioux, 100 pupils, has shops, farm, etc. All the meat, vegetables, milk and butter, together with more than enough wheat for bread for the school, are produced on the premises. Value, 1899, over \$3,000.

Tucson, Arizona, Pimas and Papagoes, 197 pupils, in addition to growing vegetables, grains, etc., on the ranch, valued at \$1,500; the boys earned by contract labor—clearing streets of Tucson, excavating cellars, etc.—\$2,600.

Rev. W. F. WHITAKER read a poem called "The Red Man's Burden."

Mrs. CLINTON B. FISK reported for the work of the Methodist women in Alaska. "I should be unjust," said Mrs. Fisk, "to the women who honored me with the chairmanship of their society if I did not call your attention to the home and industrial school they have in Alaska. Since the last year I had the pleasure of being here the secretary of that bureau has paid a visit to the

school, and there gave such defense of the school and of the American flag as would do credit to any man or woman in the country. The Russian priest had been in the habit of entering the home if any of the children had died and taking them forcibly from the home and burying them. One of the children died at this time, and the Russian priest sent word that he was coming to get the body. They sent word to him that he could not enter the home. He sent four times, and each time he received the same reply. Finally she sent a message to him that she would have an interview with him through an interpreter if he chose to come, but that he could not take the remains of the child and bury it. He was very insolent, so she brought out the American flag and told him she wanted him to know that he was on American soil; that that was a Protestant institution, and that the flag protected her and the institution. And she herself conducted the funeral services for the child. Our women are doing well in that far-away home, and they propose to do better still in the future."

The CHAIR.—We are glad to be told of this work of our Methodist sisters through the voice of Mrs. Fisk, whose name is full of associations for us who know the history of work among the Indians, the wife of one whose name we love and honor here, and whose great heart never flinched in any duty and never failed in love.

General EATON.—It should be understood that the children in that Methodist school are given up by the parents to the school, so that under our system of separation of church and state the Greek priest has no control, as he would have under the Russian government. They stood on their legal rights in protecting the body of the child.

Rev. W. M. WELLMAN, of Darlington, Oklahoma, was asked to speak.

MISSIONARY WORK IN OKLAHOMA.

BY W. M. WELLMAN.

One of the pleasures of my life is being privileged to attend this world-famed Indian Conference and of addressing it for a few minutes. My generous host and hostess will, I hope, be not displeased if I say that the spirit which prompted it and which has sustained it for seventeen years is the same spirit in quality that brought the Son of God to a darkened world, because it is in the interest, especially so, of the poor, benighted, helpless.

It is a great privilege to preach the gospel to any creature, but greater is the joy to preach it to those who not only need it, but who are eager for it, and who are groping in much darkness for a better manhood; but who, being ignorant of ways and means, get weary and discouraged and give up the search unless there is some one to lead and inspire them who knows the way himself.

As I sat a few days ago in an elegant church and heard choice words from Dr. Fairbairn, I thought of the brown, withered faces of my parishioners, sitting on the ground, pleading almost to be shown the ways to the white man's Jesus. Can it be the same world—the same gospel?

Many times have I stood helplessly by and watched father and mother as they peered into the face of a dying child, no one to comfort, or to cheer, or to care. The sickness, the death and sorrow attracted no attention and brought no assistance. The neighbors didn't come to help or say, "Now, if there is anything in the world I can do, just let me know." And why? They were nothing but Indians. Why should a poor, hungry, half-clad, untidy Indian, without money, influence or home be given any of our time and attention? They, on the other hand, are stolid, proud, uncommunicative, and so suffer and die in silence. They see, as they think, every man's hand raised against them. They know the place assigned them—most of them—by the public, and they never pass those bounds. They are not a mindless or a heartless people. Their hearts quiver with sorrow just as deep, and their eyes burn with tears just as bitter as yours or mine, but they know that to ask help or sympathy would only make the humiliation a little deeper and their feeling of trust a little less. They see men who would scorn the idea of defrauding their white neighbor in buying or selling, in counting or weighing, doing all of these with them with a clear, steady conscience. They are regarded by many of the farmers and cattle men and many others as lawful prey. Whether they buy or sell they are overcharged and underweighed, and they know it, but are powerless to help themselves. They simply mass all of these crimes against them, and charge them up against the white man; and from their point of view they are justified in thus doing.

It is perfectly logical and proper for them to think and ask, as they do, that the men and women who are selected by the Government to stand over them, to handle their money, to punish and imprison them, to withhold at pleasure their rations and even their lease and interest moneys, which are not gifts, to teach their children, should, at least, be men and women who are themselves civilized, and who do what the Indian is asked to do, and punished if he refuses; and who abstain from doing that which if the poor Indian should do he would be discharged, or have his rations cut off, or both. Do they not have a perfect right to ask that and to expect it?

But they have been conquered, and, as I heard a man say in Boston the other day, "We propose to treat them just like we would any other animal after we conquer it." Since meeting that man I am a firm believer in evolution.

When Indian men and women see their children taught profanity, vulgarity, falsehood and impurity in new, novel and varied forms, by those whose duties bring them in closest touch with them, they stand surprised, bewildered, suspicious. Do we wonder, especially

when we are showing them how to be civilized? John Eliot was an apostle of Jesus Christ, not, I fancy, far different from Peter or Paul. I stood the other day on ground historic and almost sacred, where he preached the gospel of love and pure life to red men centuries ago. Who can tell how far the fruits of his work with the Indians have entered into the life of civic, commercial and Christian America? There is no heresy in love, and even Indians know what it means and when it is genuine.

We sought their help and friendship then because we needed them. They were valuable. We were intruders. They possessed all; we had nothing. But, presto, the scene has changed; by sheer force we have driven them back, and back, till we possess all, and they have nothing. In doing this we have disregarded their rights and comforts, curtailing and minimizing their liberties, till in their poverty and humiliation they have lost hope, so that, to a large degree, their former brave, gallant and manly spirit has been almost smothered to death. Then, after they have been conquered, reduced to penury and want, hated, gazed at as human curiosities—much as we would gaze at white elephants or a cage of animals which have to be watched by some bigoted keeper with a goad stick—to insure public safety we turn our backs upon them and let them die. But, thank God, this is only one side,—the sad side,—and is no more pleasant to look upon than is a putrid, festering sore. There is a side full of hope and promise.

The children, the youth. Two years ago I was in an office near the top of one of Chicago's high buildings. There were noises below, flags and banners were flying, bands were playing, while mounted policemen were driving back commerce, and even the street cars were commanded to stand still. It was Children's Day. Forty thousand strong the great Sunday-school army was marching on. Let everything halt, and traffic stand still; the children are coming, the youth are on the way. They are going to cleanse, and renovate, and sweep away the present grievous wrongs to their fathers. This is just as true in Indian life.

Two years ago, after working for nearly two years to try to make myself worthy of their confidence, I had three Indians in my church; now I have 188. In fifteen months I have received into the church on baptism and an intelligent confession of faith 177—mostly youths. There are to-day on our reservation alone 234 young men and women who are returned students from Hampton, Carlisle, Haskell, and there are about three hundred others in our reservation schools above thirteen years of age, giving a total of 534.

Most of these returned students came back to us well trained and members of Christian churches, and with an honest desire and determination to lead their people on and up to better life. But many of them grow discouraged, and not always from any fault of theirs. A number of these had trades, but could not use them with their own people for want of customers and money, and white men will not employ them on account of prejudice. At best their employment is very rare,—in five years I do not know of but three.

When they return they usually have a good suit of clothes, but never more than two or three dollars in money. Of course the money and clothes are soon gone. Then, with no earning ability or privilege, they are reduced to shabbiness and want. What shall they do, with clothes and money gone and no chance to get more?

In many agencies these educated young people who come back with hope and ambition, if they undertake to assert their rights, or teach their parents *their* rights, or if they complain about anything or try to lead their people in any new direction without special permission, no matter how proper it is in itself, they are spotted by those in charge as smart Alecks,—trouble makers.

Hence they have learned that the only way to keep on the good side of the powers that be, and get any favors at all, is simply to keep silent and do just as poor Indians are expected to do; no more. And they usually do this rather than have their few rations cut off or their moneys withheld.

Thus there are few leaders among them. Leadership is at a discount, and instead of being encouraged is stifled. They dare not lead. This tends to make them sly and secret in what they do. Yet *many* long for something better. It is not an unusual sight to see my little study, which is always open to them, full of Indians sitting and lying on the floor, reading, writing and playing games till a late hour. And then what?

There is not a house, a room, a spot at the agency where all of these hundreds come often, and where many of them live, which is open to them for an evening or an hour. No place but the tepee, there to sleep, or gamble, or do things infinitely worse.

Practically, every hand is against them, and every door closed to them; and my study is too small for more than eight or ten. Seeing this most urgent need, Mrs. Wellman and I have moved all our effects upstairs, over the chapel, in rooms originally set apart for the Indian orphanage; thus vacating the parsonage, and doing the best we can without any means to make for them a house where they can read and write, and to help them to hold what they received abroad. But this house is very small and is unfurnished. Only four rooms,—all quite small. One of these rooms is what we call our printing office, where, with a few pounds of type, we pretend to print a little paper, by setting up two or three columns of type, running off as many as we want, then throw the type down and set up two or three columns more. We do not usually have to repeat this more than three times to get off an issue. The other three rooms make the hospital. Far too small, but, poor and small as it is, several have already found in it a place out of storm and cold, where a warm hand of Christian pity and love could be laid upon the brown fevered temples as they suffered and died (for some have died). God only can know how we need two or three more rooms for this, the first and only hospital among these much sick and suffering of *his* helpless poor.

The Government has, through its agent, generously offered me the privilege of making connections with its sewer, which runs by

the house, and with its system of water supply five hundred feet away; but, alas! On our bended knees we have been asking God to send us means with which we can build three rooms to our hospital, or, at least, to make fairly comfortable what we have; one to be used as a workroom, where our boys can patch the parents' old shoes and repair their harnesses and straps, and two for beds and one for baths. We now can have but two beds; we could then have six. I have seen the time within the last few months when we needed ten. We took the sick ones into our own home, and laid them on the floor. We dared to do nothing less. What would anyone do?

In Boston I have been given some tools and some leather; now, had I room, I could put a dozen or more Christian boys to work mending shoes, clothes, repairing harnesses, etc. This mission is at the agency, the Government headquarters for the entire reservation, and is in close touch with 2,000 Indians. It is the only Christian work done at this agency, and is thirty miles from any other Indian mission work. Its pastor is the only one who maintains Christian work in the two largest schools of the reservation, which have 275 children.

The CHAIR.—If one Christian heart prompting a wise head and a helping hand can find the way to aid and comfort so many, what a blessed thing it is that Indian youth may not only know such teachers on the reservation, but may be brought from the reservations and put into schools in the East where they can feel the tide of Christian life about them; where, by the "outing system," they can become members of Christian families, and learn in the American home and in the common school to know American civilization. I am now going to invite to speak to us the representative of such a school, where about a thousand Indians are having these advantages,—Mr. Standing, of the Carlisle School.

Mr. A. J. STANDING.—I am here to-night as an emergency man. Up to a late hour Monday Major Pratt thought he would be here, but finally concluded it was not best for him to come, and delegated Miss Burgess and myself to represent Carlisle at this Conference. I regret that Major Pratt is not here in person, but will admit that this regret is modified by the fact that I am here myself taking in to the full the pleasures of Mohonk.

During the last session of Congress Major Pratt told the Committee on Indian Affairs that if they would give him \$125,000 for support and transportation he would undertake to carry one thousand pupils at Carlisle. The enrollment to-day is 975, but by the end of this month the thousand will be there. Of these less than seven hundred will be at the school; the rest will be under the outing system which is considered a part of the school course, and which all must take as part of their course. They must spend at least one winter away from the school in some good family where they will get regular instruction in household or farm work, and at the same time attend the district school, mixing with the white

children as one of them. Being only one or two in a place they become a part of the family, and get a good command of the English language. They also become accustomed to meeting people in business ways, and so obtain what Major Pratt terms "the courage of civilization."

Last Friday, the 6th of October, Carlisle rounded out twenty years of work and had a celebration. Looking back over those twenty years we can see great progress in every way. The first students to be received were mostly in Indian dress. Very few could speak any English,—none of those that came from the Northwest. We now receive very few who are not able to talk English when they come. The few who have recently come without English are from the far north, Alaska, the Eskimos, and twelve or fifteen received from the State of New York. Therefore entering the school with some knowledge of the English language they are able to make full use of the appliances of the school, and this is the last year that Carlisle will accept any pupils not up to a certain grade of scholastic acquirement. In this way the appliances of the school will do good to a larger number than they would if we received them right from the camps.

During the history of the institution we have received about four thousand pupils from seventy tribes. Of these probably three thousand have left the school. That means that something over three thousand young men and women have been trained in a civilized community to support themselves there by their own labor. I do not say that they could support themselves everywhere, but they could in a country where labor is in demand.

On account of the great labor involved we have not been able to keep an exact record of the students who have left, but the question came up so often as to what becomes of them that the Indian Department made a special effort to look them up, and commissioned inspectors and agents to report on such returned students as might be found at their respective places. That has been very thoroughly done, and the Department figures give 76 per cent as being successful * and giving good returns for what they have received. I am not one of those who are so anxious about immediate results, because I believe that we are doing the only thing that can be done in educating them and giving them an occupation. That education cannot be wiped out, and if the opportunity to use it does not come at once, when the opportunity and the necessity do come it is there, and will be brought into use. Matters in our Western country are developing so rapidly that at the most the day of Indian citizenship will be here before the Indian is ready for it. But if that day should come and find the whole body of Indians uneducated and unprepared we should be very much to blame. As it is, when it comes it will find a very large number of Indians ready for it. The ignorant and barbarous are decreasing, and those who are educated are increasing, and not very far in the future there will

* At a later session Mr. Standing explained that these figures include all who have left the school. Of the graduates 95 per cent are doing well.

come a time when the strength of these two forces will be reversed from what it is at present. The young men and the vigorous of the people who have had more or less education will be in control. The uneducated will be passing away. Then we can say to them, "You are as we are; there is no longer any necessity for the Government to act as your guardian; you can take care of yourselves." I do not look much to legislative measures for the accomplishment of the end in view, but to effort that will qualify each individual, and that is done by Eastern school work and by what I may call our adjunct school work, the outing plan. Make that method strong enough and wide enough to do the work that has to be done in the shortest possible time, and the work for the whole will be accomplished, as I believe, in the best possible manner. By solving the questions individually we do it for all, providing the means are applied to all.

Mr. SMILEY said that he was very glad to hear such a fine statement about Carlisle. He had followed that institution from the beginning with great interest. He believed especially in the outing system. The Indian problem is to be solved by the thorough industrial and Christian education of the Indian children.

The CHAIR said that he had looked over three hundred reports from families where Indian children were placed for outings, and it was exceedingly interesting to see how affectionate they were, and how glad the people were to bear testimony to the high character and ability of these students. The boys and girls last year earned about twenty-three thousand dollars, which stands in the banks to their credit.

Mr. H. B. Peairs, of Haskell Institute, was asked to speak.

HASKELL INSTITUTE.

BY SUPERINTENDENT H. B. PEAIRS.

If I were to state all that I believe you would call me an optimist. I have a weakness for looking on the sunny side of things; you know I am from sunny Kansas. After twelve years in the Indian service I state unhesitatingly that the service, in my judgment, is in a better condition than ever before.

At Haskell Institute we have an enrollment of 621 pupils, with an actual attendance of 550, representing about sixty-two tribes. Dudley C. Haskell was one of the members of Congress who, in 1883, worked for the establishment of three industrial schools, and secured an appropriation of \$150,000. He was allowed to select the location of one of them, which was to cost \$50,000. Naturally he selected his home, and the school was placed there. Lawrence was a suitable place for it. In the first place it has a history of which any one may be proud. It is an educational center, the State university being there. It is made up of a class of people

who come there largely to educate their children. They are interested in educational movements, and they are interested in the Indians, so the location was a wise one. The site was selected by Major Hayward, and it was opened in September, 1884, with 17 pupils. It has grown every year till we now have 621. My connection with the school began in 1887, so that I have known its history almost from the beginning, and I assure you I am loyal to Haskell Institute, and I enjoy the work among these young people.

The work of the institute is similar to that of other training schools, literary and industrial. Until four years ago it was an elementary school. The industrial training was largely in producing. But within the last four years there has been an effort to improve the organization of the Institute, that the work may be made more thorough in both the literary and industrial departments.

You are discussing the problem of what is to become of the Indian,—how the problem is to be solved,—what we are to do with the agencies and reservations; and I heartily indorse what has been said about abolishing the reservations and agencies, but this alone will not meet the demand. A great mistake has been made in the past in regard to Indian school work. There has been a feeling that the Indian school was a temporary thing, and we should not expend too much on it. That is the mistake. Whatever organization we may have, in order that it may do its work well it should be perfected. We have at present a war on our hands with the Filipinos. It has been dragging along for months. That war is a temporary thing; but what is being done to-day by the great President? Orders have been issued for the organization in the Philippines to be perfected; for more forces to be sent into the field. Why? Because we want peace. When Mr. Smiley wants to send us through the woods and round the beautiful drives, he gives us a good strong vehicle, and a good team that we may go and get back. He does not give us an old broken-down wagon. It is the same with the Indian school service. If we want this question to be finished, then I say perfect the organization. I am not in sympathy with the thought that has been expressed that this should not become a system of schools. It is a system now, from the boarding school to the training school. Why should we not perfect it, that it may do its best work and do it rapidly, and then the question will be settled.

The work has been too elementary in the past, but the time has come when we should realize that if we are to prepare Indian boys and girls to go out into the world to compete with other boys and girls we must do thorough work.

The one question asked more frequently than any other is, What becomes of the pupils? What becomes of your graduates? I never saw a Haskell graduate who was back in the blanket. There never was a Haskell graduate who went back to the old customs. I can give you the record of every graduate—I do not say of every pupil. Some who have been there two or three years and have gone away

with a smattering of literary training and with a little knowledge of industrial training, naturally may not have been strong enough to stand and do the work that we might wish them to do; but no graduate has ever gone back to the blanket from Haskell. Our first graduating class was in 1896. We have had fifty-seven graduates; most of them now hold positions. We mean to have them so well trained that they can not only go back to the reservation and do work, but that they may be able to compete anywhere the same as other people do. We had a letter not long ago from one Indian who had left the reservation to accept a position away from it. That is what they will do when they have been thoroughly trained.

We have added to the course a normal course for the training of teachers, which is as thorough as any normal school, and those who have gone out as graduates are doing excellent work.

We are now trying to have our industrial training on such a basis as to make that very thorough. I am a great believer in that. The two must go hand in hand. We must give the Indian boy and girl such training as will enable them to *do* something. I distinguish between manual and industrial training. In the manual-training class boys and girls are given an opportunity for introduction into the industrial world. The boys are taught certain principles in woodwork and mechanical drawing; and during the time of the three years' course we find out to which trade they may be best adapted. Last year we decided that something must be done for girls. We have always had sewing and laundry and housework, but it has been impossible to teach them cooking. Last year we established a domestic science department, where all the girls who are old enough learn cooking, and it is so arranged that whatever is cooked is used in the dining room.

We have carpentering, blacksmithing, painting, tailoring, printing, engineering, etc.

When the students go out they will be able to stand alone on the reservation or in the world at large.

The results? I have had the pleasure of being in the field one year as Supervisor of Indian Schools, and during that year I visited from the north of Wisconsin along through the Northern States to the Western coast, and south along the coast, back through Oklahoma; and I had an excellent opportunity to see results, and the view was encouraging.

Mrs. John S. West, of Worcester, was invited to speak.

Mrs. WEST.—I had an impression a year ago that in trying to understand anything about Indian affairs one must make up his mind as to a theory of education; that if one would be loyal to Carlisle and Hampton, he must turn his back on the reservation school. I have found that unnecessary. One can be loyal to Hampton and Carlisle and still find work for a long time to come and for many men and women upon the Indian reservations. There are two sorts of philanthropic work for the Indians—the

general missionary work on the reservation and the great non-sectarian industrial schools at the East. There is also a connecting link between those two that we are apt to forget, and that is the reservation missionary school. While for the few favored ones who can be induced to go East with the hope of making a permanent home in civilization, nothing is better than Hampton or Carlisle, we must no less reckon with that great force—that could not possibly be described as “promising young men and women—” the grown people and the little children. If one goes into those little tepees on the reservation, his heart aches for the family left behind when the bright boy goes to Hampton—for the father and mother who let him go, though they know that he may never come back. And even if the child does come back, speaking another language, wearing another dress, accustomed to new ideas of living, there is no place for him in the old home. That is the sad thing. If we could take all the Indians off the reservations, and do for them as is done so perfectly for those who stay at Hampton or Carlisle long enough to graduate, that would be the ideal way of solving the Indian problem. But with the needs as they are, we must plan to provide to a large extent for education on the reservation.

The Santee Industrial School is a fine example of provision for such need. That school combines with its industrial training and class-room work all the good influence of a social settlement. The Training School brings to the Santee Reservation a force of twenty educated Christian men and women. Boys and girls who associate six or seven years with such men and women gain a great deal more than book learning and hand training. The Santee students get more than a theoretical knowledge of Christian principles; the majority of them come out of the school professing Christians. And if you realize what a personal Christian faith means to you and me, think what it means to an Indian boy or girl to get something to stand on which shall offset environment! And you do not know what environment means until you go out on a reservation. It takes a Christianity about ten times as strong on an Indian reservation as it does at Mohonk.

Think of the personal influence of the individual Christian missionary on the reservation! Take Miss Collins, for instance. You do not understand here what her influence means at Standing Rock. She is missionary, she is teacher, she is judge, she is physician, she is everything that a talented, trained and consecrated woman can be. The Indians know that Winona understands and loves them, so they trust her, and the desire to please her becomes a controlling motive for right living. The graduate of a non-reservation school returning to Standing Rock finds a present sympathy and support that is safeguard against the temptation to relapse into old conditions. Loyalty to the memory of past and distant teachers may restrain the stronger Indian boys and girls, but there are many returned students saved to civilization solely by the upholding sympathy of the resident missionary. The thought that Winona will see is often the weight that turns the balance

trembling between the new thrift and the old carelessness in Indian household affairs at Standing Rock.

I wish I might say a word about the religious influence of these missionaries. One of the Santee teachers who is house-mother in the dormitory where the larger boys live, told me of one of her boys who had been disrespectful to an instructor. She tried to persuade him that Christianity and courtesy required an apology to the instructor, but he did not like to apologize any more than a white boy would. The teacher was inexorable, not by threatening, but by repeating daily the question, "Have you won your victory yet?" In the end the boy apologized. It seems to me that is typical of the training the Indians receive from the missionary on the reservation. We cannot force civilization on them from the outside. It must grow up in the heart of each one. As their ideal is raised they will reach out their hands and take civilization for themselves. Teach them one by one, not in the mass, but boy by boy, that they have victories to win for themselves, not merely over their physical environment, but over their own character by such behavior as will win the respect of all on the reservation and in the country at large. This will bring civilization by natural growth, and for this sort of civilization the thanks will be due in no small part to the missionaries on the far distant reservations.

Adjourned at 10.15 P. M.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 13, 1899.

The session was called to order by the President, after prayer by Rev. Mr. Wright, at 10 A. M.

Extracts from various letters were read by Mr. Smiley. Among others was one from Mrs. W. G. Roe, of Oklahoma, telling of the way in which the money, \$1,306.95, was spent, which was subscribed at the last Indian Conference for the "Smiley Cottage" for a mission house.

There was also a letter from Charles H. Cooke with reference to the Pimas and Papagoes, making grievous complaint about lack of water. The Mormons and Jews have settled on the Gila River above the Indians and diverted the water. They want a reservoir built. Mr. Smiley said that he had twice visited them and he did not believe reservoirs would meet the difficulty.

Among others was a letter from Rev. A. G. Murray, of the Pawnee Mission in Oklahoma, setting forth that the condition of the Indians there was worse than before the allotment of land in severalty. The Indians are held in tutelage just as before under Government officials. Their property is taxed and the Indians are idle and gamble. Mr. Murray, said Mr. Smiley, recommends that they should either have all their money at once and be allowed to spend it and go to the rock bottom, or else dismiss the officials who are making paupers of the Indians. He thinks the Indians will do better if allowed to take care of their own affairs. He says inspectors who do not see the whole thing report favorably when matters are really in a miserable condition. Mr. Smiley said he would hand this letter to Senator Dawes.

Senator Dawes remarked that if the Conference would turn its guns on those who were trying to skin the allottees he should feel encouraged.

The following extract of a letter from Dr. Charles A. Eastman was read:—

"I had thought of suggesting to the friends of the Indian, if I were present, the necessity of protecting the rightful heirs of the deceased Indians in their allotments. It will be impossible, in a few years, to find out where some of these lands belong,—while nearly all of them will be absorbed in litigation. Lawyers have already taken these contested claims. There should be some provision made for cases of this character. It should be settled by the Government and not by courts.

"Please say for me, that the shortest way of disposing of the reservation system with all its hindrances to true progress, is the

allotment of land in severalty. During the past few years I have discussed this subject with the returned students of the Sioux. Among the more advanced young men the thought has taken a definite shape. This class of Indians have come to the conclusion that if the medicine is to be taken at all, it must be taken in heroic doses.

"These young men are looking forward to taking an active part in the state and national politics. They understand fully that citizenship means responsibility and sound mind, just as work means muscles and strength. But work begets muscles and strength,—yes, confidence and manhood."

A group of photographs from Miss Alice Robertson, of Indian Territory, was exhibited. There were also some photographs of Indians presented by Mr. McElroy. Mr. Smiley said that many of the Indians have massive heads not surpassed in intellectual power by any white men, and quoted Carl Schurz as saying that the most intellectual man he ever met was Ooray, a full-blood Indian of Colorado. "Many people," said Mr. Smiley, "think an Indian is good for nothing. The truth is though many are inferior to white people, many of them are superior to us."

Mr. Wistar suggested in view of the fact that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had so speedily settled the Chippewa difficulty, which was reported last year, that a resolution of appreciation ought to be presented. Referred to the Business Committee.

Mr. Standing said that he had omitted in his statement to add the figures for the graduates of Carlisle. Those that he gave as doing well, seventy-six per cent, were of all who had left the school. Of the graduates of Carlisle of whom they have absolute track, ninety-five per cent are doing well.

President GATES.—I took a list of the Carlisle students who had returned to the Blackfeet Agency, and inquired there pretty fully about each one. (Their names were read.)

Of these fifteen students, thirteen are doing well—most of them remarkably well. Two (whose names I do not mention) are "on the black list." I asked about them. Their father, although he had some property and some education, had lived in open polygamy, and everything was against them in their home before they left for school. They went to Carlisle with bad characters, and they came back not confirmed in virtue. They have not been guilty of actual crimes, but they are not regarded as trustworthy.

A returned student who had been acting as interpreter came to me and said that he wanted to put up a forge, and do business for himself as a blacksmith, there was so much more of horseshoeing and wagon mending needed by the Indians than could be done by the regular force of the agency employees. While he was out of a place the agent allowed him to use the forge out of hours, and earn what he could; and he made the first week some twenty-eight dollars from the Indians by work in the early mornings and late evenings. With the co-operation of the agent and the approval

of Commissioner Jones we provided for him an anvil and forge, and the way was opened for his much-desired shop. I hope he is hammering iron by this time! When you hear that all the "returned students" go back to the blanket and "go to the bad," remember that this is a "stock falsehood," and that statistics show that more than three quarters of them go back and do well. The percentage of those who do well is as large, the showing is as favorable, for these returned Indians as for the boys and girls from our average city schools, where the children of all moral grades and classes of families are represented.

Mr. Smiley read extracts from a letter from Bishop Whipple, regretting the impossibility of his attendance, and sending greetings.

The President of the Conference had been requested by the Committee to occupy an hour on Thursday evening with some account of a visit to California, Oregon and Montana Agencies made last summer; but he had declined to occupy the evening hour, giving his time to others. He now yielded to the request of the Committee.

A VISIT TO THE NORTHERN RESERVATIONS IN OREGON AND MONTANA.

ADDRESS BY PRES. MERRILL E. GATES, LL.D.

If you will look at this map of the United States, on which the orange-colored sections are the Indian reservations, and will compare the total area of these reservations with the space occupied by all the New England States, New York, Delaware, New Jersey and Maryland, you will have, perhaps, a more definite idea of the vast expanse of territory still reserved to the Indians.

Some two months of this last summer I spent in visiting some of the most western and northern of these reservations. Crossing the continent by the Santa Fe route to Los Angeles, I attended the sessions of the National Educational Association (which brought together some ten thousand public school-teachers from all parts of the country) and the sessions of the Institute for Teachers in the Indian schools, which met with the National Association, and continued its sessions for some ten days after the adjournment of the larger gathering. Between three and four hundred teachers, agents and employees in the Indian service attended this Institute. The interest shown in all the discussions, the methods advocated, the spirit which evidently actuated most of those who were present and the average of intelligence and of professional equipment on the part of these teachers in the Indian service, were most gratifying.

You will read with interest, I am sure, the resolutions passed by this body of teachers. They were noteworthy for their strong insistence upon the value of Civil Service reform in its application

to the Indian school service, and for the emphasis placed upon the need of enforced school attendance for all children, and the wisdom and the duty of sending away from the tribe to the non-reservation school all healthy children whose attainments are such as to lead their teachers to recommend it. It is evident that pressure will often be needed to bring this about, and the resolutions were specific as to the duty of the Government to enforce attendance where parents oppose the education and civilization of their children. Two or three of these resolutions I want to have the Conference hear :—

Resolved, That the true object of Indian schools and of the management of Indian affairs is to accomplish the release of the individual Indian from the slavery of tribal life, and to establish him in the self-supporting freedom of citizenship and a home in the life of the nation; and that whatever in our present system hinders the attainment of this object should be changed.

Resolved, That every Indian child over thirteen years old whose physical condition is pronounced by the agency physician to be such as to warrant it, and whose progress and promise are such as to lead the superintendent of the nearest reservation school or the supervisor of schools, or both of them, to recommend it, should be sent to a non-reservation school; and no such child who shall wish to go should be kept back under the degrading influence of tribal life because parents may refuse their consent.

Resolved, That the public schools of the United States are fundamentally and supremely the Americanizers of all people within our limits; and our duty to the Indian requires that all Indian school effort shall be directed toward getting all Indian youth into these schools.

After visiting the contract school at San Diego, Cal., and the large and admirable Government non-reservation boarding school at Salem, Ore. (with its trade school and school buildings for 350 children), as well as the Puyallup school at Tacoma, Ore., I spent several weeks in informing myself as fully as possible of the state of affairs upon the Klamath Reservation, in Southern Oregon and at the great northern reservations in Montana; viz., the Blackfeet Agency, at Browning, Mont., and the Fort Belknap and Fort Peck Agencies.

THE MODOCS AND KLAMATHS.

We went first to the Klamath Agency in the north of Oregon. That agency has about six hundred Klamath Indians and five hundred Modocs and Piutes. It has about 1,650 square miles. There are two Government schools; one at the main agency costing about \$18,000 a year for 130 children, and the other at Yainax (the sub-agency), costing about \$17,000 a year for 125 children. Of the 1,072 Indians on the reservation 450 can read and 650 speak English well enough to get on in ordinary conversation about everyday affairs. They built 41 houses last year. They are able to earn

about 60 per cent of their living by civilized employments, 20 per cent comes by hunting and fishing, and the Government gives them 20 per cent of their subsistence. We saw 9 barns put up in the frame this year, but not yet sided in. They need more lumber. The sawmill has been burned down recently, and they feared that it would take nine months to get another; but I hope that by this time the burnt mill has been replaced. Two hundred houses are occupied by the Indians,—that is, a house to every five or six persons. They are small, one-story frame houses, with a steep roof; but they are comfortable and promising. In summer these Indians go out into their wicky-ups, made by making a circle of saplings or poles and bending the tops in together, bringing them into a small circle, the whole (except the small central hole in the top) covered with tule-mats woven from a rush, the tule which covers miles of land along the shallow lakes and streams. Some of these wicky-ups are very pretty summer homes; and the removal from the winter house to the summer wicky-up is not a much more serious relapse toward barbarism than is the outing, the week or two of camping-out, for us. On the whole I do not think these Indians have taken any backward steps. They cultivate about a thousand acres; but agriculture is discouraging work with them, for they have frosts every month in the year, and the garden growths are cut down by frost again and again. I wonder that they have patience to raise as much garden produce as they do. There are 28,000 acres fenced in. I saw many miles of excellent, strongly-built fences of post and wire. Last year they raised 5,000 bushels of oats, rye and barley and 4,500 tons of hay, and they made 1,000 pounds of butter. They sawed 852,000 feet of lumber. By hauling freight they earned \$2,130 with their teams; and they sold \$22,000 worth of farm products. They own 3,500 horses and ponies (though the ponies are worthless except for riding), 3,500 cattle, 350 swine and 650 domestic fowl. There are great herds of worthless ponies. My constant sermon to them was, "Learn how to change ponies into cows!" I had a talk with an old chief of the Piutes about this matter. He was a conservative, a bad piece of inertia, stout, apathetic, good-natured, but reactionary! I asked, "How many cattle have you?" "Ugh,—seven." "How many ponies?" "Ugh,—suppose seventy." "How much does it cost to raise a two-year-old heifer? Does it cost more than to raise a pony?" He admitted that it did not. "What is a two-year-old heifer or steer worth?" "Twenty-five dollars." "What is a pony worth?" "Nothing." "Then," I asked, "why don't you get rid of your ponies and raise cattle to sell?" "What for sell them?" "To get money," I replied. "Don't want money." "Well, if you had money you could buy things for your family." "Don't want things; want ponies. Indian don't want cows! Ugh! Indians want ponies." He was almost the only one of that type whom I met at Klamath, however. The others were wide awake to their future, and were eager to make money.

A TYPICAL INDIAN "MAN OF MEANS."

Prominent among the more enterprising men of this reservation is Henry Jackson, perhaps 48 years old,—a man of substance, owning cattle and improvements worth \$25,000 to \$30,000. He is a "Pitt River" Indian by birth, and the Klamaths and Modocs used to make raids upon this less powerful and less war-like tribe, 100 miles and more to the West and South. In such a raid forty years ago Henry Jackson, a boy of five years, was taken prisoner, and brought back with many others the slaves of their captors. Old Chief Lalu had Henry as his slave. As we were driving across the reservation to the sub-agency at Yainax, we camped, to give the horses rest and feed, and to take our luncheon, on the bank of a pretty little river whose waters were overhung by willow thickets. Old Chief Lalu's wicky-up and house stood above the stream fifty rods away; and he came to call on us at luncheon and broke bread with us. He is very old, but his eye is still keen, and he is alert and active for one of his years. As we sat upon the grass beneath the willows at luncheon, a beautiful deer—a large five-year old stag with a noble pair of antlers—came daintily and cautiously toward us, and finally rubbed his nose against old Lalu's shoulder. It was a tame "mule-deer," a fine specimen. The horses feeding, the luncheon spread by the stream, the little circle of white men with two or three Indians lying on the grass, and the tame deer feeding from the old chief's hand, made an Arcadian scene.

I asked Chief Lalu, "Do you remember Henry Jackson?" "Yes. When I go on the war path down Pitt River, 'most fifty years ago, we get about fifty of them Pitt River Indians. We bring *him* back. Henry Jackson was my slave, five years old. When he get *so* big (showing height with his hands, about fifteen years old) I let him go free. He's a *big* man now; he own best cattle, *most* cattle any one here. He got houses and barns; he's worth thirty thousand dollars. He's my slave once."

Except the lazy, the vicious and the reactionary, every one respects Henry Jackson. He came to see me, and I talked with him for an hour or two. He speaks English well. He is one of those strong, decided, practical men who make their way in any community. He would be a "leading man" wherever he lived in any settlement of farmers or cattle men. But the great trouble which now overhangs his prospects I want to tell you of briefly; for it illustrates the difficulties which a man of strong character, good purpose and deep feelings must overcome in breaking away from and breaking through the superstitions in which he was reared.

Henry Jackson has been through an awful experience. He had a boy very dear to him who had been in the Indian school. Lung trouble developed. The father tried all kinds of medicines and many physicians, but the son did not recover. He was the hope of his father. Like other half-desperate parents under similar circum-

stances, Henry Jackson was ready for any new treatment which promised recovery. There appeared among the Indians an oily-tongued Chinaman who had let his hair grow long, and said that he practiced "Indian medicine." Everything else having failed, Henry Jackson at last consented to let the Chinaman try to cure his boy. This Chinese quack and impostor sang his incantations over the son for a week and more. He wished to destroy the influence of the old Indian doctor who had been the boy's physician; and at last, in a crisis, after the physician and the father had sat beside the bed into the gray dawning, while the sweat of terror dripped from the father, lest he lose his son, the Chinaman said, "Your boy never get well while old Indian doctor is living." No one believes that Henry Jackson killed that Indian doctor; but within a few days after this "prophecy" he was found, twenty miles away, his skull crushed in. Then the envious enemies of Henry Jackson closed in upon him and accused him of the murder. The men who know him best say that they have not the slightest idea that he knew anything about the crime. There was not any evidence against him. He faces the charge like a man, and says he will live down the ill repute which the charge for the time being has given him. But he wishes that he had followed the agency physician's advice and had not had anything to do with "Indian medicine" or "Chinese charms." This is one of the problems such men have to meet in breaking away from barbarism.

AN AGENCY GOOD ENOUGH TO BE DISCONTINUED.

Henry Wilson, one of the judges of the Court of Indian Offenses, interpreted for us when we spoke on Sunday at Yainax (the Klamath sub-agency) to a large audience of Indians, only half of whom understood English. Afterward Judge Wilson, himself a member of the tribe, spoke to these Indians. He speaks and acts like an educated gentleman. He is exceedingly interested in their progress, their education, and in their attempts at self-government and active citizenship by voting to make their own local roads and dig irrigating ditches by joint labor.

Jesse Kirk is another leading Indian, one of the strongest on the reservation; a man who can help his people to get on without an agent when the agency is discontinued, as it soon should be.

This reservation owes much to its agent, Captain Oliver Applegate, who, like his father before him, has been a life-long friend of the Indians whom he knows so well. The son of a man who pioneered the way for Fremont, and guided some of Fremont's earliest and most daring explorations in the Northwest, Oliver Applegate married perhaps the best kind of wife for an Indian Agent, the daughter of a Home Missionary of the Methodist Church. Under the leadership of Captain Applegate the Klamath Agency should soon attain to the highest possible success for an agency—the state of *fitness to be done away with*—the honor of having

prepared the Indians it has cared for to live as independent, self-supporting citizens of the United States, able to manage their own affairs. And to this end Captain Applegate says he looks forward hopefully.

THE BLACKFEET AND PIEGANS.

From Klamath I went to Northern Montana and visited the Blackfeet Agency. They have a territory nearly one hundred miles by thirty, or about one million seven hundred and sixty thousand acres. They all wear citizens' dress. Some eight hundred of them can read English. They have built six hundred and twenty houses. Fifty per cent of their subsistence is given them in Government rations. They earn most of the rest by civilized labor. Cattle herding is, and should be, their leading industry. The new agent, Major Logan, seems to be doing good work. I telegraphed him that if they wanted a Christian talk on Sunday I would come to the agency at any hour which would suit the Indians and the employees. The agent replied that the message came so late on Saturday that the clerks and employees had all gone away, as they were not accustomed to having Sunday services. He summoned the Indians, and they sent a message that "they wanted to have a council with the white brother, but they could not come that day, because on Sunday they prayed to the Beaver god, going at sunrise and praying till sunset"; that "they would be glad to have the white brother pray to the Beaver god with them, but if he would not then he must say what he would do." I sent word that I did not wish to join their worship; that I hoped that when we worshiped and prayed we could get nearer to the center than the Beaver god. I said I would speak with them if they wished to come to the agency that afternoon. And they came. Yesterday I gave you a list of the names of the leading Indians who came to this council, and an idea of the themes discussed.

The most interesting fact connected with the inspection of this agency and of the Fort Peck Agency where Major Pratt was with me,—and we spent an entire afternoon in conference with over a hundred of the leading Indians,—was the growing conviction on the part of the leading Indians themselves that free Government rations were not making them manly or self-supporting, and that some other way must be found. The steadily growing disposition to ask for more good cattle for breeding, to be issued to them instead of rations, was very noticeable. If the Department so shapes its policy with these Northern tribes as to limit the issue of rations to such of the old, the infirm and the fatherless young as really need them, and for two or three years issues more stock cattle, and presses upon Indians the absolute necessity of their putting up hay in the summer to keep their cattle through the winter, there is every reason to believe that these Indians could, and would, become self-supporting within three or four years. But the man-destroying effect of continuous free feeding is painfully evident in many ways.

In response to the request from members of the Conference that I make you see, if possible, some of the scenes I saw in this nascent civilization,—the early stage of the progress from savagery to citizenship,—I will read to you from my notebook a description (written at the time and in the court) of an hour or two spent with the Indian judges at this Agency, in the “Court of Indian Offenses.”

THE COURT OF INDIAN OFFENSES AT THE BLACKFEET AGENCY.

Judge “Shorty White-grass” presided. An immense head with strongly marked features; a deep chest and powerful arms and shoulders, and a voice which would fill easily and well the chamber of our House of Representatives at its noisiest, would lead you to expect a well-proportioned man of more than six feet in height. But he is only four feet eight inches high, however; and he wears his black hair long, and is fond of carrying on his left arm a green parrot, which is vaguely suspected of whispering oracular wisdom now and then into the ear of the judge. He is a great “medicine man” among his people, and with the old chief, White Calf, Lone Plume, Mad Wolf, and other conservatives of the tribe, he spends his Sundays in worshiping and praying to the Beaver god. The two associate justices were “Little Plume” (a son of Chief White Calf) and “Wolf Tail.”

The three judges are seated behind a table at the end of the court room. When I enter they rise and bow courteously and point me to a seat beside them, where an interpreter, a returned Carlisle student, “Englishes” the proceeding for me sentence by sentence. Ranged down either side of the room stands a row of wooden chairs against the wall. Members of the Indian police, sterling fellows in uniform, with good, intelligent faces, act as messengers and officers of the court. Ten or a dozen Indians are interested but stoically quiet spectators. The case before the court as I enter is concerned with certain domestic infelicities in the married life of an Indian ranchman and his wife. “Cowbedding” is his name, and he and his wife had a quarrel last Saturday evening. She complained to the police, and asked that the court take action; but before her complaint could be acted upon her husband had gone to the police voluntarily, saying that he had acted badly to his wife and she toward him, and he thought it best that the matter should come before the court. Proceedings in the court room are formal, quietly dignified, almost stately, notwithstanding the homely nature of the matter brought before the court. Impressive silences intervene between successive pieces of testimony and between the utterances of the different members of the court. Cowbedding and his wife sit side by side. And I read you now from my notebook the little picture I tried to make of them as they faced me in the court room. She wears a red handkerchief striped with yellow folded over her black hair; about her shoulders a broad scarf striped with red, yellow and blue. A

heavy white and blue blanket is worn as a shawl. The skirt of her dress is of whitish calico, faded, but with two bright red, horizontal bands let into it and showing as the let-out tucks in the gown of a rapidly growing girl sometimes show. She wears neatly laced moccasins upon her feet. Her face is almost ladylike in its refinement of feature, with a long, straight, slender nose and remarkably delicate curves about the cheeks and lips. There are bracelets of large brass bands and rings upon her wrists and several rings on each of three or four fingers of each hand. Hands and fingers are slender and shapely. She carries a little riding-whip in her hand (they have come on horseback), and in her interest and embarrassment as she hears the testimony and listens to her husband's story and to the words of the judges, she restlessly and unconsciously twists and untwists this little whip until parts of it fall to pieces in her hand.

The judges called upon her to tell her story first. She lifted her hand, made the affirmation, and then in a low tone and very quietly she gave her account of the trouble. Her husband, she said, had been at the horse races Saturday, and came home late. When he rode in she went out where a group of men were standing, and annoyed because he was late she thought she would try "jossing" him a little, and she said to the other men that they "had better run out of camp the man on the buckskin horse"! The only man in the camp on a buckskin horse was her liege lord, Cowbedding! This she said in fun, she affirmed; but it made her husband angry. When he came in and she gave him his supper, she said he would not eat. He said to her that he could not eat. He told her that after she had talked to him so the food she cooked for him "would not agree with him." He said he didn't feel like eating it, and that if he did eat it, it would be as bad for him as dyspepsia, because he couldn't feel right toward her. Afterwards he struck her with a porcelain dipper. It hit her in the side, and made a mark. He said he struck her with the dipper because she pushed over their little child. Then when she spoke some words to him, he would have struck her with the heavy pole which lay before the bed (it was in the tepee); but his mother stopped him, she said. Afterwards he threatened to drive her out of the tepee, which would have been as formal an affair as the old New England proclamation of "divorce from bed and board"; but his mother, from the other side of the tepee, intervened by calling out, "You had better be quiet, and let us sleep," and so the quarrel ended. In the morning she spoke to one policeman; but Cowbedding had spoken to another policeman first, and so they were before the court by joint request.

Then Cowbedding told his story. He was a tall, good-looking man, with aquiline nose and long, black hair. He wore a close-fitting suit of blue woolen stuff. Blue moccasins were on his feet, and rings in his ears and on his fingers. In addressing the court, he too was very quiet and deliberate; and after lifting his hand to take the affirmation, he spoke with deferential manner as one under

authority; yet he told a very straight and plain tale. The interesting point was that his story did not differ in any essential detail from that of his wife. He told it in almost the same words, only emphasizing the fact that after she had "jossed" him so that he could not eat the food she had cooked, she got angry and struck their little child. Then he was angry, and struck her with the dipper. Then he added very gravely, "I know I did wrong and I am ashamed, and I told the policeman I was ashamed, and I thought we had better be brought before the court; but she knocked the wind out of the child, and I felt bad."

After an impressive silence, Judge Shorty White-grass, having consulted briefly with the other judges, rose to the occasion and pronounced the decision of the Court. The Indian love of oratory was strong in him, and he was not by any means unaware of the presence of a stranger from Washington, and evidently he was not averse to letting that stranger hear the moral maxims which the Court held applicable to such cases. But on the whole it was as kindly a mingling of paternal and neighborly advice with the administration of rudimentary justice, as one could ever hope to hear. He told them how a married couple ought always to live, loving one another and helping one another. He affirmed that the Court were unanimous and clear, upon the testimony, that the quarrel had been unseemly, reprehensible, disgraceful! But since careful questioning had elicited the fact that the blow with the dipper had not caused lameness or made a bad wound, and since the mother, by her own admission, had struck and pushed over her little child, thus partly excusing Cowbedding's anger, the Court had decided not to punish either of them further. But the Court expressed the strong hope that they would live together hereafter as they knew they ought to live; and now they must sit still beside each other in the court room and think over what they knew was right until they could do it, and then they might go home.

I confess I was greatly interested in the case, because the play of their features and the nervous working of their hands seemed to indicate that husband and wife were fond of each other, and were ashamed of their falling out. Under the sentence of the Court they sat silent side by side for half an hour, while the next case was called, and the proceeding went forward. Then, while that case was in progress, I saw them turn and look at each other, then they quietly arose and went out together; and as I looked out the window I saw an almost unheard-of-sight—an Indian man helping his wife to mount her saddle horse. Then, side by side, Cowbedding and his wife rode toward their home, where I hope that not horse racing, nor "jossing" the husband, nor the dyspeptic disinclination to eat food that a jeering wife has cooked, nor an impatient blow at a child, nor the "retort discourteous" with a porcelain dipper, may ever again mar the peace of the tepee, or call forth the eloquent rebuke of Judge Shorty White-grass and his associates.

THE YOUNG MEN LEAD IN THE WHITE MAN'S WAY.

I wish that it were possible for you all to hear the speeches of such a council as we held with 150 of the Northern Yanktonai Sioux and Assiniboinés at Fort Peck. For a long afternoon we listened to them, drew out their views of their own life and its possibilities by questions, gave them our ideas, and answered their questions. You would have felt a profound sympathy with men of no mean natural ability who found themselves utterly at a loss, unable to live in the old way, confronted with a civilization which has destroyed their former manner of life, and has not yet taught them how to support themselves under the new conditions.

Typical of their condition in this transition stage, and of their only hope,—education to self-support and Christianization,—was the speech of one of the oldest chiefs. He had called out “returned students,” young men from the Carlisle school, and these young men had spoken well and hopefully of “the new way,” and of the lessons of life they had learned in the East. Then, at the close of the conference, the old chief said: “When I was a young chief all the young men kept still, and the old men talked in the councils; and that was right, for the old men knew, and we did what the old men said. But I have lived to see a time when the other thing must be done. We old men must be silent, and we must hear the young men speak. For we must all go the white man’s way. There is no other way now. The buffalo are gone. There is no game. And we old men could not go East. But our children have gone East, and they know the white man’s way. A light comes from the East, and our young men have seen it. We old men must listen to them. We must keep silent, and go as the young men tell us—in the white man’s way.”

At the conclusion of this address Dr. Gates introduced Miss Estelle Reel, the Superintendent of Indian Schools. She declined to give an address, but consented to say a few words to the Conference.

MISS REEL.—I appreciate the honor and privilege of being invited to address you, and am deeply grateful to Dr. Gates for his kind and courteous invitation. I am glad to say that I have had the co-operation of my predecessor, Dr. Hailmann, to assist me in my work. He was generous enough to say that the Los Angeles convention of teachers was one of the best that has been held in point of numbers and interest. Of the year and a half I have been in office the greater part has been spent in visiting the schools in the field. We have many that are of great influence, as has been shown by Mr. Welsh, Mr. James and Dr. Gates. I have a few educational theories of my own, but I shall be cautious in presenting them, and shall take the liberty of frequently asking the advice of this Conference in regard to Indian matters.

Rev. Frank Wright was introduced as the son of a Choctaw.

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS OF REV. FRANK WRIGHT.

I was at Fort Sill when the Apache prisoners of war were received. I wanted to have religious work done among these Apaches. The officer in charge did not give us any encouragement. I returned there recently and found Lieutenant Beach in charge, and presented the case to him. He said, "If you are going to do permanent work you are the man I want." It was refreshing to find a United States army officer a Christian man, and taking a spiritual interest in these people. He did all he could to get the work on its feet. He said he intended to leave soon, and he should not be satisfied not to have such work inaugurated before he went away.

We had a council with the Indians, and Lieutenant Beach was present. In his opening speech Lieutenant Beach said, "I am going away in a year or two, and I want to establish mission work here and put up a day school if you want it." One man after another got up and spoke, and among others Geronimo said he was glad to have them established. But you must take a grain of salt with what he says. He is the one who got his people into the war. The real leader of these Indians is a noble man, a man whom you would honor; but Geronimo is an old rascal. Nevertheless we may reach him with the gospel. "As a man thinketh in his heart so is he." We have got to reach their hearts, and we can do it. It takes infinite patience to reach the Indian, but it can be done. We are getting converts. We take one here and another there; but the trouble is, too often, after you think you have got him down he goes. They are like backsliders in white churches. After awhile we get them again, for God's grace is powerful. You have to have faith, and by and by they will accept the gospel, be baptized and rejoice. Heathen? Yes; they come round and talk so nicely when you have bread or work, and you expect everything to be successful; and then you will open a school, and the next Saturday night you hear that tum-tum commence again, and they dance all night. That is an inauspicious opening you say. No; not entirely. Let the Devil heap on all he can, by and by we shall win, after all. The Indian needs the gospel; we cannot do anything with them without it.

We are not to put our faith in any one man or woman, for about the time the printers' ink is dry telling of your convert he has fallen. We must not judge these Indian Christians by the standards of the East, for their environment is all against them. All we have to do is to have patience. Sometimes they go into the paths of sin because of temptation, but many sincerely repent. They have temptations that we know nothing about.

I am a great believer in Major Pratt's methods, and in Carlisle, Hampton and Haskell, but I believe in reservation schools also. At Seger's Colony we have a wonderful illustration of what can be done with such a school. The children carry into the camp the influences that they get in the school. General Seger is one of the

best examples of a worker I have ever known. I wish you could get him here.

Mr. SMILEY.—Bring him here yourself.

Mr. WRIGHT.—I can't do it. When I came away I saw him packing up bricks, and he had a lot of Indians helping him. He said, "I want to show the people that they can do all the white people can do." Some were driving the mules, some hauling water, some digging clay, some moulding the bricks, others carrying them to the pile, and he on top placing them. He has sacrificed his own life and the lives of his wife and children to this work. The best friend of the Indians is John H. Seger. He is school superintendent, district farmer, everything. He works day and night, and he is bringing excellent results.

The PRESIDENT.—Another fallacy to be spiked to the board where you keep lies, is that the Indian will not work. I have seen enough to know that as a general statement it is not true. Many of them are hungry for work. One of the leading officials of the Santa Fe road said to me when speaking of the Mohaves that he thought they were about as bad a lot as we had, but that some of the best workmen on the road were of that race. Another engineer said that he would rather have the Papagoes to work for him than any other men. They, too, are hungry for work.

Mr. SMILEY.—A few years ago in this room we raised nearly three thousand dollars for the higher education of promising Indians. That fund has been expended for doing that work. It is nearly exhausted, only sixty-two dollars left. We have a chance to use money for that purpose in the education of an Indian girl who has wonderful musical ability. We want to show that an Indian girl can be a leader in that line. We shall be glad if any one feels like continuing that fund.

Miss Collins was introduced as from Standing Rock, upon which Senator Dawes said, "She is a standing rock herself."

ADDRESS OF MISS MARY C. COLLINS.

It is twenty-five years since Grant's peace policy was inaugurated. I have been living on an Indian reservation since that time. I went out before the establishment of Government schools. I began my work with the people when there was no Dr. Hailmann, and I have been among them all these years, and have seen many experiments fail and many succeed. I have come to the conclusion that the one thing that is stable, or that is like Tennyson's brook, which goes on forever, is the missionary. I have seen agents, superintendents, secretaries rise and go out, and the missionary is the only one who stays. The missionary, therefore, is the one who ought to have something to say in regard to what seems the right way to deal with the Indians.

One thing we are too apt to leave out in all our considerations of these great problems, and that is the Indian himself. I speak from the Indian's standpoint. I try to put myself in his place.

Yesterday some one said here that the way to civilize the Indian is to put him out among white people; to take these children away from the reservation and the influence of the old people. When we come to that conclusion we have made a great mistake. Whenever the children are taught to despise their home and parents it is a great mistake. I cannot too strongly protest against that. On Decoration Day I had some beautiful wreaths and crosses made, and we went to the little cemetery, and I laid one cross and crown on Little Eagle's grave, and on the grave of Strike the Kettle another, and some one asked what I did that for. Strike the Kettle is not a very romantic name. He was an old man, nearly seventy when he died, and had to walk with a stick. What had he done that he should be remembered on Memorial Day? Strike the Kettle was an old-time scout for years, protecting Uncle Sam's mail bags from hostile Indians, and from his own tribe, possibly. He was wounded in one of the fights with his own people while protecting the United States mail. What else did he do? Once when the great prairies were on fire for days and they were fighting it, the winds swept back into the woods, and we could see the flames leaping to the trees, and we feared that our schools and the whole village would be swept away. Finally we thought that we were safe, and we went to sleep. The fire sprang up again in the night, when the men were perfectly exhausted after fighting it. I stood watching it with my wagon packed, with bed and provisions ready to flee for safety at the last moment. Some of the Indians came up, and Grindstone said, "Go to bed; we will watch the fire, and we will let you know." By and by I noticed some one standing by my gate. It was Strike the Kettle. When I spoke to him he said, "I could not fight the fire, but I will stay here, Winona,—I will stay by the gate;" and he did stay till the fire was out. Is it any wonder that I put a wreath on his grave? He was a Christian king among his people,—a leader. Yes, we put a wreath on his grave.

In 1866, when we had an Indian war, some white persons were taken prisoners and carried away, and Standing Elk, who lies buried in our cemetery, went with others to rescue them, and brought them safely back to their homes hundreds of miles. Doesn't he deserve a cross and crown? These are the men that you teach the children to despise, the fathers to whom you say they must not go back. I say that is not right. There is good in the Indian. The Indian mother teaches her little child in the home. She takes care to teach what she thinks is right; as much care as you do what you think is right. You would be surprised to go into the Indian home and see how careful they are in the training of the children. The fathers teach them to be brave, and that they must not "whine." Suppose they do have to go without breakfast and dinner and supper, that is nothing to complain about. And the mother teaches the daughters to be quiet and ladylike, to be good women, never to speak loud.

They always speak in a very soft tone of voice, and when they go to the Government schools they often have to eat bread and water because the girls refuse to speak loud enough to be heard at the other end of the room. We want the children to speak distinctly, and we think they are doing the very best they can. These teachers should remember there is another side. There is the Indian side; the missionary as she goes from house to house sees the people as they are. There is no halo about the Indian head to the missionary. She sees him in his filth and his dirt, and as he is in his family. I went into a house once; four children were in the school,—a boy of fifteen, a girl of sixteen, and two younger children,—all very bright and intelligent. I went to the parents' house twenty miles away, and the mother sat on the dirty floor feeding a dirty baby out of a very dirty kettle with a very dirty spoon. The father was in the same filthy condition. I was wondering what I should say when the little child just then stepped up before me. I had heard a good deal about this woman's father, who was a chief, that he did so and so, and I knew he had a high character among his people, and that he was very tall. So I said, "What a tall baby; he must be like his grandfather." Then she began to wipe a little of the dirt off the baby's face. The next time she came to my house he was clean as could be, and she said, "Shake hands with Winona;" and when we shook hands she said, "Winona said he must be like his grandfather." I had won her confidence and love by that simple remark. I began to talk with her, and I encouraged them to put up a log room; and when it was up I gave the woman scraps to make a quilt, and when I went to carry them to her I found the room was as clean as could be, and the bed nicely made up. There were pillowcases made out of flour bags, and everything looked pleasant, and I thought then, the girls now will not be ashamed to go home. They will invite the teachers to see the home, and the father and mother will come to church. They will not go back to the blanket.

We want the gospel to touch their hearts. It is not all to polish the young man on the outside and let him be untouched inside. Of course he will go back to savagery when his clothes wear out. We must begin to make the man from the inside. You take away his old religion whether you say anything about it or not. You do that when a boy learns to read, write and talk. When he has learned that he knows that there is no use in going out and painting a stone and praying to it; he knows that it will not answer him if he does pray to it. You take away his faith in the old gods, and if you do not give him anything in the place of it, he not only goes backward but is worse than ever. He needs to have a solid foundation on which to stand.

I would like to take you to the Grand River and the homes of those Christian people, and see them in the morning at family prayers. They read the Bible and kneel down, and the father and mother pray; and such petitions as go up! If it is on the reservation, and they have a school and teachers and a superintendent, you will hear the plea that God will bless them; that he will

give them great wisdom in dealing with their children; and sometimes they explain a little to God, and say their little girl is so little she does not know how to tie her moccasins, and will God make them very patient with her. In the Grand River Government boarding-schools, under one Noble by name and by nature, is one of the best school superintendents I have ever seen. He is a Christian and the people love him, and they pray for him a great deal in their homes. He tells them the truth, and treats the old Indians with great respect and consideration and he is a success.

We cannot gather the Indians into the church in great numbers at one time; they like to act independently. Each Indian must think for himself. If any people were ever individual in character and motive it is the Indian. No people have felt their individuality more. Because one man does a thing it is no reason why another should. I think we have as few that fall from grace as in any church, for they come into the church understandingly. I have heard people say they knew a great deal about Indians when they could not speak a word of any Indian dialect. How can we know a man when we do not know his manner of thought? One of the deacons of our church was a nephew of Sitting Bull. He came in one day and said, "I know you are very busy, but I want to ask a question. We had a meeting of the Y. M. C. A. and a debate, and we could not decide which side beat, and we said we would leave it to you. The subject for debate was, "If a man sins shall he be dismissed from the church?" I said, "That has been debated by greater people than you and I; which side did you take?" He replied, "I said no, he should not be dismissed." "What is your argument?" I asked. He replied: "In the old times every boy had his friend who was his Koda; he was as close a friend as one person could be to another. It was like David and Jonathan. Everything was divided between them. Now if I should go on the warpath with my Koda and we were beaten and my Koda was wounded by the enemy on the field, and we had to run to save our lives, if I should start and leave my wounded Koda, it would have been better for me if I had died than to go back and endure the disgrace of having left my wounded friend behind. So I would take him by the hand and help him to stand, and help him to a place of safety. So my friend wounded and fallen on the way of life, if he cannot get his hold again, if he falls, I must help him up. I say we should help him up and carry him till he is able to try again. If we do like that when we are savages, it seems to me that when a Christian man in the church is wounded and falls, we should put him on his feet again." And so it seems to me that the nephew of Sitting Bull is a grand Christian character.

A great many men with whom I come in contact have never been off the reservation, but that is no reason why they are uneducated. No one can live so close to nature without being educated to some extent. They love to study nature, and they are instructing themselves constantly with regard to certain things. I was coming from

the school one evening when I heard croaking in the distance, and I said to a little Indian twelve or thirteen years old, "Hear that frog." And he said, "It is not a frog; it is a grasshopper. I saw him do that once," he said. I asked how he did it. He said: "I went into the woods and listened and listened, and when I got near I could not see; and so I took a blanket and rolled myself up like a log and lay a long time, and they thought I was a log, and it made a noise with its legs, and I saw it." So you see they are not ignorant, only they do not know civilized ways. We want to recognize the good that is in them and build on that and not tear it down. The only one of the ten Commandments with promise is, "Honor thy father and mother," and we cannot drop that out of the Indian decalogue. The children are not to despise their fathers and mothers, but they are to walk along together. The congregation that I speak to is made up of old men and women, great grandfathers and mothers, and the mothers and fathers of the children. They are all together in the church. Because the old men and women are old, and because they wear their hair braided, and because the old man wants to put on a blanket, I never feel justified in saying about him, put him out; he is an old man and of no account. He is a man, and there is something in him that will comprehend justice, mercy and love. Some of them have made beautiful Christian people. I do not know of many who are bad—all bad. There are not many who have no desire to do right, and those have not much influence.

So when these young men go home they will remember that they are going back to the home they loved, and in the home where the missionary has been that home has been keeping pace with them in some degree. Send out your missionaries and station them all over the land. Build houses for them, and rooms where the people can come and play games and read and study. If we could have such places our work would go forward more rapidly.

President GATES.—If we had two hundred such schools we should solve the whole problem.

Miss COLLINS.—If we could have good field matrons—Christian women who do not go out there simply to draw a salary, but because they want to lift the Indian into true living and home keeping—they could do a great deal of work. I am sorry to say that I have been so unfortunate as not to come in contact with that kind of field matron. We need women ready to sacrifice themselves. I saw once a field matron who said to me, "I am coming round to your house next week; this is the end of the quarter, and I have to make a report of the number of visits I have made; I am going to start in next week and visit them all." That woman did not know that that was not the right thing to do. She did not understand that her business was to work in the Indian home every day in the week. I am so glad that I could shake hands with Commissioner Jones and Superintendent Reel, and that we can feel that these Government officials are the friends of the Indians. I want you to feel that the missionaries and the Government are

not antagonistic. Sometimes we are treated on the reservation as if we were interlopers, and as if the missionary had not the rights of a citizen. We have to keep still and see wrong that we should be glad to have removed, but we are helpless.

I can see many things our Indians need. First, we do not want them to be used as playthings; they are men. Agents should be required to forbid dancing and painting faces; he should not be allowed even on the Fourth of July to have his Indians go back to the old way. The old customs are wrong, and the native dance stirs up the war spirit. It demoralizes the old Indians and even the school boy and girl. Let us have no more "Wild West" Fourth of July. Then issue cows to our Standing Rock Indians, and give us farmers who have nothing else to do but go from house to house to help the Indians in their efforts to farm, showing them how to do it by example as well as precept. Our country showed at the last Presidential election that the voters believe in the gold standard in monetary affairs. Let the voters show by their votes that they believe in the Golden Rule standard in Indian affairs; no more sectarian schools supported by the Government; no more wild Indian exhibitions; no more using of the Indian service to pay political debts.

When asked her opinion about the classified service Miss Collins said: In the Government schools you will find that those who are doing the best work are those who have been appointed through the classified service. And you will find that the inefficient ones, those who make trouble, who are continually stirring up quarrels, are those who have been brought in without an examination. The classified service has done a great deal in bringing up the service, and I should like to see the agents put under the same rule. The agents will object and the politicians will object. But a country that goes to war with a foreign nation in order to redeem an island from tyranny and neglect cannot afford to stand before the world as unjust to its own helpless wards. Take the whole Indian service out of politics; put into office great and true-hearted men that love their country, not for what they can get out of it, but for what our country is and what she may yet be when truth and righteousness shall reign.

The CHAIR.—One of the difficulties we have to deal with is the fact that so many charges come to us accompanied with the injunction that we must make no use of them, lest the sender of the report may suffer! If names and dates could be given, there would be a far better chance of securing the righting of wrongs.

Mr. SMILEY.—I never went to an agency without people complaining to me, but the charges were not often specific.

NEED OF THE BIBLE IN INDIAN SCHOOLS.

The CHAIR.—We remember that when the contracts with the denominational schools were given up, we feared that the immediate result would be the loss of the most vital power in the civilization of the Indians, the helpful, personal influence of Christian

men and women as teachers and preachers and friends. Now, we are all friendly to the Government schools; but with all my interest in education, and my admiration for many of the methods and standards of the Government schools, I feel compelled to say that there is a very great danger to the work of uplifting the Indians, from the feeling on the part of some of those who work in Government schools that some one (not the Superintendent of Indian Schools, nor the Commissioner), but the feeling that somehow, some one makes objection to active Christian work in these schools. I found this feeling time and again. The teachers say, "I am not to read the Bible in the school, so I try reading Emerson or some good poetry." Emerson is a sage and a poet; but no poems get close down to the life of these people, and give them the lessons and the moral strength they need, as do the words from the Living Book. There is no character-forming force like the Bible. I can recall several cases where teachers said to me, "I do not read the Bible in my school; I should like to, but I suppose I must not;" and in an interview with the superintendent, in every case the wish was expressed that the teachers would use the Bible; "but we cannot require it."

Another danger that I observed was a desire on the part of many employees to pass too quickly from one position to another; to use a position merely as a place from which to "get promoted." We must be alive to these dangers. Religious work, Christian work, must be done among Indians, or they will not make good citizens. If we had no other motive than patriotism, the wish to see these two hundred and fifty thousand American Indians good citizens, should lead us to see that they receive training in sound Christian morals. We ought to learn from England who made the awful mistake in India of dethroning the old religions and substituting nothing for them; and England is now admitting freely the sad mistake made by her in giving an exclusively secular education to the millions of India.

Hon. H. L. DAWES.—At the opening of the session this morning Mr. Smiley called attention to the deplorable condition of the allottees under the Severalty Act as detailed in a letter which he put into my hands. For obvious reasons there is very little more that I can do for any of these allottees. If any one can point out, however, where I can do more than has been done already, God knows there is no one here who would be so glad to do it as I. What has the United States already done for them? It has covenanted with each allottee that the United States shall hold for his exclusive use and enjoyment one hundred and sixty acres of land for twenty-five years, and then shall deliver it over to him, or his heirs, free of every dollar of taxes or debt or contract.

When he takes this allotment the act has clothed him with all the rights, privileges and immunities of American citizenship as fully as any one here enjoys them. Now if there is anything more than that that the law can do I wish some one would point it out.

I remember when that bill was before the President for signature I took the opportunity to say to the Board of Indian Commissioners in Washington that it only opened a wider door of opportunity for the friend of the Indian, but that if any one thought that it would enact civilization and self-support into the Indian he was very much mistaken; and if they were content to put him out upon his allotment and leave him there with nothing but the blue sky over him and nothing with which to gather up subsistence, and no knowledge of what to do when it was there, it were better that the law were never enacted. It has come to pass in some parts of the country just what I feared, danger and peril to the allottees. The Government of the United States has done, as I conceive, everything that it is in the power of law to do. Each allottee holds a patent from the United States describing his one hundred and sixty acres, recorded in Washington and on the reservation where he lives, that they will hold him in possession of that land for twenty-five years for a home. He cannot part with it without an act of Congress, nor can Congress itself take it from him without his consent. No baron in England has a better title than he to that home. But if the administration of that law has failed, if the friend of the Indian has omitted anything, what else can be done? Shall we let him go with the idea that we have enacted civilization into him, or shall we gather round him and strengthen him, and stimulate and encourage him, and protect him from the greed that is round about him? I thought that was the purpose of the law then. What I said at that time was not very acceptable. I got pretty well rated when I said it, but now my attention is called to a condition of things very like what I described in advance. I have felt pained at the indifference toward the allottee, on whom, in my opinion, rests the hope of the consummation of the work that we have in hand. Without taking more time I offer the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the attention of the Board of Indian Commissioners be called to the condition and needs of the allottees under the Severalty Act, with the request that they consider and adopt such measures as will more surely protect them from outside encroachment, and more effectively stimulate in them the development of self-sustaining citizenship.

President GATES.—As one of those present when we were all applauding Senator Dawes for the success in passing the Severalty Bill, and when he uttered that most grave warning as to disastrous results that would follow unless this bill were followed up by wise and kind treatment of the Indians, I want to bear witness to the prophetic speech of Senator Dawes.

General Whittlesey seconded the resolution, and in doing so said: This is a matter of great importance. Much attention has been given to it by some of the friends of the Indian,—by Miss Fletcher

and others. It has had a good deal of consideration. We called in the help of Mr. Justice Strong, and under his advice a clause was introduced into the amended Severalty Act which defined the line of inheritance for Indians, which we regarded as of very great importance. But something more than that is needed. It is necessary that there should be an accurate register of all changes among the Indians, deaths, births, changes of residence, etc., so that the heirs to those allotted lands may be found and identified. Of course there is a complete and accurate register of allotted lands and a copy in the Indian office, but more than that is needed. That involves a great deal of labor, but perhaps it can be accomplished by administrative act through the Interior Department. It should be placed under the charge of one of the most intelligent clerks in the Indian office; and we have a corps of intelligent, well-educated men in the Indian office. He should have the entire charge of this work. In addition to that it may be necessary that the Indian agents should have on some of the reservations additional clerks to assist them in doing this work under the direction of the Indian office. In order to effect that an act of Congress would be necessary. No Commissioner of Indian Affairs, nor the Secretary of the Interior, nor even the President himself, can appoint any additional clerks without authority from Congress, so that we may need to go to Congress for an act to carry out the purpose of this resolution, which I deem of very great importance. No doubt some of the agents at the smaller agencies would be able to do the work themselves.

Permit me a word about Indian agents. I have seen in my travels, and I have traveled all over the country among the Indians, a great many Indian agents, and with but few exceptions I have found them good and faithful men. There may be here and there one who cannot be relied on. They are earnest, hard-working men. Some have a large amount of business, and they could not possibly do this additional work of making an accurate register, and it will be necessary to get authority for additional help.

The Chair called attention to a circular which was sent out by General Whittlesey a year or two ago calling for statistics as to the number of Indians, etc. The results are to be found in the Report of the Indian Commissioners for 1898, pages 12 and 13. The prevalent opinion is that the allotments are greatly to the benefit of the Indian as indicated in twenty replies that were received.

The resolution was then unanimously adopted.

Miss Anna B. Scoville was asked to speak. Her address is omitted at Miss Scoville's request.

Hon. Charles R. Skinner, Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of New York, was invited to speak.

Superintendent SKINNER.—A few years ago the condition of the Indians in this State was discussed at great length by this Conference.

I am happy to say that whatever the conditions may have been then, they are to-day at least passable, and we are struggling toward better results. We have twelve hundred Indian children on the eight Indian reservations. We have thirty schools and thirty-five teachers. The annual expenditure shows \$12,000 expended to maintain them. We try to give them good schoolhouses, maps, globes, text-books and teachers, maintaining them on the same principle that other schools are maintained, and sending teachers to deal with the Indian children who have heart and loving sympathy. We find that Indian children will be regular in attendance if they like their teachers.

Of the twelve hundred children I am sorry to say there was an attendance during the past year of only eight hundred, and of those eight hundred only one half attend regularly, making only one third of the whole number who are regularly in school. The Indian children are not subject to discipline. When they are in school if they want to go home they get up and go home. That is their idea of discipline. If the teacher corrects them they will not come back to school. We have a compulsory school law in this State, and there is a desire to extend it to Indians, and I believe the sentiment of the Indians is in favor of so extending the law. The Indians will obey a law if they know it is going to be enforced, and if they are to have the same regulations as the white people. We can never get these Indian children into school unless the law can lay its hand on them and say you must go to school the same as your white brothers and sisters. I hope that change will be made, because education by the State means education for manhood and womanhood and for citizenship, and we can make as good citizens of the Indian as we can of white children. Our schools for the Indians are just as good and the teachers are as efficient as in our white schools. We find among the Indians some bright boys and girls who can be made teachers. They have taken examinations and gone through the normal schools, and have been sent out to teach, and we have never heard that they have been failures. On the contrary they are very bright. We have been told frequently that if an Indian becomes impressed with the fact that you desire his best welfare he becomes your eternal friend. If you can give the Indians the assurance that the Government is their best friend, then the Indian will be as good a citizen as the white man, and he will love his Government and his country, and that is the meaning of true citizenship. The object of education by the State is to encourage true manhood and womanhood and love of country, which includes love of home.

I have been impressed with the words of the ladies here. I think they have struck the keynote in solving a part of the Indian problem. There would have been less of a problem to-day if the Indians had always found honesty and justice and mercy in their dealings with representatives of the Government. As it is we must establish a closer connection between the homes and the schools if we would get the best results. And that is true of white schools as well as of

Indian schools. The Indian problem is going to be settled when such women go and find the Indians in their homes and relate them to the school. If we expect to reach the Indians we must first reach their homes. I wish the Government would vote enough money to make two hundred such organizations as Miss Collins describes. We need to meet these problems with a liberal spirit. We are going to have them in Cuba, in Puerto Rico, in the Philippines. If we can pay three million dollars for the services of Cuban soldiers, who never did us any good, why should we not multiply that by three times three to establish schools to teach the English language and the benefits of good government.

Mrs. QUINTON was asked to speak, and said: We women are certainly loyal, and grateful for the grand work done by the Government for Indians and for its Indian policy, which is certainly one of civilization; and we are grateful for the co-operation of officials in the work of our own Association, as we have repeatedly said in resolutions at our conventions and elsewhere. And we know that this Conference is a loyal body, and has often expressed its appreciation of Government measures and of the general Indian policy.

We have criticised defects, when we have done so, in a friendly spirit and because wrongs must be shown before they can be righted, and because we have other relations with all public interests than official relations. The men and women composing this body are Christians as well as citizens, and must be faithful to all race interests as such.

The work of The Women's National Indian Association the past year has been chiefly in missions in the destitute tribes. Nine of these have been under the care of our larger auxiliaries, that among the Absentee Shawnees of Oklahoma having been the special care of our Maine Association till the transfer of that mission to the Society of Friends. The one among the Bannocks and Shoshones, of Idaho, in care of our Connecticut auxiliary, is now being transferred to the Episcopal Board as an established mission, as were our stations in Southern California, and the one in the desert there to the Moravian Church. The Hualapais, of Arizona, are still under the care of our Massachusetts auxiliary, and the Moquis are under that of our New Jersey Association. The Hoopa station in California is the special field of our Northern California auxiliary, and the new mission in Shasta County, our Helen R. Foote School and Mission, is chiefly supported by the Philadelphia society, its forty acres of land and the new schoolhouse for day and Sunday school being the gift of Mrs. J. Lewis Croyer. The work begun by our national society for the Seminoles, of Florida, has led to the voting a million acres of land for their homes by the State of Florida. Our New York City Association has built a new hospital for the Navajoes at Jewett, New Mexico, and we have another station at Two Gray Hills, seventy miles south of Jewett, where we have medical work and a kindergarten, the cottage there being also the gift of Mrs. Croyer.

In all these places industrial work has been constant, with all the religious teaching that could be given through an interpreter and by the swift lessons of help in sorrow and sickness. The skill, tact, self-denial and devotion revealed here in the touching stories of workers just from their fields have marked the work at all our stations, and it would be a privilege to speak of incidents were there time.

The Mohonk Lodge, built at Colony, Oklahoma, costing \$1,200, the gift of the Conference here last year for the Industrial and other Indian work of Rev. and Mrs. W. C. Roe, is an accomplished fact, and has already begun its blessed work with much promise.

Sixth Session.

Friday Evening, October 13, 1899.

The Conference was called to order at eight o'clock after some songs by Mrs. Hector Hall. Miss Frances G. Sparhawk was asked to give some facts about the Indian Industrial League.

Miss Sparhawk referred to a visit that she had made to Carlisle, and the deep impressions she had brought away of the valuable religious influence of that school on the character of the pupils. She felt that it was an entirely wrong idea to believe that Government schools educate the children away from their parents. She had never heard more touching and tender appeals made to children as to their relations to their parents than she had heard at Carlisle. One of the chief things to give a common interest to parents and children is work. As soon as they are all interested in some sort of industrial pursuit they are brought more closely together. The Indian Industry League was established to help as far as possible those people on the reservation who need help, and the young men and women who have left the schools and returned and need work. There is no theory as to where they shall work. They must work where they can find it and make the best of it.

During the past year the League has been building on the Navajo Reservation a room for Indian women, where they can have instruction not only in the old-time blanket making but in the new-time weaving. The room is not wholly furnished yet, but they have a fine cooking stove, because Mrs. Eldridge says she knows nothing that helps more in a home than good bread. They have also two sewing machines and a knitting machine, and looms will follow. When the Navajo men saw the room they asked at once why they could not have a room too, where they could learn to make shoes and harnesses. It is very difficult now to get skins for moccasins, and they do not like the shoes they buy. The League will be only too glad to help them when the money comes for that purpose. The Indians are ready in many places for work.

Dr. Ward presented for action a resolution offered by the Business Committee that speeches should be limited to six minutes, with a warning at the end of five minutes. Voted.

Mr. J. W. Davis was asked to speak.

Mr. JOSHUA W. DAVIS.—Surprise and regret has been expressed at the statement made in one of the sessions of the Conference implying the frequent relapse of Indians after they had had Christian training, and also a desire that testimony from other sections of the field should be presented, that it may be known whether such experience has proved to be in any measure general.

I have had the privilege of extended observation and of conference with workers who have been for many years and some for very long periods in the field, and one such, to whom you have listened here with interest and confidence, Miss Collins, states that no case of falling back has occurred during her long work among the Sioux of her broad field.

I have also conversed heretofore with Rev. Dr. Riggs on this very point; and he stated as his belief that there was not only not more, but fewer cases of relapse among the Sioux than among the members of churches among the whites, both East and West. The testimony of strength and steadfastness among the Nez Percés is also especially strong. Both the Sioux and the Nez Percés are very slow to receive Christian truth; but they think for themselves, and when once their mind is made up they hold to their convictions with great earnestness, firmness and persistency. And more could be said of others than these two tribes, that is very encouraging, as to the steady consistency of their Christian character.

We have another ground of encouragement in a present review of Indian matters, in the evident earnest purpose and prompt action for the correction of evils and abuses on reservations taken by the new Honorable Secretary of the Interior, and his valued executive right hand, the Commissioner, whom we have rejoiced to greet here. In one instance where there had been failure for three years to secure permanent reforms on one reservation, there was almost immediate action taken when the matter came before the present Secretary, immediately after his entering upon his official work. It was a case with peculiar difficulties; but prompt and effective action was taken, and acknowledgment of it here is due.

The self-sacrifice of workers in the field has been mentioned here, and I wish to refer to another such instance. At the Santee School, when the water supply was nearly cut off by the failure of the old artesian well, the workers in the school pledged one thousand dollars out of their scant salaries toward a new well, Prof. Frederic Riggs subscribing five hundred dollars, and another of the workers two hundred. And these extremely generous offerings were made in view of the restricted means at command of the American Missionary Association for regular support of the strictly missionary work, without any such expenditure as a new well would require. It was, therefore, evident that an appeal should be made in the East to secure the absolutely indispensable supply of water, the want of which would be the severest blow to the school and to its vitally important work. But first, that it might be based on sure premises and be shown to business men as a reasonable business venture, I inquired through the Geological Bureau in Washington of its agents in the field, and received such unqualified assurance of the favorable geological character of the section, and of the strength of flow and fullness of supply that should be expected, that we went forward with the appeal, presenting it as a distinctly business outlay,—for fire protection of all the buildings, and largely reduced rates of insurance; for irrigation of the school

farm, and largely increased product of school food supply,—these two items promising to yield ten per cent and more on the cost.

And the appeal was further to be on two conditions: that, instead of a small pipe, it should be eight-inch size, capable of re-boring inside if ever needed; and, secondly, that money enough should be raised to reduce at least one half the amount that should be accepted of the workers in the school, on the ground that it would be a disgrace to let them pay so large a proportion out of their salaries.

Meanwhile a lady in Connecticut gave \$500; Boston pledged \$1,000; New York followed with \$1,000; and a friend whom you were so pleased to hear at a recent session, Mrs. West, after a visit to Santee, pledged \$500 from Worcester; and a bequest came in, which completed the amount needed.

Three thousand dollars were thus raised, due largely to the stimulus of the self-sacrifice of the workers in the field and to the business aspect of the plan.

The result, in the words of Professor Riggs, is “a roaring success,” as the well yields one thousand seven hundred gallons a minute.

Miss ANNA L. DAWES. The most of us perhaps have sometimes wished that we were missionaries, too, and could do something. I think we may take a little courage, and may realize that laymen and laywomen can do something; for I suppose the audience must have read between the lines that the well was due not only to the self-sacrifice of the workers at Santee, to the kindness of other people, to the generosity of Mrs. West, but to that layman in particular, Mr. Joshua W. Davis, to whom the people in Santee are, above all, grateful. He ordered me not to say this, and I promised that I would not interrupt him, and I have not. And while I am telling tales out of school I may as well tell all that I know, and say also that the money for the industries house built for the Navajoes, of which we have been told by Miss Sparhawk, is likewise due in large measure to another layman very well known in this connection. I think it is not the missionaries alone who can help the Indians if anyone wants to.

Mr. SMILEY.—Philip C. Garrett, from the city of brotherly love, was the other layman.

A VOICE.—Let brotherly love continue.

Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows was asked to speak. She accepted for three minutes, that she might allude to the memory of those who had passed away during the fifteen years with which she had been connected with the Conference, one of the latest and most distinguished of whom was Mrs. Ellen C. Johnson, superintendent of the Massachusetts Reformatory Prison for Women; a woman whose broad sympathies had led her to take a generous interest in the negroes and the Indians, as well as in criminals. One could not recall the memories of General Fisk, General Arm-

strong, General and Mrs. Marshall, Mrs. Bullard, Dr. Strieby and many others, without having the air seem hallowed. Such lives were full of inspiration.

Mr. Wellman said that there is trouble among the Indians about the inheritance of land. They have a curious custom among themselves. If an Indian dies his oldest brother becomes the father of his family and inherits his land. If that brother dies the next oldest becomes the father, and inherits from him. In a few generations, if there are several deaths of fathers, the land gets so far away from the children of the first father that they do not know anything about it.

Another wrong is in connection with the leasing of their allotments. I know, said Mr. Wellman, of one district where there are six hundred and eighty-one allotments where only forty-eight are leased, and the reason more are not leased is not because no one wants the land, but because of the prejudices of some of those in control, and who hold it so high that it cannot be leased. One man offered \$7,500 for a certain section and was refused. This shows how prejudice prevents the Indian from getting what he might have.

Another is rather an unusual wrong. The agency is a mile from the railroad station, and the Indians are paid eight cents a hundred for hauling their own rations from the station to the commissary. The men in town said they would be glad to do it for a cent and a half a hundred, and would then make four dollars a day. The wrong is that it is impossible to hire these Indians to do anything without paying them about four times what is paid to white men, just because the Government pays that price. Other people refuse to pay the exorbitant price that the Government does. If they were compelled to work for what is right they would get ten times as much work as they now do. There should be more field matrons and of a more devoted and self-sacrificing kind than some now in the field.

Rev. W. W. Atterbury, D.D., said that the Conference had been marked by a spirit of hopefulness. He wished to emphasize what had been said as to strengthening the home life and ties of the Indians. Children need to have the spirit of reverence for parents deepened, and parents need to have the spirit of self-sacrificing love made even stronger. It is also important to compel the young men and women to stand up and do their part in the great duties of life.

Rev. James N. Bruce was next introduced.

Mr. BRUCE.—I am glad to have an opportunity to express the satisfaction with which I have heard the emphasis that has been put on the religious and missionary work among the Indians. We must have been deeply impressed with the profound religious

earnestness of our Indian workers. It seems to me that the introduction of the public school system among our Indian fellow citizens has opened the way and shown the necessity for practical missionary work. The school work has been taken out of the hands of the missionary societies, and we ought to strive in every way to summon those societies to enlarge their work among the Indians. I have been deeply touched with some of the incidents that we have heard to-day. You will remember in that marvelous and matchless study of the human heart that Victor Hugo has given us in his great romance, how the saintly bishop surrenders his palace, that it may be used as a hospital. That is one of the most gracious and beautiful things that he does. I wonder if you noticed that Mr. Wellman in going out of the comfortable parsonage, and leaving it for a hospital, did a parallel thing to that act which, when we read it in "*Les Miserables*," seemed to us too poetic, too ideal, too superlative, in its goodness to be true. And yet here we have the exact parallel told to us so incidentally that I doubt whether many of us even noticed it.

I have been struck with the extreme gentleness and restraint in all the deliberations of the Conference with regard to the action of the Government and the absence of anything like censure or criticism. If I were to make any criticism it would be that there had been too much care to avoid anything like a possible hint of censure. This Conference by its service and spirit has earned the right to utter such words of kindly, wise and temperate criticism; and more than that, such words of criticism are a guaranty for the sincerity of its words of commendation. If we never administer anything but "taffy" people will doubt whether we mean all we say. But if we are frank enough to take exception when necessary, we give more force to our words of commendation. I have been told that the wife who loves her husband best criticizes him the most ruthlessly. If that is true in the conjugal relation it is equally true in the relation of the citizen to the Government, and we shall show our loyalty and patriotism far more by criticizing what needs correction, and trying to get it corrected, than by a blind and indiscriminate admiration.

Rev. George E. Horr, D.D., of the Boston *Watchman*, was invited to speak.

Dr. HERR.—Let me give an illustration of the idea that civilization is not to be impressed upon people from without, that it does not consist in conformity to the external proprieties and customs that we associate with the idea, but that it must come from the ideal, the principle, the motive implanted within the living spirit, and that it will find itself expressed in various forms if that exists. David Brainerd was one of the first missionaries to the Indians, and in one of his journeys among the Indians of Massachusetts he had little time to do more than preach the essentials of the gospel. On his next journey through that region he found that temperance

and chastity and cleanliness had sprung up without his having said a word about these virtues. I think there resides in Christianity, when it is once incorporated in the hearts of men, the power to produce the thing we call civilization. We must open our minds to the idea of diversity. Plant two kernels of wheat, one in New York and one in Dakota, and you will find the results radically different in the two States, and both different from what the same seed would furnish in Egyptian soil. Plant Christianity in different nations and it develops according to the genius of each. It does not override the peculiarities of any. I think by and by we shall recognize that the Christian life and principle can exist under a blanket as well as under an overcoat, and that all the national peculiarities and the backwardness or forwardness in civilization that we associate with different peoples may coexist with the fundamental essentials of the Christian life. I believe that we are working toward that recognition, and a great many things have been said here that clearly point to that.

I have never realized before as here the wise and temperate spirit manifested in these discussions, the earnest and enthusiastic desire for the elevation of the Indian, and the large influence that is being exerted upon our national policy by that generous hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Smiley which brings us to this place.

Mrs. W. W. Crannell, of Albany, read a letter from a little Indian girl in whose education she is interested, showing the excellent progress the child is making in English. The little girl has already expressed a desire to go back to her people as a missionary when she is educated, or if that may not be to go back and take care of her mother.

Major M. H. Bright, of the *Christian Work*, was invited to speak.

Major M. H. BRIGHT.—It was my fortune many years ago, before Mohonk had been built up into a civilized community, to live for a year among the Piutes and Shoshones. These tribes were nominally antagonistic, but they never disturbed the peace of the white men nor of each other except on one occasion. There were seven hundred Shoshones and three hundred Piutes. The time had come for the young bachelor Piutes to marry; but after all the young women had plighted their troth there were some thirty young men who could get no wives in their tribe, as the males outnumbered to that extent the females. And so, instead of going through the process of courting, they waited till they had a dark, stormy night, when some fifty of the young braves made a raid upon the camp of the Shoshones and each grabbed a woman and came out. They brought out about fifty women, but when they came to look at them they found there were some whom they did not want as wives, while others had husbands. The result was that they kept only about thirty girls, and the next day they

were married to the young Piutes. This was undoubtedly a discreditable proceeding; but the agent succeeded in pacifying the Shoshones, and the thing blew over. And now, having given this story, derived from my experience among Indians, let me add a few words on a different and more important topic.

And right here I trust I may be pardoned for saying that I regard with some apprehension the emphasis which in the course of these discussions has been placed upon the secular and industrial education of the Indian, as if the three R's were sufficient without a fourth, namely, Righteousness. There have been, I am glad to say, some utterances on the other side of this question; and let me say that too great insistence cannot be laid upon the necessity for the religious education of the Indian. Certainly a definition of education which excludes religion is partial and misleading,—we must never lose sight of that. Not all the pottery in the world, not all the foundries and blacksmithies and other industrial pursuits, will save the Indian unless you reach his heart and life. You would not want to people this beautiful valley with white or with red men, no matter how fine their physique, who did not know where they came from nor where they were going; who did not know that there was a God or that they had immortal souls. And so you do not want to bring your Indians into the responsibility of citizenship who do not know their Creator. Let them learn to obey the commandment laid on redskins and white skins alike, "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth." Let us remember that no effort for the uplifting of the Indian can ever succeed which ignores his spiritual nature; we shall accomplish little unless we assume as a fundamental condition in the work of educating the Indian the inculcation of righteous living in his heart.

Never do I go to any place outside the place of worship of Almighty God, where I get such impulses and inspirations for the right as I do here. I see in a future, not very distant, perhaps, that the pauperization of the Indians will stop; the rations will cease; the old-time Indian agencies will disappear; the Indian agent will take up other occupations; the Indian Commissioner will not be subject to the pull of politicians; heathenism will pass away, and the Indian will take his place in Christian civilization. It will take time, but in the interval, as I rejoice to know, from the assurance of our noble host, until that time has come the benign influences of these Mohonk conferences will continue to shed their rays from the golden and glory-crowned heights of Mohonk, from its mountain tops to its valleys below, until the Indian shall find serenity and inspiration, prosperity and peace, within the precincts of a happy Christian home.

Rev. LEMUEL MOSS.—It is sometimes intimated that we are making a great fuss about a small matter because there are so few Indians,—about 252,000. We have cities, many of them, with more population than all of the Indians put together. Why should a small number of inferior people, as we call them, take so much

of the thought of the few on whose hearts and consciences this matter is laid? Peculiar obligations rest upon us in regard to them; peculiar duties and opportunities, owing to their history and through the kinship of humanity. We have been taught most impressively during the last few months how a wrong to a single man may stir the conscience of Christendom. An obscure Jewish captain has held the thought of the world as man has never held it in our generation, if in our century. Why should not a wrong done to an innocent Seminole boy by a brutal mob stir the conscience of this country as the wrong done to Captain Dreyfus stirs the conscience of the world? Why, when we find wrong in our land, shall we not feel profoundly that the conscience of the people shall not rest till it be righted, so that wherever our flag flies, there freedom and truth shall be found! This Conference stands for just this before the country and before the world. We must insist upon it that the Indian is a man equally capable with ourselves of knowing and loving God and being like him; capable of intellectual, moral and spiritual development; capable of having and enjoying a home and freedom. I take it we shall not rest until the Indian is permitted to stand beside us, recognized as our equal in all the relations of life, this life and the life to come.

President J. D. Dreher, of Roanoke College, was next introduced.

PRESIDENT DREHER.—We should have a great deal of sympathy with the young Indian who, after spending four or five years in Eastern schools, goes back with high ideals and noble purposes, meaning to do right. He finds very few to sympathize with those ideals when he returns to his home, and the law of human association is so strong that unless he has a great deal of character, enough to lift up a tribe, he will naturally come down to the level where he can find human association. It is the same thing with the whites and with the colored people. I do not believe that more Indians fall under similar circumstances than white or colored men. I mention this not to extenuate the fall, but as a reason for encouragement. We are not to expect too much, and we are to be patient and considerate. Some years ago I heard Mr. Clemmer speak in Charles Dudley Warner's house of the effect of mining camps on Harvard graduates. He declared that they could not live in them more than two or three years before they would murder the queen's English. We are influenced by our environment, and if these returned students do not lift up a whole tribe, we ought to be charitable and patient if they have done their best.

Dr. W. H. Ward, chairman of the Business Committee, reported for that committee. It had been decided that the report which had already been adopted would take the place of the Platform which is usually offered. He presented a few additional points, however, and asked to have leave to speak upon one or two of them before action was taken. He then spoke as follows:—

Dr. WARD.—I suppose we have a right to sympathize with a person who is studying conditions of savagery for scientific purposes. Ethnology is a valuable science. It is right for men to go among barbarians and study their conditions and learn something of the depth from which we have come. That is all right. We honor the people who do that, even though in the process they seem sometimes to be very cold hearted and to have little regard for the higher purposes, for the elevation of men. We can possibly pardon—we try to pardon them—those who sometimes say that as a matter of scientific interest they would like to see barbaric conditions continued, in Australia or somewhere else; but in our better moments we can only say that *our* object is the elevation of the Indian and of the barbarian, and not a study of his conditions as a barbarian. But those who would perpetuate this barbarism for the sake of making money out of the exhibition of it, so that the general public can see what barbarism is, that they may think it is funny,—that deserves not only no sympathy, but condemnation and antipathy. I do not want to go and see a Wild West show. I do not want any one else to go, and I am ashamed that the Government of the United States should have sent to two agencies of the Sioux and demanded that thirty more Indians should be brought to increase the attractions of the show! I think it is an abomination before the Lord and before men! The effort to make a show of barbarism before the world so that the people may look on with admiration is something we ought to be ashamed of, and which we ought to try to stop by every means in our power.

The additional points were then unanimously adopted as follows:—

Thankfully recognizing the great amelioration in the condition of the Indians, gained during the last thirty years through the force of public sentiment in legislation, administration and education, we would direct attention to that which is yet imperfect and requires correction. Some points have been considered in the report already adopted of the committee appointed last year. In addition to these important points we would specify the following as needing careful attention:—

1. The defense of the rights of allotted Indians, especially by the registration of family and individual names, and the protection of rights of inheritance.

2. The continued breaking up of reservations by allotment of land in severalty, yet not in anticipation of the ability of the Indians to support themselves. We especially direct attention to the New York Indians as ripe for allotment.

3. The prohibition of the taking of Indians from their reservation for the purpose of perpetuating by public exhibition of the conditions of barbarism.

In behalf of the guests of the Conference Mr. William H. McElroy then thanked Mr. Smiley for his gracious hospitality in a speech brimming over with good feeling and wit, but which he gives no permission to publish. Referring to Mrs. Smiley, who

had not been strong enough to attend the meetings, Mr. McElroy said : "Mr. Smiley, it is the occasion of great regret to us that the best of you is not here physically present to-night. We have all learned to love and honor Mrs. Smiley, and I know I speak for all hearts in expressing the fervent hope that she may soon be restored to perfect health. As for yourself, I have said it before, and as nothing can be better I say it again, the most appropriate thing here is Leigh Hunt's poem." He then repeated "Abou ben Adhem."

REV. THEODORE L. CUYLER, D.D.—If ever a duty becomes a delight it is in seconding this motion for grateful thanks. My beloved friend and our honored host has indeed welcomed us with open hands and open heart, and showered upon us the most princely hospitality. The King of France once welcomed the King of England to a field of cloth of gold. No monarch ever welcomed guests through such resplendent avenues of glittering gold as those through which we have come hither. These forests are burning with brilliancy as if they, too, would join in the welcome. Three weeks ago a deluge of rain saturated the roots of all these trees, and they have responded with this unparalleled brilliancy—a beautiful illustration of how the downpouring of the divine love reaching the roots of human endeavor will make them yield the golden fruits of a splendid beneficence.

Our friends have welcomed us for the first time into this stately hall. We have loved that dear old parlor hallowed with its tender, happy and holy associations. When my friend first started this establishment on strict temperance and religious principles, people sneeringly said no one but cranks would ever go there. Well, I insist upon it that if any one of them had seen the assemblages that in the last few years have gathered in that parlor, he would admit that in the best sense of the word they were indeed cranks, for they have turned an immense amount of useful moral machinery.

Methinks I see there to-night those twin spirits, Fisk and Armstrong, devoted brothers in this great and holy work to which you have been giving your hearty co-operation in all these years. Booker Washington has found there a glimpse of God's image cut in ebony. I do not exaggerate when I say that the deliberations in that parlor have not only passed into history, but they have made history. They have revolutionized, under God, the history of the red man all over the continent. The speeches and reports made at this table are the echoes of the deliberations of this conference of the years gone by, and the eloquent voice that you heard this morning of that representative of the new Indian is but another echo of the deliberations of this noble conference. That dear old parlor has become a blessed and a beautiful memory; this stately room is a beautiful and blessed hope. In coming here we have not left our principles or our methods behind us. We have simply transferred them to these new and nobler quarters.

And, thank God, the old faces are here yet. Thank God I see before me now the good gray head of that illustrious son of Massa-

chusetts. When an important question was to be decided in the old Continental Congress, and Thomas Jefferson, not having heard the debate, came in only in time to vote, he merely asked, "How did Roger Sherman vote?" There has never been a time in the history of our Senate when the question, How did Henry L. Dawes vote? would not have determined the decision of any man in favor of freedom and righteousness and truth.

I cannot but congratulate the Conference that my dear old friend Dr. Gates, who has so often presided over our deliberations, has been brought into permanent official relations with the work for the amelioration of the condition of the red man; and I rejoice that he brings to his new position energy, sagacity, strong will and high consecration to this philanthropic purpose. I rejoice, too, in seeing here those who have borne the burden and heat of the day, and that we could hear again the voices of those unconsciously Christly, consecrated women whose feet have been beautiful as they have taken the gospel of light and life and truth across the prairies and over the mountains to that once neglected race. To-night I would ask you to bow with grateful reverence to the women. God bless them, God reward them, as God is crowning them now with glory and honor.

Once more this beautiful apartment is illuminated by hope,—hope for the country, hope for the republic, hope for justice and freedom, hope for the triumph of God's kingdom. Let us, then, with fresh consecration give ourselves to the work for which this Conference stands. And may we not hope that for many a year as we come back, the smiling faces and the hearty grasp of the hand of these brothers, Albert and Daniel Smiley, may meet us at the threshold?

To Mr. Smiley.—I will not say that we esteem you. I will not say that we respect you; we love you. We love you and we thank God that he has enabled you to keep this lighthouse of the Lord beaming out brightly on this mountain top of Mohonk. Instead of uttering any poor words of my own I will snatch a benediction out of that Book you love and say: "The Lord bless you and keep you. The Lord be gracious unto you, and cause his face to shine upon you,—lift upon you the light of his countenance, and crown you with blessing and honor forever and ever and ever. Amen and amen!"

Mr. SMILEY thanked the speakers for their words, and said that Mrs. Smiley had written to thank the Conference for the kind telegraphic message sent to her. He added that each Conference gave him renewed pleasure, and that they would be continued, though it was possible the time might be divided, so as to take into consideration some of the other dependent races that may need help.

A vote of thanks to the presiding officer, to the secretaries and treasurer, was offered. It was put by Mr. Smiley and adopted unanimously.

The Conference was then closed by singing, "God be with us till we meet again."

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
OF
FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
1900

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
1901

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PREFACE.

For the eighteenth consecutive autumn the friends of the Indian met October last at Lake Mohonk, summoned, as usual, by the tireless generosity of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley, though, to the disappointment of all her guests, the gentle hostess was again prevented by illness from attending the meeting.

Fewer persons than usual from the West were present, but masterly reports of what is going on in the field were given by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the agent of the Indian Rights Association.

Brilliant skies, mild air and the changing foliage, glorified by autumnal hues, gave what has come to be known as "Mohonk weather," and long walks and drives in congenial company added to the value and the pleasure of the week.

The invitations to the Conference contained the intimation that the Indians were not to have the entire attention of the meeting this year. The relations of the people of the United States to the people of Hawaii and Porto Rico were therefore considered in addresses by those familiar with the religious and educational outlook in those islands. These added subjects gave renewed interest to the Conference.

The report of Dr. Sheldon Jackson of the barbarities and spiritual needs of Alaska were painfully thrilling, and his account of the wonderful success of the reindeer experiment showed that in providing these useful animals for the people of Alaska their material needs may not only be met, but civilization and Christianization may be hastened through their aid.

One copy at least of this Report is sent to each subscriber to the printing fund. Applications for extra copies should be made to Mr. A. K. Smiley, Lake Mohonk, Ulster Co., New York.

I. C. B.

NEW YORK, November, 1900.

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THE PLATFORM.

This eighteenth annual session of the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference affirms its hearty and unanimous approval of the statement of the Indian Commissioner that it would be better for the Indians if they had been treated from the beginning as individuals subject to the laws of the land. To overcome the difficulties which the natural error of the past has created, and to bring the Indian into individual relations with the Government as a citizen of the United States with the least intermediate injustice and hardship, is the Indian problem. The discontinuance of treaties with the Indian tribes as separate nationalities, the allotment of land in severalty, the gradual decrease of rations, the increase of appropriations for providing all Indian children of school age with the essentials of an English education, the consequent discontinuance of the contract school system with the un-American union of the Church and State which that system involved, are all parts of this one coherent and consistent general policy. That policy should be continued to its natural consummation by officials who should be neither appointed nor dismissed for merely political or personal reasons. Further measures in general pursuance of this policy urgently needed are the following:

Rations should be issued only when succor is indispensable to prevent what would otherwise be unpreventable distress.

Where allotments are made in arid districts an ample supply of water for purposes of irrigation and domestic requirements should be provided under such arrangements as, within their natural possibilities, will secure its permanence and will make its subsequent diversion impossible.

Since agricultural training is no less necessary than land and tools for self-support, only carefully selected and well-trained farmers and field matrons should be appointed to furnish industrial education and guidance to the Indians on allotted land.

The family is the basis of civilization, and marriage is the basis of the family; therefore, marriage should be regulated and protected by law, and a system of registration of births, marriages and deaths should be provided such as will secure the legal recognition of the family, and thus protect the right of the Indian to transmit by inheritance his lands to his legal heirs. The present evils are such as to demand immediate action by the Bureau for this purpose without waiting for legislative action.

The habit of leasing allotments converts the lessee from an industrious worker into an idle and improvident landlord. It should, therefore, be permitted only to allottees who suffer from some

infirmity or disability which incapacitates them from obtaining in any other way the benefit of their allotment; and the power of the agent to authorize such leases should be strictly limited by law to such carefully defined exceptions.

When the allotment has been completed and the Indians have become independent and self-supporting citizens, the expensive machinery of the agency should not be continued; with rare exceptions the Indians should then be relegated to that protection of the laws and that stimulating effect of competition in freedom to which we owe alike our safety and our industrial inspiration. We heartily indorse the statement of the Commissioner that there are a number of these agencies which should be at once discontinued.

This Conference congratulates the country on the substantial progress made toward an intelligent understanding and an effective prosecution of this policy, as far from sentimentalism on the one hand as from oppression and cruelty on the other; it notes with especial satisfaction the fact that the assumption of secular education by Government has done nothing to lessen the Christian work of the churches, and the increasing attention which Indian education continues to receive from the Government as shown in more and better school buildings and better equipment, a gain of nearly one thousand a year in Indian pupils, a continuation of the merit system in appointments, and a noticeable growth in *esprit de corps* among the Indian and school officials.

This Conference believes that Indian legislation should continue to be so shaped and the Indian Bureau should continue to be so conducted as to render the need of Government supervision constantly less, and to secure its total abolition at the earliest practicable moment, and it looks forward with hope to the complete solution of the Indian problem and its disappearance from American life early in the century on which we are now about to enter.

But new days bring new duties. The extension of the authority of the United States over new territory peopled by those foreign to our language, laws and civilization, imposes new and important duties upon our Government and upon the philanthropy of our people. It is our first duty to see that the mistakes which have so delayed the wise solution of the Indian question be avoided in the treatment of this new problem, that wise and honest men be selected to administer our laws, to supervise the education of the young, to lead the people to a practical knowledge of our civilization, and to prepare them, by laws justly administered and education generously provided, for self-support and self-government.

THE EIGHTEENTH LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 17, 1900.

The Eighteenth Lake Mohonk Conference of the friends of the Indian was called to order, after prayer offered by Dr. J. G. Van Slyke, at 10 A. M., October 17, 1900. The welcome to the guests was given by Mr. A. K. Smiley in the following words:—

Ladies and Gentlemen: The time has arrived for the opening of the Eighteenth Conference of the friends of the Indian. I am very glad to welcome so many friends, not only of the Indian but of humanity in general. In past years we have talked exclusively of the Indians, but we have thought it best, inasmuch as the Indian question is coming nearer and nearer to a settlement, to include other dependent races. Exactly what dependent races are to be included is not settled yet. In time we shall spread out a little wider, but at present probably Porto Rico and Hawaii will come in; but this will be decided upon by a committee of judicious men and women.

For seventeen years we have had discussions, and every time have arrived at pretty unanimous conclusions. Twenty-one years ago this autumn, when I went to Washington the first time as Indian Commissioner, I thought the Indian question could be settled in ten years. I remember the old, wise heads laughed at me for my enthusiasm. I thought we could educate all the Indian children, and turn them out of school good American citizens, but things move slowly. A whole people that has been so low down is not raised in ten or twenty years. It takes time. But I feel hopeful. We have now a large body of influential people who are interested. That is the first thing to secure. Leading citizens of the United States are interested in the Indians, and that is the basis of our hope that the Indians will have justice, and be properly developed and educated.

We are here not to air our political convictions. We want things done temperately. The questions that we shall discuss concern the people of all parties, and should command the interest of all good citizens of this country. We want free discussion, and we are not going to muzzle any one, but we want, if possible, to arrive at some practically unanimous conclusions concerning the subjects we shall discuss.

I have always taken the privilege of nominating the presiding officer, and I will therefore nominate Dr. Merrill E. Gates, of Washington. He has long served to our satisfaction as the presiding officer at these meetings.

Dr. Gates was unanimously elected, with applause.

President GATES.—Ladies and Gentlemen, friends of the Indian and other dependent races, I thank you for this honor, and I ask now your further pleasure.

On motion of Mr. Philip C. Garrett the following Secretaries were elected in the order named: Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, Mr. Joshua W. Davis and Mrs. George H. Knight.

On motion of Dr. W. H. Ward, Mr. Frank Wood, of Boston, was elected Treasurer.

On motion of Mr. A. K. Smiley the following-named persons were elected a Business Committee: Dr. Lyman Abbott, chairman; Dr. W. H. Ward, Dr. Addison Foster, Mr. Daniel Smiley, Mr. James Wood, Dr. Lucien M. Warner, Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Miss Emily S. Cook.

On motion of Mr. C. M. Meserve the following Publication Committee was elected: Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, Mr. Joshua W. Davis, Mr. Frank Wood.

On motion Mr. J. Evarts Greene was elected press reporter.

The following address was delivered by Dr. Gates.

OPENING ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT GATES.

In no way is the fitness of our American people for self-government more clearly evinced than by precisely such gatherings as this Mohonk Conference. The successful government of a great country by the people of that country makes large demands upon the intelligence and the patriotism of the people. Good government does not happen of itself. The institutions, the social customs, the organic law and the administration of justice, which mark the free and civilized nations of the world, are not the result of mere good fortune. No problem which the human race has set for itself has called for such continued and strenuous thinking, for so much of high and purposeful endeavor, as has the great problem of good government, of the establishment of justice and freedom in institutions and laws.

No written constitution can cover, nor should it by minute provisions attempt to cover, all possible contingencies in national life. No finished code of law can provide for all possible cases, since the conditions of life out of which conflicts of right arise are continually changing with the life of the people and the growth of the nation. A people who are not fit for self-government will not voluntarily address themselves to such tasks as the one which calls us together. When to the conscience of the American people questions present themselves which call for modifications of existing laws, for departure from precedents of long standing, could there be a more healthful sign in the political and social life of our people than are such voluntary assemblages as these, of thoughtful and patriotic citizens, to take counsel together as to the best method

of bringing about needed changes? The voluntary taking up of such reforms, and the continued and persistent effort to carry them into effect, is a mark of the pre-eminent fitness for self-government of our American people. We are doing the work of intelligent patriots in first informing ourselves as to facts, comparing our inferences and judgments as to wise lines of policy, and then attempting, by the legitimate methods of popular discussion, education and legislation, to reform the abuses which have demanded our attention, and to carry into effect the measures which we are convinced will work out justice, happiness and prosperity.

These conferences for mutual enlightenment and counsel are to be followed by the distribution of the light thus gained. Through the newspapers, through our institutions of learning, through the pulpit, the ideas here advanced and discussed are diffused and lay hold upon wider circles. Public opinion is thus enlightened and directed with more intensity and unanimity toward the legislative and administrative measures which are essential to secure the objects which we have in view.

NEW MEASURES DEMAND OUR THOUGHT.

There is an essential difference between the old method of dealing with the Indians and the new method. The old methods dealt with them in the mass; the new methods propose to deal with them as individuals. In our conferences here at Mohonk for the last eighteen years we have confronted certain great evils which grow out of the savagery and paganism of the Indian races; out of the tribal organization, and the dominating tribal life, and the evils which have been developed by, and have attended upon, the reservation system. But we do not face those evils hopelessly; nor are we confused and dazed by them as we seemed to be fifteen or twenty years ago. Certain instrumentalities used by the Government have been found productive of great evil. They are condemned in the judgment of all thoughtful men and women. They should be absolutely and finally rejected. Certain other methods and instrumentalities by their results approve themselves to thoughtful Christian people everywhere. These methods should be fostered, improved and used, wisely and persistently, until the desired results are accomplished.

So clear to me is the difference between the point of view of friends of the Indian twenty years ago and our point of view to-day, that I want to ask you at this opening session of our Conference to note well this difference, and what it implies.

THE NEXT CENTURY IS NOT TO BE "A CENTURY OF DISHONOR."

In the title which Helen Hunt Jackson chose for her book, "A Century of Dishonor," she phrased an arraignment of the nation at which many lovers of our country were indignant. Published in 1880, when the recent Centennial celebration of 1876 had left us, as a people, proud of our first century's progress to a place of

great prominence in the eyes of the whole world, this cogent reminder of our failure to deal wisely or honestly with the native Americans made our people indignant and thoughtful. For the first time a national hearing was won for those who affirmed that prejudice and injustice had stained all our national record in our dealings with the Red Men.

The twenty years which have passed since this book was published have been years of marked progress toward a solution of the "Indian problem." Certain aspects of the problem are new, are full of hope, and at this particular time are especially deserving of thought. Whether we look eastward toward Cuba and Porto Rico, or westward toward Hawaii and the ten million of Filipinos, we stand face to face with the question, "As a nation, what are we able to do for the less-favored races with whom we are brought into close relation?"

For all who believe that the past of a nation conditions and affects its future, an interest deep and intense attaches to the record we have already made and are now making in our relations with the only inferior races with whom we have hitherto had dealings—the Negro and the Indian. We wish to consider not merely what is discouraging, but also what is bright and hopeful in this national record. I am not one of those who despair of the negro as an American citizen. Dark as is much of the past, there is promise in the present, with its emphasis upon industrial training for the great mass of the negroes, one by one, upon the careful inculcation of the Christian duty of steady industry in the effort to obtain homes and to acquire property, while the way to a higher and more liberal education is kept open before the more promising young men and women of the race, as it should be open to all American citizens. We are ceasing to think so constantly of the negroes as a race and a class by themselves, to be provided for by special class and race legislation. We are learning to emphasize more strongly the worth of the individual, and to demand the painstaking and industrial building up of character in each individual of the race by persistent work with the hands and the head. Hampton and Tuskegee and Talladega and Fiske and Straight and Atlanta are full of promise for the Americanized negro. Out of our great sin as a nation in tolerating the crime of slavery, who shall say that God, who brings good out of evil, has not brought a great blessing, painful as was the way which led to it? Awful as was the curse of human slavery, has it not been so overruled that eight or ten million of descendants of the races to which Africa gave birth are much farther on toward full Christian civilization than they would be were they in Africa to-day? No such hopeful gleam of light upon the mass of savagery and darkness which peoples the Dark Continent has come from any and all other agencies in these last forty years as has come to eight or nine million of their descendants here in America, out of the awful evils of slavery, overruled, and in some measure compensated, as they have been by a gracious Providence.

For the Indian, too, after a century of dishonor, we have become more thoughtful, more consistently helpful in the action of our national legislature and our national administration than most people understand and believe.

THE NEW METHOD RECOGNIZES THE INDIVIDUAL.

The old way dealt with Indians by tribes and in the mass; the new way deals with them as families and individuals.

When Congress, in 1871, voted to make no more treaties with Indian tribes as such, it erected a notable milestone at a turning point in the history of the Indian races. There can be no more "Indian wars." If there should be riotous disorder or mob violence among Indians (though there is comparatively little danger of this) there will be no dignifying of these *émeutes* by the name of "war," no more solemnizing of "treaties" with malcontent leaders, who have no authority and no national life or national power behind them. We hope that leaders among the Indians will not feel that they need to employ other than rational means to secure their rights; but certainly they will no longer have an implied right, under international law, "to go to war" against the Government of the United States because disorderly and immoral "dances" are forbidden, or because gifts of "rations" are not to be continued indefinitely to able-bodied men who will not work when ways and means for self-support are offered to them. To do away with the pretence that each little Indian tribe had the right to be regarded as an organized "nation," as a "state," and when it wished to dignify savage assaults or stubborn resistance by the name of war, could demand of its equal in international law the Government of the United States, all the formal consideration accorded to a civilized and well-established nation—to do away with this anomaly was a gain. The theory that each Indian tribe on the territory of the United States was to be regarded as a separate *imperium in imperio* was a stride in the right direction. Of course the laws and institutions of the United States should not be suspended by the interference of any other governmental power in any part of the territory of the United States.

THE INDIVIDUAL MUST BE REACHED.

But the chief significance of this Act of Congress lies in the fact that it marks the entrance of our Government upon a policy which, if carried out in principle, must utterly destroy the tribal organization, and will bring the laws of the United States and the life of the American people to bear upon the Indian family, and upon Indians, one by one. And it is only as the Indians come under the sway of Christian thought and Christian life, and into touch with the people of this Christian nation under the laws and institutions which govern the life of our States and Territories, that we can hope to see the "Indian problem" solved.

SAVAGERY PREVENTS THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY.

Savagery and tribal life put an awful make-weight upon the habit of doing things precisely as they have been done. The tendency is to make each man in the tribe like every other man. The life of the individual is merged in the life of the mass. The whole discipline of tribal life is intended to make each man and woman as much as possible like every other man and woman. The rigid tyranny of tribal custom, the narrowness of the lines of effort to which tribal life and action are limited, the intense emphasis with which tribal life demands of the individual absolute conformity to its customs and standards, and insists upon uniformity of action and feeling on the part of all as a condition of the maintenance of the life of the tribe against the warring tribes among whom it lives,—these features of savage life are familiar to students of anthropology and history. They have been put before the public with especial force in the interesting essays of Walter Bagshot in his volume “Physics and Politics.” He says, in speaking of this demand for uniformity as the first condition of progress toward national life, “What you need is a comprehensive rule, binding men together, making them do much the same things, telling them what to expect of each other,—fashioning them alike and keeping them so.” “The object of such organizations is to create a *cake* of custom. All the actions are to be submitted to a single rule for a single object. That gradually created the ‘hereditary drill’ of the tribe.” This imperious sway of tribal custom, threatening with a curse or with death the slightest deviation from uniformity, seems to be the initial hardening process to which man is subjected to toughen his fiber as he begins the slow ascent toward civilization.

But this slow process requires generations and centuries to attain results (if the unaided tribe ever works its way to civilization). We have learned that education and example, and, pre-eminently, the force of Christian life and Christian faith in the heart, can do in one generation most of that which evolution takes centuries to do.

But if civilization, education and Christianity are to do their work, they must get at the individual. They must lay hold of men and women and children, one by one. The deadening sway of tribal custom must be interfered with. The sad uniformity of savage tribal life must be broken up! Individuality must be cultivated. Personality must be developed. And personality is strengthened only by the direction of one’s own life through voluntary obedience to recognized moral law. At last, as a nation, we are coming to recognize the great truth that if we would do justice to the Indians, we must get at them, one by one, with American ideals, American schools, American laws, the privileges and the pressure of American rights and duties. With as much of kindness and patience as can find scope in general laws, we must break up the tribal mass, destroy the binding force of savage tribal custom, and bring families and individuals into the freer, fuller life where they shall be directly governed by our laws, and shall be in touch with all that is good in our life as a people.

For two hundred years and more, in all our national dealings with Indians, we systematically recognized and strengthened the tribal bond. Until within these last twenty years our Government has been content to deal with Indians in the mass. Treaties and agreements were made with the tribe. Annuities have been paid to the tribe. The protection of civilized law, and the training which comes to all who are subject to its sway, was denied to the individual Indian, upon the assumption that "tribal law" would protect him inside the tribe against his fellow-Indians, and if a white man cheated or otherwise wronged him it was not worth while to feel much concerned for the rights of an Indian. Under this fiction of intrusting the administration of justice to the tribe, the Government of the United States was derelict to its duty of "maintaining justice," and left a quarter of a million of people in its territory utterly without the protection of law. On more than fifty Indian reservations the Government of the United States solemnly pledged itself *not* to administer justice between Indian and Indian. And *this* pledge, with a fidelity rarely discernible with our dealings with Indians, we *kept* for one hundred years of our national life. Meanwhile we shut them away from all the benign influences of civilization. When the tide of settlers had surged close about the reservation, as soon as there was a prospect that by watching white settlers Indians were learning enough to hold their own in the ways of civilized life, these semi-civilized Indians have been driven from their cultivated lands again and again—tossed westward, ever westward, like the driftwood and wreckage before the incoming tide; and pent in new reservations, apart from all good influences, hot with the sense of injustice, they have been doomed to brood upon their wrongs because we gave them nothing else to do, and left them nothing else to think of! Take a barbaric tribe, untrained to agriculture, place them upon a tract of land where game is no longer to be found to excite their activity as hunters; carefully exclude by law all civilized men; separate them by hundreds of miles from organized civilized society, and the example and neighborly offices of reputable civilized settlers; feed them upon free Government rations, while no work is provided for them or expected of them; and having thus insulated them in empty space, doubly insulate them by surrounding them with dense and sticky layers of the vilest, most designedly wicked men our country produces, the whiskey selling whites and the debased half-breeds who infest the fringes of our Indian reservations,—men who have the vice of the barbarian plus the worst vices of the reckless frontiersman and the city criminal,—and then try to incite the electrifying, life-giving currents of civilized life in this doubly insulated mass.

Yet this is what we did for a century of our national existence. Off the reservation, no law to protect the individual Indian, and no political status for him, and no rights for him under our law. "On the reservation," says the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1884, only three years before the passage of the

General Allotment Act, "the Indian was not answerable to any law for injuries committed on one of his own race in the Indian country; and the result is that the most brutal murders are committed and the murderer goes unwhipped of justice."

Such was the condition of Indians on the reservation, and such the status of the Indian before the laws of the United States, until the Dawes Bill, the General Allotment Act, became a law in 1887. With the provisions of this law you are all familiar. It is of the greatest value in and for itself, by reason of the result which it immediately accomplishes in securing to Indians land for their homes, and in settling them upon these lands. It gives to each Indian a title to his allotment, protected and inalienable for the first twenty-five years; and upon the expiration of that period it gives him a patent in fee simple. But it does more than this. It makes him a citizen of the United States, protected by, and subject to, the laws of the state or territory in which his land lies, from the day on which he takes his allotment.

The supreme significance of the law in marking a new era in dealing with the Indian problem, lies in the fact that this law is a mighty pulverizing engine for breaking up the tribal mass. It has nothing to say to the tribe, nothing to do with the tribe. It breaks up that vast "bulk of things" which the tribal life sought to keep unchanged. It finds its way straight to the family and to the individual. It recognizes and seeks to develop personality in the man and in the woman. By making every individual who comes under its provisions a citizen of the United States, with all the rights and privileges of citizenship, it seeks to put the new allegiance and loyalty to our Government in place of the old allegiance to the tribe. Instead of a blind obedience to the dictates of deadening uniformity imposed by tribal life, those who accept the provisions of this law are summoned to a share in the varied interests and activities of civilization. Under its provisions more than fifty thousand Indians have already become citizens of the United States. Over ten thousand Indians are voters this fall.

During the progress of the Conference we shall hear from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and from others, something of the effects of the allotment of land in severalty under this law. In the correspondence which I have carried on during this last year with all the agents in the Indian service upon this subject, it is interesting and gratifying to see how general is the conviction of those who have most to do with the Indians that, notwithstanding certain dangers and evils which accompany it, the allotment of land to families and individuals, in severalty, is beyond question a wise measure, and the first step toward civilization and the incorporation of our Indian fellow-citizens into the life of the nation.

LET US DESTROY THE TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

You see how the mass of land held in common (and there is still more territory in our Indian reservations than in all the New England and Middle States, if we omit Pennsylvania) has been wisely attacked and broken in upon by the severalty law.

The obstructive influence of allegiance in bulk to a "tribal government," so-called, we are breaking up by the individual allotment of land, and by the strong impulse toward family life and the cultivation of home virtues which is given by this legislative measure.

The mass of tribal community-in-ignorance, we are attacking by schools which develop individuality and train to habits of industry. The mass of tribal superstition we are dispelling (let us pray that it may be more rapidly dispelled by a larger corps of more generously supported laborers)—the mass of tribal superstition, I say, we are dispelling by the teaching of Christianity with the mighty emphasis which this always lays upon personality. Through it we reach the hearts and lives of men and women, one by one.

TWO GREAT TRIBAL EVILS REMAIN ALMOST UNTOUCHED.

But when we look at the question of making definite progress in the civilization and Christianizing the Indians, we are confronted by the almost incredible fact that the Government of the United States does absolutely nothing to render family life sacred among the hundreds of thousands of Indians whom it has for a century regarded as its wards. Among the countless volumes of regulations for the Indian service, and the numberless circulars of instruction which have gone out to agents, there are no instructions which concern themselves with these most vital matters. We have nearly sixty Indian agencies. Careful questioning reveals the fact that at only eight or nine of these agencies is there any record of family marriages. In very few instances, even where allotments have been made, has there been attempted any permanent record of the family relationships of the Indians to whom allotments were made. There is no attempt to emphasize social purity, and to build up family life by the issuing of regulations in the matter of licensing and recording marriages of Indians, or of making records of family groups. I call attention to this fact, not through any wish to criticize the department, which is constantly burdened by a mass of detail in dealing with more than sixty tribes in various stages of progress, from abject savagery to civilization. But is not this a singular illustration of the way in which the mass of details is often allowed to stand between the executive head and a broad, general view of objects to be attained through the system of Indian administration?

What can be so helpful in breaking up the old savage life, the old tribal organization, as the inculcation of sound views of the marriage relation and of family life? And who can doubt that in neglecting to issue uniform regulations to its agents in this matter, the Indian Bureau has failed to use one of the strongest influences which were within its reach for the civilization of the Indians?

The bill for regulating and legalizing marriages among reservation Indians, and for requiring the preservation of records of family relationship among unallotted and allotted Indians, which was last spring introduced in the Senate by Senator Thurston, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, and in the House by Mr.

Curtis of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, contains provisions for these matters which have the warm approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. A law embracing the substance of these regulations should be enacted at the approaching Congress. But if the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs choose to act along these lines, we need not wait for legislation. The simple issuing of executive regulations touching these matters would at once inaugurate a system for licensing, solemnizing and recording marriages, and for keeping family records at agencies, which would have a marked influence in civilizing the Indians by adding dignity to family life, while it would save the Government great expense and trouble in preventing a mass of litigation to determine the heirs of allotted Indians who have died, or who may die, before the expiration of the period of protected title.

UNDIVIDED TRIBAL FUNDS WILL TEND TO PERPETUATE THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

Whenever one speaks hopefully of soon seeing "an end of the Indian problem," if teachers, industrial schools, Christian missionaries, the allotment of land in severalty and wise and helpful laws in the matter of marriage and family records shall unitedly do their work in breaking up the tribal mass, and bringing out the essential manhood and womanhood in the individual Indian,—he is met by the hopeless inquiry: "But what about the immense tribal funds which are held in trust by the Government for the Indians?"

In numberless ways the existence of these great funds tends to perpetuate the system of tribal organization and a separate Indian Bureau and United States Indian service. We have repeatedly declared in this Conference that we favor a *vanishing policy* in Indian affairs. Our highest hope for the Indians is to see them on their own lands, admitted into American citizenship, and living as Christian citizens among white neighbors under the system of American schools and American law. We want to keep in view the speedy ending of special legislation and special administration for Indians. But these tribal funds place a money premium upon the continued existence of the tribe, and of communal life.

The United States Government must face the question of a just and helpful administration of Indian trust funds. The Government has deliberately entered upon the policy of individual allotments of land, and the admission to all the rights and responsibilities of citizenship in the United States of every Indian so allotted. This means that the tribal organization must soon disappear. It is evident that tribal funds cannot be advantageously or wisely administered after the tribe has ceased to be and its members have become American citizens. It is painfully obvious now that in most cases the payment of money annuities does harm. Payments of undivided interest from tribal funds, and of the proceeds of the leasing of tribal lands which are held in common, are working grave injury to the habits and the character of the Indians. If

you notice the effort to get placed upon the rolls of membership of a tribe which is thus to receive money, the names of children who are one-half, three-fourths or seven-eighths white, and the consequent tendency to crowd these white children back toward the tribe, the reservation and the old life of Indians, instead of bringing them on into the self-dependent life of American citizens, you will see the evil effects of this system of tribal funds. The effect of the administration of such funds for the tribe by Indian councils has nowhere been good. The corruption in the management of the money affairs of the Senecas in the State of New York, and among the "Five Civilized Tribes," where the system is said "to be seen at its best," is a strong argument against the indefinite continuance of tribal funds for Indians, who should become self-supporting and useful citizens of the United States. I am very strongly of the opinion—and I think, in this respect, I speak the sentiments and convictions of the entire Board of Indian Commissioners—that a principle should be worked out in legislation and administration which will put an end to the evils resulting from reliance upon these tribal funds, and, at the same time, will secure to the Indians who are now, or are soon to become, citizens of the United States, their just share in funds which, by the terms of treaties and agreements, belong to these Indians. On page 18 of the last Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners I have spoken of this plan. I there quote a memorial forwarded to the Indian Department in January, 1898, by the Iowa tribe of Indians from Kansas. When I wrote that report I supposed that the language of this memorial had been formulated by the Iowas themselves; but I have since learned that Mr. S. M. Brosius, the Secretary of the Indian Rights Association, formulated for the Iowas the memorial there referred to. The Iowas ask that "there be enacted a statute which shall provide that each member of their tribe shall have credited to him his *pro rata* share of the principal and interest of the said trust fund, subject to disposal for his benefit by the Secretary of the Interior, and at his death to be paid to his legal heirs, under the laws of the State in which he resides."

The treaties and agreements under which the Indian trust funds were created, are so different in their provisions that it will not be found practicable, probably, to deal with all these funds in precisely the same way. But in general, would it not be entirely practicable to have all the persons who are entitled to a share in such a tribal fund registered at a given date, and to allow no children born after that date to share in that tribal fund, save as they might inherit from one or more of the Indians already enrolled as entitled to a share of the fund; then to divide the amount of the fund, principal and interest, at that particular date, into a number of shares, proportioned to the number of Indians entitled to share in it, and to have each Indian so entitled credited upon the books of the Department and the Treasury with his personal share at that date; to have annual payments of interest upon each of these

shares made to the individual holders during their life, or until such time as, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, each Indian so entitled to a share in the funds should be qualified to receive and use, as he would, the entire principal sum of his share; and still further to provide by law that upon the death of any one of the Indians enrolled at the above date as entitled to a share of the tribal fund, *the individual share of the Indian so deceased must be paid at once to his heirs*, under the law of the state or territory in which he resided.

This would put an end to the expectation of perpetual inheritance through an indefinite number of generations, of some sort of claim to an undivided share in Indian tribal funds. This seems to us to be the proper line of approach to a plan for righteously doing away with the system of special trust funds for certain especially favored bodies of Indian citizens of the United States.

This plan would strike at the "bulk of things as they are," and would prevent the dead weight of undivided tribal funds from perpetuating, indefinitely, a system of special Indian administration. Is not this plan deserving of the serious thought and the careful discussion of the Conference?

GOOD AGRICULTURAL LANDS IN INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

It will be remembered by many who were in attendance at this Conference a year ago that Senator Dawes offered a resolution, which was adopted by the Conference, especially calling the attention of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the conditions and needs of the allottees under the Severalty Act, and asking that the Board consider and adopt such measures as will more surely protect these allottees from outside encroachment, and more effectively stimulate in them the development of self-sustaining citizenship.

Correspondence which had already been undertaken by the Board was carried forward by its secretary throughout the fall and winter, looking especially to the suggestions made in this resolution. In the Annual Report of our Board for the year 1899, those who are interested will find in Appendix "C," published *in extenso*, the replies of all the Indian agents except two to the inquiries of the Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners. These letters and reports are analyzed, and their contents discussed on pages 9 to 22 of our last Annual Report. The replies cover reports from agencies at which over 57,000 allotments to Indians had been made. The generally favorable opinion as to the effects upon the Indians of the allotment of land in severalty are most noteworthy. Especially worthy of attention, too, is the general conviction of agents that the lack of any proper registration of marriages, births and deaths, and the lack of uniform regulations upon the matter of Indian marriages, should have immediate attention and correction. Some twenty agents express the conviction that on their reservations, and for their Indians, the raising of cattle is the best occupa-

tion, and the best line of activity through which to lead their Indians to self-support and civilization. I think that those who read carefully the replies of these agents will feel gratified, too, to note in how many cases the reservations contain enough good arable land, or grazing land, for the ample support of all the Indians on the reservation, if land should be allotted in severalty. This is not invariably the case; but after the exaggerated reports to the contrary which have sometimes been printed, it is gratifying to know that, as a rule, the reservations contain enough good land for the support of the Indians. It is my conviction that the work of allotment should be steadily pushed forward.

THE NEED OF CONTINUED CHRISTIAN EFFORT.

Having thus called your attention to the principles which seem to me to mark the later and better methods of dealing with the Indians, and to some of the immediate needs in legislation and administration, I take great pleasure now in bringing before you the speakers who are to give us reports of facts from the field, and discussions of the principles and questions raised by these reports.

Always in these conferences we find ourselves in entire harmony in the deep conviction that to teaching, and to Christian preaching and living, we must look for the forces which are to change the character of savage Indians, and to bring under the sway of law, and the sweet influences of the Christian life, these men and women "of the restless eye and the wandering foot," and the children whom God has given them, and to whom their hearts go out in love as deep and strong as the love that binds us to our children. Nothing less than decades of years of persistent effort, years of effort prompted by that love of one's fellow-men which has its perennial root in the love of Christ for us, can do the work which here we contemplate and discuss; and we welcome to the Conference some of the men and women who have already given years of life to this self-sacrificing labor in mission fields and schools among the Indians.

We welcome as cordially representatives of the Indian Department,—Christian men of high purpose, whose aim in the issuing of regulations and the administration of Indian affairs is identical with the aims of the Christian workers in the field, and the Christian friends of the Indians who gather here in this Eighteenth Lake Mohonk Indian Conference.

Dr. ABBOTT, Chairman of the Business Committee, reported a programme for the morning session.

The first address was by Gen. E. Whittlesey, on the attitude of the past Presidents of the United States on the Indian question.

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENTS' MESSAGES.

BY GENERAL E. WHITTLESEY.

The Conference may be interested to hear something of the views of the Presidents of the United States upon our Indian policy. The number of messages is very large, but a great majority of them (465) simply transmit to Congress treaties with Indian tribes. For almost a century after the organization of our Government the practice of making Indian treaties, begun by the early colonists in their weakness, was continued. It seems now strange that the wise revolutionary statesmen could not have devised, after we had become a strong nation, a better system than that of recognizing Indian tribes as independent nations, to be dealt with as we dealt with foreign Powers. But they followed the policy of the Pilgrims, of the Dutch and of William Penn, and that policy was continued until 1872, when Congress passed a law prohibiting further Indian treaties.

The messages of Washington relate largely to the suppression of hostilities on our frontiers; but he says, August 7, 1789: "While the measures of Government ought to be calculated to protect its citizens from all injury and violence, a due regard should be extended to those Indian tribes whose happiness, in the course of events, so materially depends on the national justice and humanity of the United States."

In his second message, December 8, 1790, he writes: "It has been heretofore known to Congress that frequent incursions have been made on our frontier settlements by certain banditti of Indians from the northwest side of the Ohio. The lives of a number of valuable citizens have been sacrificed, and some of them under circumstances peculiarly shocking, whilst others have been carried into deplorable captivity. These aggravated provocations rendered it essential to the safety of the Western settlements that the aggressors should be made sensible that the Government of the Union is not less capable of punishing their crimes than it is disposed to respect their rights and reward their attachments."

In his third message, October 15, 1791, he says: "It is sincerely to be desired that all need of coercion in future may cease, and that an intimate intercourse may succeed, calculated to advance the happiness of the Indians, and to attach them firmly to the United States. In order to do this it seems necessary that they should experience the benefits of an impartial dispensation of justice. A system corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy toward an unenlightened race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States, would be as honorable to the national character as conformable to the dictates of sound policy."

In his fourth message, November 6, 1792, after detailing the measures pursued to pacify the Cherokees, Washington continues: "I cannot dismiss the subject of Indian affairs without again recommending to your consideration the expediency of more adequate

provision for giving energy to the laws throughout our interior frontier, and for restraining the commission of outrages upon the Indians; without which all pacific plans must prove nugatory." A few days later he issued a proclamation, requiring the arrest of "certain lawless and wicked persons of the interior frontier in the State of Georgia (who) did lately invade, burn and destroy a town belonging to the Cherokee Nation and put to death several Indians of that nation."

In his seventh annual message, December 8, 1795, Washington says: "The provisions heretofore made with a view to the protection of the Indians from the violences of the lawless part of our frontier inhabitants are insufficient. To enforce upon the Indians the observance of justice, it is indispensable that there shall be competent means of rendering justice to them. I add, with pleasure, that the probability even of their civilization is not diminished. The accomplishment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undecaying luster on our national character, and administer the most grateful consolations that virtuous minds can know."

In his last message, December 7, 1796: "Measures calculated to insure a continuance of the friendship of the Indians, and to preserve peace, have been digested and adopted. Care has been taken to protect the rights secured to the Indians by treaty—to draw them nearer to the civilized state, and inspire them with correct conceptions of the power as well as justice of the Government."

President John Adams seems to have given very little attention to Indian affairs, merely alluding in one message to efforts of foreign agents "to alienate the affections of the Indian nations, and to excite them to actual hostilities against the United States."

President Jefferson, on the contrary, has much to say upon Indian matters. In his first message, December 8, 1801, he writes: "Among our Indian neighbors a spirit of peace and friendship generally prevails, and I am happy to inform you that the continued efforts to introduce among them the implements and the practice of husbandry and of the household arts, have not been without success." In a special message, January 27, 1802, he urges the prohibition of carrying ardent spirits to Indians.

In another special message, January 18, 1803, he says: "Two measures are deemed expedient. First, to encourage them to abandon hunting, to apply to the raising stock, to agriculture and domestic manufacture. Second, to multiply trading houses among them, and place within their reach those things which will contribute to their domestic comfort. In leading them thus to agriculture, to manufacture and civilization, in bringing together their and our sentiments, and in preparing them ultimately to participate in the benefits of our Government, I trust and believe we are acting for their greatest good."

In his third message, October 17, 1803, he says, "With many of the Indian tribes' improvements in agriculture and householding, manufactures are advancing, and with all our peace and friendship are established on grounds much firmer than heretofore."

In his fourth message, November 8, 1804, we read, "With the Indian tribes established within our newly acquired limits (*i. e.*, the Louisiana purchase) I have deemed it necessary to open conferences for the purpose of establishing a good understanding and neighborly relations between us."

In his second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1805, he says: "The aboriginal inhabitants of these countries I have regarded with the commiseration their history inspires. Now reduced within limits too narrow for the hunter's state, humanity enjoins us to teach them agriculture and the domestic arts. We have therefore liberally furnished them with the implements of husbandry and household use; we have placed among them instructors in the arts of first necessity, and they are covered with the ægis of the law against aggressors from among ourselves."

In his fifth annual message, December 3, 1805, he writes in the same hopeful vein, "Our Indian neighbors are advancing, many of them with spirit, and others beginning to engage in the pursuits of agriculture and household manufacture."

In his seventh message, October 27, 1807, he says: "Among our Indian neighbors in the Northwestern quarter, some fermentation was observed threatening the continuance of our peace. The tribes in our vicinity who are most advanced in the pursuits of industry are sincerely disposed to adhere to their friendship with us. The great tribes on our Southwestern quarter, much advanced beyond the others in agriculture and household arts, appear tranquil, and identifying their views with ours in proportion to their advancement. With the whole of these people, in every quarter, I shall continue to inculcate peace and friendship with all their neighbors, and perseverance in their occupations and pursuits which will best promote their own well being."

In his last message, November 8, 1808, Mr. Jefferson assures us that "With our Indian neighbors the public peace has been steadily maintained. Generally from a conviction that we consider them as a part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests, the attachment of the Indian tribes is gaining strength daily. One of the two great divisions of the Cherokee Nation have now under consideration to solicit the citizenship of the United States, and to be identified with us in laws and government in such progressive manner as we shall think best."

President Madison in his fourth message, November 4, 1812, says, "The Indian tribes not under foreign instigations remain at peace, and receive the civilizing attentions which have proved so beneficial to them."

In his fifth message, December 7, 1813, he writes at length upon the "cruelty of the enemy (British) in enlisting the savages in the war." And again in his seventh message, December 5, 1815, he speaks of "the Indian tribes within and bordering on the Southern frontier, whom a cruel war on their part had compelled us to chastise into peace."

In his last message, December 3, 1816, in a more cheerful vein

he writes: "The Indian tribes within our limits appear disposed to remain at peace. I am happy to add that the tranquillity which has been restored among the tribes themselves, as well as between them and our own population, will favor the resumption of the work of civilization which had made an encouraging progress among some tribes, and that the facility is increasing for extending that *divided* and *individual ownership*, which now exists in movable property only, to the *soil itself*, and of thus establishing in the culture and improvement of it the true foundation for a transit from the habits of savage to the arts and comforts of social life." Here we have the first hint of "land in severalty" for Indians. All honor to James Madison!

The messages of President Monroe relate largely to the disastrous and wicked Seminole War. In his fourth message, November 14, 1820, he says, "With the Indians peace has been preserved and a progress made in carrying into effect the Act of Congress making an appropriation for their civilization with the prospect of favorable results."

In his second inaugural address Mr. Monroe makes some important suggestions quite in line with our modern ideas. He says: "We have treated them (the Indian tribes) as *independent nations*, without their having any substantial pretensions to that rank. The distinction has flattered their pride, retarded their improvement, and, in many instances, paved the way to their destruction. They have claims on the magnanimity, and, I may add, on the justice of this nation which we must all feel. We should become their real benefactors. Their sovereignty over vast territories should cease, in lieu of which the right of soil should be secured to each individual and his posterity in competent portions. My earnest hope is that Congress will digest some plan founded on these principles, and carry it into effect as soon as it may be practicable." All honor to James Monroe, more than half a century in advance of his times. In later messages he advocates the same policy.

John Quincy Adams, in a special message February 5, 1827, earnestly condemns the authorities of the State of Georgia for encroachment upon the territories secured by a solemn treaty to the Indians; and in his fourth annual message, December 2, 1828, he criticises, like Monroe, the system of dealing with Indian tribes as foreign and independent powers, and of negotiating with them by treaties. "We have found them forming in the midst of ourselves communities claiming to be independent of ours, and rivals of sovereignty within the territories of the Union. This state of things requires a remedy which, while it shall do justice to these unfortunate children of nature, may secure to the members of our confederation their rights of sovereignty and of soil."

President Jackson, in his first inaugural address, March 4, 1829, declares, "It will be my sincere and constant desire to observe toward the Indian tribes within our limits a just and liberal policy, and to give that humane and considerate attention to their rights and their wants which is consistent with the habits of our Government

and the feelings of our people." A very good promise; yet in his first annual message, December 8, 1829, he argues at length the project of removing the Choctaw, Cherokee and Creek Indians from Georgia and Alabama to a district west of the Mississippi. "This emigration should be voluntary, for it would be as cruel as unjust to compel the aborigines to abandon the graves of their fathers and seek a home in a distant land." And in his second message, December 6, 1830, he says, "It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the Government in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements, is approaching to a happy consummation."

In a subsequent message he continues to press the same policy, and we all know how it was executed. That dark page of our Indian policy we cannot read without shame and indignation.

President Van Buren simply echoes the sentiments of Jackson, saying in his message, December 3, 1838: "It affords me sincere pleasure to be able to apprise you of the entire removal of the Cherokee Nation of Indians to their new homes west of the Mississippi. That a mixed occupancy of the same territory by the white and red man is incompatible with the safety or happiness of either, is a position in respect to which there has long ceased to be room for a difference of opinion." In a special message, January 13, 1840, he proceeds to urge the removal of the New York Indians, as presenting the only prospect of their preservation. In his message of December 5, 1840, he says that "since the spring of 1837 more than forty thousand Indians have been removed to their new homes west of the Mississippi, and I am happy to add that all accounts concur in representing the result of this measure as eminently beneficial to that people."

William Henry Harrison held the office of President only a few weeks, and delivered no message relating to Indians.

President Tyler, in his message December 7, 1841, says that the Florida War is near its end, and that "with all the other Indian tribes we are enjoying the blessings of peace. Our duty, as well as our best interests, prompt us to observe in all our intercourse with them fidelity in fulfilling our engagements, the practice of strict justice, as well as the constant exercise of acts of benevolence and kindness." In his second message, December 6, 1842, he repeats the same sentiments, and in his final message, December 4, 1844, the same in substance.

President Polk in his first message, December 2, 1845, expresses his approval of the policy of removing the Indians west of the Mississippi, and adds that "education is now attended to and the habits of civilized life are gaining ground." In his second message, December 8, 1846, he says: "In our intercourse with the several tribes, particular attention has been paid to the important subject of education. The number of schools established among them has been increased and additional means provided, not only for teaching them the rudiments of education, but of instructing them in agriculture and the mechanic arts." In subsequent messages President Polk repeats the same in substance.

The messages of Presidents Taylor, Fillmore and Pierce contain nothing important relating to Indian affairs.

President Buchanan in his first message, December 8, 1857, says: "The whole number of Indians within our territorial limits is believed to be about 325,000. The tribes settled in the territory set apart for them, west of Arkansas, are rapidly advancing in education and in all the arts of civilization and self-government, and we may indulge the agreeable anticipation that at no very distant day they will be incorporated into the Union as one of the sovereign States." Thanks to Buchanan for the suggestion.

President Lincoln in his second message, December 1, 1862, after announcing that the Southern Indians had entered into treaties with the insurgents, and describing the Sioux outbreak in Minnesota, says: "I submit for your especial consideration whether our Indian system shall not be remodeled. Many wise and good men have impressed me with the belief that this can be profitably done."

In his second message, December 8, 1863, he says: "Sound policy and our imperative duty to these wards of the Government, demand our anxious and constant attention to their material well-being, to their progress in the arts of civilization, and, above all, to that moral training which, under the blessing of divine Providence, will confer upon them the elevated and sanctifying influences, the hopes and consolations, of the Christian faith. I suggested in my last annual message the propriety of remodeling our Indian system. Subsequent events have satisfied me of its necessity."

In President Johnson's messages no mention is made of Indian affairs.

President Grant in his first inaugural address, March 4, 1869, says tersely: "The proper treatment of the original occupants of this land—the Indians—is one deserving of careful study. I will favor any course toward them which tends to their civilization and ultimate citizenship."

In his first annual message, December 6, 1869, he writes: "From the foundation of the Government to the present, the management of the Indians has been a subject of embarrassment and expense, and has been attended with continuous robberies, murders and wars. I have attempted a new policy towards these wards of the nation with fair results so far as tried, and which I hope will be attended ultimately with great success. As soon as they are fitted for it, they should be induced to take their lands in severalty, and to set up Territorial governments for their own protection." In subsequent messages he continues to recommend the "Indian peace policy, not only because it is humane, Christianlike and economical, but because it is right." He also recommends a "Territorial government to the Indians in the Indian Territory."

President Hayes in his first annual message, December 3, 1877, approves the policy of General Grant, and says: "We are now at peace with all the Indian tribes within our borders. To preserve that peace by a just and humane policy will be the object of my

earnest endeavors. Many, if not most, of our Indian wars have had their origin in broken promises and acts of injustice on our part, and the advance of the Indians in civilization has been slow, because the treatment they received did not permit it to be faster and more general." In later messages he repeats the same humane sentiments, urges allotment of lands in severalty and a title in fee to allottees, inalienable for twenty-five years, and says: "This measure, together with a vigorous prosecution of our educational efforts, will work the most important and effective advance toward the solution of the Indian problem, in preparing for the gradual merging of our Indian population in the great body of American citizenship."

The messages of Presidents Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison and McKinley are very full of interesting suggestions and recommendations upon Indian matters,—too extended to be quoted,—and they are so recent that they are familiar to all who attend the Mohonk Conference.

Mr. F. H. Newell, Hydrographer of the United States Geological Survey, was next introduced. He read the following paper.

WATER SUPPLY FOR INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

BY F. H. NEWELL, HYDROGRAPHER UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

The providing of suitable water supply for industrial and municipal purposes is usually considered one of the most difficult and involved branches of engineering. This grows out of the fact that water, as it occurs in nature, flowing in streams or percolating underground, has a constantly varying volume, and is subject to laws whose operations are only partly understood. The engineer, therefore, must depend upon a knowledge of past conditions in planning for the future. Upon the accuracy of this knowledge must, to a large extent, depend the efficiency of his plans. If his knowledge is limited, or extends over short periods of time, his conclusions must be correspondingly vague and unsatisfactory.

Whatever may be the difficulties of hydraulic plans and construction in the humid East, where an intelligent population have existed for a century or more, they are greatly intensified when we come to the arid West, where conditions are extreme, and where the new population has not had time to become familiar with climatic variations. In the East, when other resources fail, we have the notoriously unreliable and yet useful "oldest inhabitant," but in the arid West the oldest inhabitant can often count on the fingers of a hand his years of residence. The planning, therefore, of permanent hydraulic works in the arid region necessitates a degree of skill above that of other parts of the country.

In questions of water supply there are usually a number of alternative propositions possible. In the case of building a schoolhouse it makes little difference whether the building is a few feet too large or too small, or is placed accurately, provided it is on the designed lot. In constructing a dam, however, while there are many alternative sites, there is usually the one which, while not at first glance notable, is later found to be the best or safest. A distance of a few feet may ultimately mean success or failure. Improper proportioning of a canal may result in its destruction, or at least in the expenditure of great sums to prevent the water from destroying its bottom or filling it up with silt.

Without going into detail, it is sufficient to call attention to the fact that many works for obtaining or conserving water, even though relatively inexpensive, depend for success upon the most thorough knowledge and deliberate study of surroundings. Even in the simple matter of putting down a well, it may be cheaper to spend considerable time and thought in order to get it in the proper place, than to be compelled later to abandon it for another spot. These matters are recognized in common practice, and all great corporations, those which by ability have risen above their fellows, have employed the best engineering talent, and have in matters of water supply given most thorough consideration to obtaining a knowledge of the facts. This is particularly true in the arid region, where, profiting by many failures, the prospective investors in new development works have, like the Arrowhead Company, spent years of time and thousands of dollars to learn where reservoirs can be best built and canal lines located.

It is recognized by all who have had much to do with irrigation, that it is exceedingly important to plan for the future, and construct ditches in such a way that they can be used for all time. Vested rights and local customs, having the force of law, grow up so quickly around the irrigation systems that changes become almost impossible. A road or a railway may be shifted to suit changed conditions, but in the case of an irrigating canal, improvements are far more difficult. A comprehensive view of the future, especially with reference to the construction of other canals, must always be had.

With these ideas as to the difficulties surrounding the planning of hydraulic works, the visitor to the arid region expects to find that the Government, in its wise provision for the needs of the Indians, has acquired a most thorough knowledge of the physical conditions, and has built ideal systems founded upon such knowledge. To his surprise, however, he learns upon visiting the Indian reservations that not only have the Indians been crowded back upon the more arid and less accessible spots, but little or no attention has been paid to providing a permanent water supply for the cultivation of their fields. The traveler learns with amazement that thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars have been spent in educating the Indians, and in trying to make them into farmers or stock raisers; while on the other hand, the element of success, the necessary water supply, has been neglected, and even the settled Indians, those who have cultivated their lands

by irrigation from time immemorial, have been gradually deprived of the use of their ditches.

It is true that considerable sums have been spent in one way or another for irrigating the lands of the Indians, but from casual inspection it will appear that a very small proportion of this money has given any permanent return. Possibly as high as twenty-five per cent of the investment has been of use. Ditches built at large cost have been washed out because of their excessive slope, expensive head works and flumes have been neglected, and pumping plants have dropped into the river. On nearly all sides are evidences of hasty and costly work and imperfect results.

It is not desirable to dwell upon these facts except for the purpose of emphasizing the need of better things. The point to be noted is, that the greater part of the money expended in procuring water supply for agriculture has been wasted. This is not enunciated as a reflection upon any one man, but is an illustration of the fact that under a too highly organized administration every man may perform his function and yet the results be nearly useless. The blame can be safely laid on the "system," as this is an impersonal thing.

The "system" which is responsible for such deplorable conditions is very difficult of description even by one who has had much to do with its workings, and any attempt to characterize it in a few words may fall short of the truth, or be construed as an attack upon individuals. The results are bad not merely in the waste of money which has ensued, but in the effect upon the property of the Indians. It has resulted that small ditches have been built along some stream, and the Indians settled *in severalty* upon the bottoms. When the remainder of the reservation has been thrown up, the white man, using his better judgment, has taken out a larger canal heading above the Indians, and covering the benches or terraces where the best lands lie. The seepage water from these upper lands working gradually toward the river ultimately sub-irrigates, and finally destroys the lower farms, by making them marshy or bringing up the alkali. In the course of a few years it is seen that the Indians have retained not only the poorest land of their former reservation, but are in a position to be deprived of their water supply. The upper high-line canal might as easily have been built for the Indians, and probably at less expense than the multitude of little ditches on the bottom lands, and the Indians' farms would have had a permanent value.

There is another phase of the subject. Some Indian reservations, though arid, include bodies of land which with water have great value. It is possible by laying out systems of canals, or even by indicating where they should run, that the land can be made to have a value several times as great as that where treated with neglect. If the Indians are considered as owning these lands, and the Government as acting as trustee, it is certainly a breach of trust not to give these lands their greatest value. By dividing them regardless of the water supply, they may have a value of a thousand

dollars; but by considering the source of water, and making plans for irrigation, they may be easily worth one hundred thousand.

It has been urged by the advocates of the present system that well-built irrigation works are not needed; that the Indian is not far enough advanced to make proper use of the water, and that, therefore, temporary makeshifts in the matter of a water supply are desirable. This theory is not held, however, in the matter of other improvements, as the Indian is often provided with the latest and best forms of tools and agricultural implements, although he abuses them. In the case of a water supply results are disastrous, in that when temporary expedients are once adopted they become fastened upon the country. Unless efficient systems of irrigation, such as those needed by the white man, are provided, the Indian cannot be expected to make progress as a farmer.

SUMMARY OF EXISTING CONDITIONS.

Most of the Indians are now located within the arid and semi-arid region.

The practice of agriculture or stock raising is dependent almost wholly upon a permanent water supply.

The undisturbed possession of the water supply is as necessary as land ownership, since water alone gives value to the land.

The providing of a permanent water supply is usually one of the most difficult of engineering undertakings.

The guarding of a water supply once obtained requires forethought and constant vigilance.

The temporary expedients adopted for supplying the agricultural lands of the Indians have resulted in producing little of permanent value. Probably three-fourths of the money thus invested has been lost.

The supplies of water provided by these temporary ditches is in many instances in danger of being diminished through lack of forethought in planning the works.

The Indian farms, selected largely with reference to these temporary ditches, are often on the poorest land and liable to deterioration.

The water rights for these farms are being lost because of their location, and the land is in some cases being destroyed by alkali.

The better systems built by the white men tend to render the Indian lands worthless, for the above reasons.

Apparently no person is authorized or empowered to prepare plans for the future, or to guard against the evils which are threatening the irrigated farms of the Indians.

Only the most pressing cases are being given attention, while many instances of gradual decline are neglected.

While it is easy to point out the faults and errors of the present system, it is difficult to outline some better method without violating cherished traditions. The first thought is to outline a system such

that efficiency will be insured by following certain prescribed rules and regulations. If this is done the question arises, Will not the office degenerate into conditions as bad as those now existing? The more rules and regulations, especially those laid down upon theoretical lines, the more easy it is to waste and fritter away opportunities and accomplish nothing. The Bureaus of the Government which are efficient and economical are those having the fewest regulations, and in which the responsible chiefs do not hesitate to break an office rule where common sense dictates that prompt or effective action should be taken. In other words, discretion must be vested in such a way that men are held responsible for results rather than for adherence to red tape.

Improvement can be had by following the lines laid down by the experience of great corporations, such as the railroads of the country. In these the chief engineer, for example, is held responsible for certain results, but he is not hampered by clerks in other Bureaus reviewing the methods by which these results are accomplished. He is not compelled to go to the general manager of the road for authority to purchase bolts for his bridges, nor does he have his requisitions held up because some clerk in the general manager's office thinks that the bolts should be larger or smaller.

To introduce any reform we must abandon entirely the bureaucratic idea of putting minute checks upon every man, and making the head of the department responsible for each petty detail. Economy and efficiency cannot be promoted by enacting more rules and regulations, but by imposing responsibility and giving discretionary action to a competent head of a corps of engineers. There are now so many checks that spontaneous activity is crushed, and attention given so closely to minor matters of detail that the object of the work itself is overlooked.

Better conditions must come, if at all, through the larger comprehension of the object, and the placing of responsibility for results, rather than for executing petty and vexatious instructions. If this lodging of discretion in the hands of a competent engineer is impossible, then we can look for no improvement over present methods.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. GATES.—Only a few weeks ago we had occasion to investigate a case where a trained engineer of the highest capacity, and of wide-reaching power in the field, had made a requisition for a certain piece of apparatus which was necessary. It was accurately specified, but it did not come. There was not even an answer. At last, after some correspondence, it was found that a certain clerk in a very subordinate position had said that he had tried some such apparatus as that and that it was not successful, and he had not thought it worth while to send it in response to the requisition.

Mr. SMILEY.—I want to call attention to one thing that Mr. Newell has said. It is not only the land but the water that must be protected in the West. If you take away the water the land is

of little use. If you give the Indians land in severalty, you destroy its value if you take away the water.

Mrs. A. S. QUINTON.—Mrs. Eldredge, the field matron among the Navajo Indians, taught them to throw a dam across a cañon, and they are now able to secure crops a part of the year. It is only a temporary expedient, but it shows that such expedients are necessary for the time being.

Dr. WILLIAM A. MOWRY.—I was extremely interested in the quotations from the messages of our Presidents, as given us in that interesting paper by General Whittlesey, and in the light of the discussion to which we have just listened, on the allotment of lands in severalty, let me make one more quotation from President Jefferson. After Napoleon had thrust upon us the purchase of the great Louisiana Province, and the President had hesitated long to approve the treaty, it is reported that he finally said: "Well, perhaps after all good may come from this treaty, in that it may enable us hereafter to push all the Indians beyond the Mississippi River, and keep all the white men this side."

A few months ago, in one of the neighboring towns to Mr. Smiley, in California, a deed of land was given, and there was in it a reservation of the right to tunnel. I did not understand what that meant, being a "tenderfoot" from the East. I therefore inquired, and found that it was not an unusual thing for one selling land to reserve the right to tunnel. So here, the man had reserved the right to tunnel. The new owner sunk a well and found a stream of water. The man who had sold the land constructed a tunnel to the well and drew off the water. He had a right to do that because the reservation had been put in the deed. The other man studied the case a little and sank his well deeper. So one man had the tunnel and the other man got the water. Later he sold the well to a water company for ten thousand dollars.

Mr. JAMES TALCOTT.—I am the owner of two ranches in Colorado, and I have had the same trouble. So far I have been able to protect the water, the loss of which would ruin the ranches.

Gen. C. H. HOWARD.—Something ought to be said on behalf of the Pima Indians. They have been worried for twenty-five years in regard to their water, and have been reduced at times almost to starvation. They have always been friendly to the white people, and, while they are on the road to civilization, we are turning them back by not doing them justice in regard to the water which rightfully belongs to them.

Miss ANNA BEECHER SCOVILLE.—Is it not possible to take the water supply of all our reservations out of the hands of the local authorities and put it under the charge of engineers who know their work? I know of one school that has been fighting for its water supply. They appealed to the Government for a well. There was a party on the reservation which wished to get rid of that school. The result was, that, having carried the point that they should have a well, the agency authorities located it where the whole drainage of the school went into it.

President GATES.—Are you sure of your facts? There is something devilish in that.

Miss SCOVILLE.—I am as sure of it as of anything. If you ask about it you will find that there has been underhanded work in the placing of that well. For four years the plea has been that the school must be abolished on account of the bad water, and everyone knows that the well was put in that place to destroy the school.

Dr. J. A. LIPPINCOTT.—I think a strong expression should be made by the Conference upon the matter, because the Indians cannot make progress in civilization on arid lands without water.

Dr. GATES.—The son of Dr. Lippincott is one of the best expert engineers on water in the country, so that Dr. Lippincott speaks from intimate knowledge of the subject.

Dr. LIPPINCOTT.—I was in California in 1899, and I learned there that a company had been formed to draw off by tunnel the water supply of Los Angeles to supply some other town. The supply of water is a great and serious question in that part of the country. I move that this matter be referred to the committee on resolutions, and that there be a strong expression in regard to it.

Voted.

President GATES.—We are all exceedingly interested in the Indian Territory, and for several successive years we have heard from the distinguished chairman of the commission with reference to the various steps taken in the Indian Territory. Senator Dawes had expected to be with us, and we had hoped to welcome him here at this time, but the illness of Mrs. Dawes has prevented. We are glad to hear, from a letter just received, that Mrs. Dawes is better. Mr. Dawes has sent a report of the present condition of affairs in the Indian Territory, which will be read by Mr. Garrett,

Mr. PHILIP C. GARRETT.—I listened with the deepest interest to the valuable historical document prepared by General Whittlesey, but what struck me with surprise was the discovery that even the distribution of land in severalty was suggested in the early part of the century, almost a hundred years ago, and that all these efforts have been dragging on since that time, owing to the rapacity of the whites and the tardiness of legislation, so that the Dawes Bill is the first realization of that plan. As General Whittlesey said, honor is due to President Madison, yet is it due still more to Senator Dawes for the realization in legislation of a scheme which has already enabled sixty thousand Indians to hold the position of citizens of the United States.

One of the chief obstacles to the consummation so greatly desired, the final settlement of the Indian problem, was the condition of the Indian Territory. Senator Dawes, in his advanced years, with the characteristic perseverance, ability and industry for which he is so celebrated, has brought the question, so far as the Indian Territory is concerned, nearly to a solution. So ironbound were the conditions which surrounded that Territory that it seemed as though the United States could never overcome them, but, as you will see

by the report which I am to read, those obstructive conditions have been nearly surmounted. This résumé, prepared in reply to a letter from the Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, by Senator Dawes is a document of great value in giving us a view of the present condition of things.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

BY EX-SENATOR HENRY L. DAWES, LL.D.

In order to understand the purpose for which the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes was created, and the present condition of their work, it will be necessary to refresh our memories as to the conditions which caused its appointment. So much of the past of these tribes as is essential for this purpose is briefly this: These tribes are the Cherokees, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the Creeks and the Seminoles, numbering about sixty-four thousand at the last census. Seventy years ago they were living on their own lands in Georgia, North Carolina and Mississippi, and to induce them to surrender these lands to the white men of the States where they were situated, the United States gave them in exchange the Indian Territory. In the treaties made with them we conveyed the title to the lands directly to the tribes, for the use of the people of the tribes to hold as long as they maintained their tribal organizations and occupied them. This stipulation prevented their parting with them without the consent of the United States. We stipulated in these treaties that they should have the right to establish their own governments without our interference, such governments as they pleased, not in conflict with the constitution of the United States. We also covenanted with them that we would keep all the white people out of their territory. Having thus set them up for themselves in a territory far west of any of the States, beyond all further trouble, as it was thought, we left them to do as they pleased for forty years.

During that time they set up governments after the pattern of our own, at least on paper, with a chief magistrate chosen for a fixed term, a legislative council and courts. They were more advanced in civilization than any other Indians in the country, though hardly enough so to justify the name by which they have been distinguished from the rest of the race. The expectation upon which these transactions were based was that they were sufficiently civilized, so that thus isolated they would go on under the influence of our example to the attainment of our own civilization and our Government in all essential characteristics. This expectation was far from being realized, for during that time they had made little, if any, progress. They had become slaveholders, and thereby made all labor of the master disreputable, and idleness worked its natural results. A few grew rich, while the less intelligent many in consequence grew poor. Their governments in all departments fell

under control of these same few, who used them for their own gain, and their children every year, for lack of training and proper education, fell back of their parents in all the qualities essential to progress in civilization.

At the breaking out of the Civil War they had made but little, if any, progress, and in many respects their condition was less hopeful than in the beginning. They cast in their fortunes with the Confederates during the war, and were the victims of spoliation to a terrible degree by the armies of both sides. At its end they were well nigh beggars, stripped of everything valuable and wretchedly helpless. We then entered into new treaties with them with some modifications of the old ones, not changing, however, the nature of their title to their lands. Slavery in the Territory was abolished by these treaties and the tribes stipulated to receive their freedmen into perfect equality of citizenship, with the right to an allotment of a specific number of acres of their land whenever their lands were allotted.

On this new basis they began anew in 1866, but under conditions and amid environments still less favorable to any development of well-ordered governments. They were no longer isolated from outside influences. States, as well as these Indians, had moved westward and were pressing upon their very borders. Their lands had become valuable by the discovery of vast deposits of coal and other material. Cotton fields of great extent and promise were developing, and vast areas of grazing lands were tempting the herdsmen of Texas. In the new treaties they had consented to the building of a railroad from north to south across their Territory, and the Missouri, Kansas & Texas road was built through its entire length from the north to its southern boundary, bringing in its train white employees at every station, and with them all necessary supplies, breaking down beyond repair all treaty obligation to exclude white occupation. Besides all this, white labor had taken the place of slave labor. In short, more than three hundred thousand white non-citizens had under various conditions taken up permanent residence in the Territory. These people had no legal status or right among them. Some were there on invitation, some had come as hired laborers, and some were there on sufferance. They had come to stay, and the obligation of the treaty to keep them out had become a dead letter. Yet these three hundred thousand had no title to a foot of land, had no voice in the government under which they lived, and no protection from its officials or laws, were excluded from its courts and their children from its schools. They built towns on land to which they had no other title than a permit of no legal value, for which they paid tribute to some irresponsible holder, and governed them as best they could. Thirty thousand white children of school age were being left without any other provision for education than such as could be afforded from the scanty earnings of the pioneer. Then came a worse evil into their midst. The Territory became a refuge for fugitives from the justice of neighboring States. Warrants of arrest could not follow them

across the line, and no provision of the constitution or of law required their extradition.

It is not necessary to enlarge upon the deplorable condition into which these elements were sure to plunge the Territory, from which its government, such as it was, in the hands of comparatively a handful of the population, could have no power to relieve it. And we had bound ourselves to stand aloof and not interfere, whatever might take place. That such a government should exist in the midst of the States of the Union independent of us, yet under the same flag, was an impossible anomaly of itself. It also contained elements of discord which, under any circumstances, made the maintenance of peace and orderly government within its own borders for any length of time next to impossible. It had become peopled by two races, in which the one owning the soil and having control of all the functions of government was to the other race as less than one to three, making certain sooner or later an outbreak for relief, violent and bloody, like all other conflicts of races for power.

Under these conditions it was that in 1893 the Government felt compelled to undertake the removal of this menace to its own peace as well as to that of the Territory itself, by an effort to induce these anomalous governments with their communal land titles to exchange them for political institutions and land tenure in harmony with our own. The task was to obtain their consent to so great and radical a change, for all these conditions were titles vested and guaranteed by treaty, which could not be changed without their consent. It was for this purpose that the Commission was created in 1893, and for which it is still engaged.

The first task before the Commission, and that which has proved the most difficult, was obtaining agreements with them that any change at all should be made. In addition to the traditional pertinacity with which the race clings to its own customs and ways it encountered adverse interests and business investments that had grown up and been fostered under existing governments, as well as distrust so natural and constant in all negotiations with Indians and the difficulty of comprehension of the full meaning of the proposed change. A recital of details would not be profitable. Suffice it to say that after repeated failures and after repeated rejections of agreements signed, sometimes by the tribes and sometimes by Congress, agreements have finally been signed and ratified with the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles, providing for the allotment of all their lands, except such as are reserved for town sites and public uses, among such persons as shall finally be found by the Commission to be citizens, the substitution of United States laws and courts for those heretofore in force in these tribes, the expenditure of their revenues by United States officers, and the supervision of their schools by officials appointed in Washington. A time in the future is also fixed in each when the tribal governments shall give place altogether to governments territorial in character.

The Cherokees and Creeks declined to treat with the Commission

at all for a long time, till the patience of Congress was exhausted, and in 1898 a law was enacted requiring to be done substantially the same things in these tribes that had been agreed upon by the others, excepting the allotment of their land in fee, which could not be done without their consent. Instead the Commission was required to allot the use of the surface only. It was provided that any change in the provisions of this law might be effected by agreements duly ratified by both Congress and the tribes respectively. Accordingly agreements were entered into during the last winter with both these tribes substantially like those already effected with the others, but too late to be ratified before the adjournment of Congress. There is every reason to believe that they will be duly ratified at an early day. When that is done, there will be agreements with all the tribes for the changes desired, in substantial uniformity in all essentials and in harmony with the institutions and laws of the adjacent States.

These agreements require much work still to be done in carrying out their provisions. These agreements require the Commission to allot the lands of the tribes to citizen Indians alone and make it the judges of the question who are such Indians, subject to an appeal by aggrieved parties to the United States courts. They are required in so determining to strike from all existing citizenship rolls all names in their opinion wrongfully there, to add all names wrongfully excluded and to admit all new applicants entitled, in their opinion, to citizenship according to the laws and usages of the respective tribes. This requires of them a judicial determination on evidence offered on every name in the whole roll of citizens in all the five tribes, about which there is question, and on all new names of applicants. The impression got abroad that blood, however attenuated, without regard to the other requirements of the laws and usages of the tribes, entitled one to admission to citizenship. Accordingly crowds of applicants came from all the adjacent States, and even from Northwestern States, for the first time into the Territory, claiming citizenship upon some claim of Indian blood in their veins, regardless of residence and citizenship elsewhere all their lives.

The Commission was compelled to pass judicially upon more than 7,500 such claims embracing in classes and families, relying on the same facts, very many thousand more up to the close of the last fiscal year. In the vast majority of these cases the evidence failed to disclose blood enough to sustain anything beyond imagination or pretence. Through all this maze and this labor the Commission has completed the roll of the Seminoles and nearly so of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, the much larger part of the Creeks, and are beginning the like work among the Cherokees. After this they are required to allot these lands to such only as appear on these rolls. But this is to be done in a manner quite different from that of the government on the reservations, where little more is required besides setting off a given number of acres of land of uniform quality to each Indian found on the agency roll

in such part of the reservation as seems best to the allotting Commissioner. Such a method of allotting the Indian Territory in its present condition would be manifestly unjust. The construction of railroads through its length and breadth, the influx of 300,000 non-citizens building large and flourishing towns, and inaugurating business enterprises of great importance, and the discovery of coal deposits of great value,—all these have contributed so to unsettle relative values that the greatest injustice would be inflicted if allotment were to be made by equality in acres. All citizens have an equal right in the value of their lands, and when allotted that equality must be preserved. Yet an allotment of fifty acres near a railroad station, or near the town of Ardmore or Muskogee, or in the neighborhood of a working coal mine, would be worth more than one of two or three hundred acres situated in some parts of the Territory. Therefore it is required that allotment shall be made by equality of value as near as possible, taking into consideration the fertility of the soil, location and all other elements of value, so that when completed each allottee will have his equal share in value without regard to the number of acres.

This just requirement has imposed upon the Commission the most difficult and perplexing of all its labors. It requires a personal knowledge of the conditions affecting the value of every acre of land in a Territory as large as the State of Indiana, if it is to be of any service in such an adjustment, and an instinct to distinguish between real and fancy values. This has been its endeavor in its efforts to discharge this important, but exceedingly difficult portion of their duty. They have completed that work also in the Seminole country, so that now all preliminaries to final allotment to the members of that tribe are completed. The final allotment there will be commenced at an early day. In the Creek and the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes good progress has been made in the same work, and its completion there also is near at hand. It will be undertaken in the Cherokee tribe as soon as the necessary force now engaged elsewhere can be liberated for that purpose. There is much other detail connected with this work which it would be neither interesting nor instructive to recount here. What has been described will enable the Conference to form an estimate of the character and progress of the work.

That so much time has been spent by the Commission and such care taken in matters preliminary to final allotment, has arisen from the belief that a just and wise system of land tenure is the basis upon which the superstructure of a prosperous State must ultimately arise, and the conviction that any misstep here would be attended with irreparable injury. It has, therefore, been the especial endeavor of the Commission that no mistake in these preliminaries which it could avoid should jeopardize success. It is now carrying on the work under conditions more favorable and encouraging than at any time heretofore. A great change has, since the beginning, come over the attitude toward them and their work of the people most affected by it. Distrust has disappeared and opposition

ceased. In their place hearty co-operation of those influential in the control of affairs is helping to push on the work. Most able and earnest men are at the head of their respective governments, giving effective aid in securing a wise and speedy solution of the difficult problems before them. Within a few weeks past the chief magistrates of two of these tribes, the Chickasaws and Creeks, have delivered their annual messages to their respective Legislative Councils, treating largely, and in the most hopeful tone, of their future, and urging wise measures in view of the new conditions confronting them. These messages would well become the Governors of the oldest of the States in the propriety and ability as well as temper and style in which they presented matters concerning the welfare of their people. The guidance of such men is full of promise that statehood in the near future is sure to come to a Territory so rich in all the elements of a healthy growth.

Mr. SMILEY.—I have known Senator Dawes for a long time, and he is by far the foremost man in this country on Indian affairs. For about eighteen years he was the head of the Indian Committee in the United States Senate. There has not been a law passed but that was either originated or revised by him most carefully and conscientiously. Since his retirement from the Senate much of the recent legislation in reference to Indian affairs is due to the wise, careful and honest work of Senator Dawes. He is a man whom no man can buy at any price. Massachusetts honored herself in keeping him so long in Congress, and it was his Indian work which did it. The paper just read is a fine one.

Rev. LEMUEL MOSS moved that a message be sent to Senator and Mrs. Dawes and Miss Dawes, stating that they are loved and missed at Mohonk; and of appreciation of Senator Dawes' valuable and interesting paper read by Mr. Garrett.

Voted.

Mr. TALCOTT.—The man in Congress who is now in a position of influence with reference to Indian affairs is Senator Platt, of Connecticut. He is a thoroughly conscientious and practical man, and he will take a lively interest in any question of this kind. I wish that we could get him to come to these Conferences.

Mr. SMILEY.—We have tried.

Rev. W. M. Wellman, of Oklahoma, was asked to close the session with a brief address. The following is an abstract of Mr. Wellman's remarks.

Rev. W. M. WELLMAN.—It seems like coming a long way from those thoughtful and scientific papers to the simple things I have to say. I want to give one or two object lessons.

We all realize the fact that it is very hard for a people that has been taught for a thousand years to do certain things to cease doing them. But that does not discourage us. One great thought in our gathering is how to get the Indian out of his place as an Indian

into the great active life of the nation and make him a responsible citizen. The Indians know nothing about moral responsibility. With the greatest deference and respect for our public schools, yet I venture to say that education alone is not enough. It needs the spiritual touch, which can come only through the hand of the faithful, earnest missionary. Without that there is a gulf made between parents and children when they go away from home to school and then return; they seem to the fathers and mothers so changed that they do not feel they are really their own children. I have known cases where the children were ashamed of their parents. I knew one case where a girl refused to let the teacher know that a certain Indian woman was her mother. Why? She was ashamed of her mother because she was dirty, and did not dress like the teacher. And the mother went off and sat down under a tree and wept. I saw her and asked her why she was crying. "Because Florence will not speak to me," she said. We try to give them the spiritual touch that will teach them better than that, and when they come to Jesus Christ they learn it. They come to believe and have confidence in those they call the "Jesus men."

I have no time to thank you for the money which you gave for the little room which I added to our hospital since I was here. We have now a little shoe shop, a harness shop where the men come to mend their harnesses, a printing shop. We are also going to have a matron, and we hope great things from her.

Mr. Wellman closed by telling of an incident which showed how the acceptance of Christianity enables men to give up superstitions. An Indian had come to him a few months ago, saying that his brother was dying and wanted the missionary to write his will. Mr. Wellman went to the man and wrote his will and read to him the gospel story. Day after day he visited him. At last the Indian dreamed that he was going to die, and must go into the presence of God in a special garment. The garment was made in exact accordance with his dream, of white cotton, with a green heart upon the back, a blue sash and other colors. When it was finished and brought to him he said: "I do not need it, after all, to go into the presence of God. Take it away. Let the one who made it keep it in remembrance of me and in memory of the fact that Jesus can save an Indian, and that he has saved me. I have given him my heart, and I go into the presence of God in the garment that he has made for me." So he died, and we bore him to the grave, and men and women wept.

Mr. FRANK WOOD, the Treasurer, asked for contributions to meet the expenses of printing and distributing the proceedings, four hundred dollars in all. He said that he was not reporting the Conference, but he hoped the members would keep him busy in *taking notes*.

Adjourned at 12.30 P. M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Night, October 17, 1900.

The Conference was called to order at 8 p. m. The subject for the evening was announced as "The Duty of Our People to the People of Porto Rico and the Hawaiian Islands." Mr. A. K. Smiley was asked to open the discussion.

Mr. SMILEY.—We have without any question two groups of islands, Hawaii and Porto Rico, as our possessions, and therefore under our care, and every intelligent and Christian man and woman must feel a deep interest in knowing that all their educational interests are looked after, that all the processes of law are carried out, and that the marriage relation is sustained as it should be. Our civilization should be the civilization of those islands. It was with this thought in mind that my brother and I decided that during this Conference the subject of some of our dependencies should be considered, and a circular to that effect was sent to the persons whom we invited. A Conference of this kind cannot go deeply into the question of our relations to those islands, but we can make a start, and another year make more progress. This year it is tentative.

Porto Rico has been under Spanish rule, and the people know but little of our processes of law, very little of our common school education system, and they must be instructed.

In the discussion of these questions I hope the same gentle spirit that has always prevailed at these Conferences will continue to prevail, and that we shall look mainly at the education, the Christianization and the philanthropic movements necessary for the dependent races.

Now, instead of speaking longer myself, I want to ask Miss Gould to tell us what she is doing for some of the men on the islands in which we are interested.

Miss HELEN MILLER GOULD.—So far as our island dependencies are concerned, my interest has been principally in our own soldiers and sailors stationed there. I am connected with the Women's Auxiliary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, which is engaged in work for different classes of men, and during the last couple of years we have been especially interested in the welfare of the men of the army and navy. Many of our soldiers are stationed in Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines, and the Young Men's Christian Association is doing an excellent work among them, opening buildings and tents as libraries and reading-rooms to give those men who are not on duty a place where they can read, play games, write letters and listen to stere-

opticon lectures; and, of course, religious services are held from time to time. The secretaries sent out by the society to take charge of these places have a great opportunity to exert an influence for good in many ways; and even such an apparently simple matter as furnishing writing materials may lead a man to write home more frequently, and this closer touch with his family will help to keep him out of temptation. Shall we not surround the soldiers who represent us in these distant islands with Christian influences, so that they may be only a power for good among the natives?

In our own country we hope to get the Young Men's Christian Association established in many of the Army Posts, like the attractive one recently opened on Governor's Island. The Association has also an interesting system of sending small circulating libraries to a number of different posts, and I understand the books are a source of much pleasure to the men.

The Association is now erecting a Naval Branch Y. M. C. A. in Brooklyn, near the Navy Yard, for the sailors and marines of our navy, whose uniform makes them marked men when they come ashore, and to whom only the saloons and lowest lodging-houses seem to be open, and we hope eventually to have reading-rooms and libraries in all the seaport towns where there is a navy yard. Similar work might be done in the different islands, and I think it would prove very helpful.

QUESTION.—From what source do the books come?

MISS GOULD.—About seventy-five dollars will send out the small circulating libraries to which I have referred, and many people send us separate books and magazines. I was told by one of the Y. M. C. A. secretaries in the Philippines that in some of the more remote places the men were so glad to get reading matter that they divided the pages of a magazine among the soldiers, and even the advertisements were prized for the sake of having something to read in the English language. He told me, too, of cases where the paper was soaked from tomato cans in order that the back might be used to write letters home. Our soldiers and sailors are giving their best service to our country, risking health and life for very small pay, and it seems as though we should be glad to contribute toward their welfare.

QUESTION.—Is there a reading-room in Porto Rico?

MISS GOULD.—Yes; at San Juan there is a restaurant and reading-room, where soldiers get American cooking, play games and have a chance to read. These are things that keep them from saloons, where they go because they are sociably inclined. The society is established in Cuba, while in Manila the authorities have allowed them a large frame structure, which, I understand, is patronized very well by our men. They read there, play games, and, I believe, may even spend the night. In the more remote parts of the Philippines there are several Y. M. C. A. tents, and after the outbreak of the war with China secretaries were also sent with our army to that country. The Association needs assistance in order to maintain the excellent work in which it is engaged.

President GATES.—The work of the secretaries of the Y. M. C. A. is of great value, and we have the testimony to that effect not only from one who speaks with the woman's sympathy and love for the defenders of our national life, but it was strongly manifested at a meeting in Washington at which an army general and one of the admirals of the navy bore similar testimony to the work of the Y. M. C. A., only they were far more extravagant in their terms of praise than Miss Gould has ventured to be. The work should commend itself to us as a way of making our soldiers better forerunners of the Christian civilization of this country. I am glad that Miss Gould has called attention to this work.

Mrs. Ruth Shaffner Etnier, who for eight years was a teacher at Carlisle, and was afterwards supervisor of schools at Ponce, Porto Rico, was next introduced.

Mrs. Etnier.—It may be said of the adult population of Porto Rico very much as it is said of the adult Indians, that not a great deal can be expected of this generation. The five or six per cent who can read are of the better class. Many of them are Spanish born, and more or less in sympathy with the Spanish Government. They have been trained in Spanish lines of thought; they speak only Spanish, and maybe a little French, so that it would be unreasonable to suppose they could suddenly change their mode of life. It is in the large population of children that our hope lies. Of these many are orphans, who have no natural protectors. This morning the fact was brought out that the marriage tie is not held sacred among the Indians. Neither is it among the Porto Ricans. Until the American occupation the priests alone were vested with the right to solemnize marriage, and as they charged exorbitantly very few of the poorer people have been legally married. There are thousands of so-called widows left with large families to support, whom unnatural fathers have deserted. In Ponce alone there are over two thousand children who have nothing better than a street home.

Under the Spanish régime schools were established along the principal highways and in the cities professedly for "the people." Teachers were hired by the Government, and were to be paid from the local treasuries of the *barrios*, or townships. As a matter of fact their salaries were sometimes not paid at all, and very many were years in arrears when America took possession of the island. The amounts paid were very small, averaging from ten to twenty dollars per month in Spanish money. The teachers' main livelihood came by extracting fees from the parents of children who were able to pay. Children whose parents could not pay received little or no instruction, and gradually dropped out of school. Consequently a very small proportion of the children received any education at all.

The schools were very rudimentary. One that I visited early after I went there, nineteen months ago, had a teacher whose in-

struction in arithmetic amounted to having her pupils count to ten.

The buildings were wretched. In the cities there were a few exceptions that would have compared favorably with our school-houses in America. In the District of Ponce, of the fifty schools over which I had supervision, the majority of the school buildings were shacks, with some of the roofs so poor that school had to be suspended for days in the rainy season. In some cases boards resting upon half-barrels were made to do service as seats. With such conditions prevailing there were few inducements for people of high mental attainments to enter the profession of teaching.

Of advanced work, a superior school was maintained in Ponce, also two advanced schools in San Juan, one of them a Girls' Normal School and the other a Latin School for Boys. The teachers were appointed by the Government officials, and mainly supported by tuition fees paid by the students.

Good General Eaton came to Porto Rico soon after the close of the war, charged with the high duty to introduce the American school system. His great wisdom, resulting from his long experience in establishing schools among the colored and Indian races, made him a very successful and welcome organizer in Porto Rico.

Many of the teachers he found to be Spanish in sympathy, for the reason that such only were granted any favors under Spanish rule. Nevertheless, the policy pursued was to retain their services, so far as possible, with a small scattering of American teachers. Of the forty-two Spanish teachers in the Ponce District only two or three are of the Republican party, which means the American party,—the party that supports the administration. The others belong to the Federal party, a part of whom are sympathizers with the Spanish to this day, but not all. Many of those who were bitterly opposed to Spain strongly oppose the policy of our present administration. You can understand that General Eaton had a most difficult problem to face, but his conciliatory methods made it possible for him to inaugurate the American system antagonizing no one.

He had only the old equipments to start with, and almost all necessary outfittings have had to be furnished by our Government. Under the old system no books were provided. Each child brought his own, so you can imagine the diversity of text-books which existed. Should the children be too poor to buy books and it so happened that there was a church near by, the priests sometimes provided Spanish catechisms, which did service as text-books.

Our Government has undertaken to provide a school for every fifty children, but as yet they are far from doing that. There are enrolled 31,000 pupils; there are 360,000 of school age. As yet there are not enough First Readers to go round in the schools organized, but the appropriation has been augmented this year and we have brighter hopes for the future. The island was divided into districts, and for every district an American supervisor is appointed, whose duty is to visit every school in the district once a month, and

so far as possible examine the nature of the work, take account of supplies, renew them, if possible, where necessary, and in general tone up the school.

When I tell you that some of my schools were twenty kilometers (12 miles) away, in among the mountains, that we could reach them only on horseback, and that the paths were sometimes so steep and slippery that we had to get off the horses and let them walk in front while we held on to them, you can understand the nature of at least one of a Porto Rican Supervisor's difficulties.

It is now required that the Spanish teachers pass a very simple English examination. The requirements for the elementary teachers are very low in general, and will of necessity remain so for a time.

I may say that some of the more aggressive among us would favor dislodging these Spanish teachers, many of whom are sadly incompetent, and even pension them if necessary, and put in their places wide-awake American teachers. It is impossible for them to get a sufficient knowledge of our language with the limited means at their command, considering the advanced years of many of them, combined with the absence of any fixed habits of study. It will, therefore, be impossible for them to carry out the law which requires that one hour every day shall be given to the study of English. The experiment of having American teachers only has been tried in one of the Ponce groups of schools. Everything is taught in English, and the schools are patterned exactly after the ordinary American school.

I should like to say in passing that this particular set of schools was organized by a Porto Rican woman, Madam Antoinsanti, as truly an American patriot as Hobson or Schley. It was opened immediately after the close of the war, with the name "American School" painted in bold letters over the entrance. Madam Antoinsanti sent to America for the teachers, for whose support she became responsible. During the first year this was raised mainly by private subscriptions, but during the past year it has been under Government management, as are all the others. It is surprising to see how the children have learned to operate in English. They do arithmetic according to the American system, which is radically different from the Spanish, and explain it in English. They recite geography in English and analyze English sentences, and do all their work in a manner that would compare favorably with intermediate grade work in any of our schools. Results equally satisfactory have been obtained in San Juan, where the model American school has been maintained for the past year. Until the people get the English language, and thus have access to our English literature and the means of becoming acquainted with our American thought and life, I fear they will remain largely Spanish in sympathy. They cannot do otherwise.

It is maintained by others that this plan would antagonize the educated class of people, who form a factor that must be reckoned with. That could be got over by allowing special instruction to be

given in Spanish, perhaps six hours a week, as we require it now in English. As Spanish is the language of the country, a correct knowledge could easily be kept up with six hours a week of special study. Furthermore, the Porto Ricans need not only academic training, but industrial training as well. It is but twenty-three years since slavery was abolished in the Spanish West Indies. The people are still divided into two classes, those who work and those who won't. Just before I came away a number of my high school girls came to me with a strong plea that they should be allowed to come to America. They represented good families who are American in sympathy, but who had lost their means through the flood or in the transition of government. I told them I knew of but one place in the United States where they could receive an education as well as their living, free. I referred to the Indian Industrial School at Carlisle, Pa. But I said: "You would not go there. You would be required to make your own beds, learn to scrub floors, wash dishes, do laundry work, take care of the sick, and do many other things that would be decidedly distasteful to you." One of them said, "It would be impossible for us to do these things." I told them that if they were sincere in their desire to become like American girls they must learn to do such things; that I could do them all. They talked it over, and out of the twelve who wanted to come five did come, and are at Carlisle to-day. I saw them a week ago, and they told me that it was not half so bad as they thought it was going to be. I am told by those in charge that they are performing their duties reasonably well, and are getting on comfortably. If they hold out till they graduate it will be a new departure for the womanhood of Porto Rico, as they come from a class which has never had its hands soiled by the doing of physical labor, and deem it beneath them.

But the Porto Ricans need a threefold education, just as we all do. I could rehearse to you tales by the hour of a surprising lack of conscience. If their convenience is the better served thereby they do not hesitate to tell astonishing untruths. Of course I speak of the common populace as we meet them in the ordinary walks of life. They are surprised if you accept their first statement with reference to an article of sale, or trust implicitly to a promise they may make. They seem to lack to a degree that is truly surprising the quality we term conscientiousness. Just here there opens a wide opportunity for the work of the distinctively Christian schools, of which there are a few established in connection with the various mission stations. I am glad to say that these schools are well patronized, and to emphasize the fact that there is work for the churches as well as the Government along educational lines.

QUESTION.—To what extent should the number of English teachers be enlarged in order to allow one to any such number of schools that would insure one hour of English teaching daily in every school now organized? How many more schools should be established in order to accommodate the entire school population?

Mrs. ETNIER.—The present number of American teachers would

probably have to be quadrupled in order that each school receive from an English teacher one hour of instruction daily. It has been the aim of the Government to appoint one English teacher for every dozen schools or so; but the great distances between the schools, their inaccessibility and the bad roads, have combined to defeat the purpose of this scheme, even where the teachers have been sent. If this plan is pursued further, the number of American teachers will have to be greatly enlarged.

The schools now organized would have to be multiplied by ten in order to include the whole school population; and here would be encountered another difficulty. Many children are not properly clothed and fed. I found one school with an attendance of but two. I knew there was a large school population there, and I found on investigation that out of seventy-five children, probably half a dozen had proper school clothing.

This state of things is particularly bad in the flooded district, where the poverty is intense. I saw children in the country schools whose noon lunch consisted of a bit of root from which starch is made; stuff that cattle refuse if they can get anything better. Some remedial measures will have to be taken before we could put all of the children into school, even if the equipments were sufficient.

QUESTION.—Has any effort been made to get those children who are practically orphans into school?

Mrs. ETNIER.—There is now on foot an effort to provide a large orphan asylum in Ponce. The Merchants' Association of New York City, that so nobly came to the relief of the people in the time of our dire distress, has about thirty-two thousand dollars yet unused. The question is being studied how it may best be expended.

I believe it was decided that one half should go toward an orphan asylum, which, when completed, is to be under the direction of Madame Antoinsanti and the ladies associated with her. It is to be fully equipped from the funds referred to, and then turned over to the Council of the town, which is to provide the support of the institution after it is opened. Another of Major Pratt's former workers has been called to be its matron. She is now in Ponce studying the language preparatory to her assuming charge when it is completed, which will be this winter, perhaps. I believe there is provision, under Roman Church control, for a very limited number of orphans near San Juan, aside from which there are no institutions for the helpless of any sort, except a few semi-private hospitals and one poor insane asylum.

QUESTION.—To what extent is school-building going on?

Mrs. ETNIER.—Thus far the Government has depended upon the cities and townships to provide the schoolhouses, which are almost always only common dwellings of the plainest sort. These buildings are all hired. The first building ever erected for distinctively school purposes, was the one put up by the Government for the model school at San Juan; which, with the Government supplies for the entire island, was burned a short time since. Thus

far the various local authorities have been willing to supply all the buildings for which the Government has hired teachers.

QUESTION.—Do the people prefer American teachers?

Mrs. ETNIER.—The people do not as a rule prefer them. Let me quote from an editorial taken recently from *The San Juan News*: "The plans of the Department of Education for this year's work are meeting with considerable opposition. In a number of instances local school boards strenuously object to the employment of American teachers. . . . It does seem to us that the opposition to the present work of the Department is founded on prejudice. The main complaint seems to be that Commissioner Brumbaugh has replaced a number of Porto Rican teachers by Americans. The truth of the matter on this point is that the teaching staff of the whole island needed weeding out. Many teachers were too old to be longer useful in the service; others did not possess the necessary qualifications; others for other causes were not desirable persons to have charge of schools. . . . The only standard was that of qualification, and neither Porto Ricans nor Americans who did not come up to this standard were given teachers' certificates. As we suggested before, unreasonable opposition will not alter the state of affairs. Any honest grievances brought about by the new régime will be remedied if possible. But complaints and opposition founded solely on prejudice will prove of no avail." The whole thing in a nutshell is that the people want self-government; and while they were glad to get rid of Spain, they do not like us to assume the scepter. They want to control their own affairs. We found that while they were intensely anxious to get the English, they were also very anxious to retain their own teachers. The children, however, love their American teachers, and seem anxious to be admitted to the schools taught by them. I refused 375 applications over and above the 350 who were admitted as pupils into the Ponce American school.

QUESTION.—What is the expense of one school? Does the United States Government pay the expense in any way?

Mrs. ETNIER.—There is an appropriation from the United States Government providing supplies, books and the paying of teachers. Salaries have been fixed at \$30 per month for nine months for country teachers, \$50 for city teachers and \$75 for supervisors; and this the Government pays directly.

It is incumbent upon the local authorities to pay the rent of the buildings, which is about seven dollars a month, and to pay the house rent or the room rent for each teacher. I regret to say that it has been quite impossible in most cases for the local authorities to meet the payment of house-rent. Formerly the teachers lived in the school-buildings; but this our Government forbids, and in turn makes it incumbent upon the local authorities to meet the need in another way.

The subject of the Hawaiian Islands was next introduced, and the first speaker was announced as Hon. G. D. Gilman, for many years a resident of those islands.

HAWAII.

BY HON. G. D. GILMAN.

The story of a nation in fifteen minutes ! That is what is expected of me !

The Hawaii of to-day presents as great a contrast to Porto Rico as black does to white, although there is not that difference in the color of the two peoples. The Hawaiians are brown, not black, having no negro blood. They come of Malay ancestry, probably, and are of the brown-skinned races, like the Indian. Education there is compulsory ; every child over a certain age is compelled to go to school. They have a school system founded on the system of Massachusetts. There are about 200 schools with 500 teachers, and in all of the schools English is taught. There are 14,500 scholars in those schools all learning the English language. There are about 8,000 Hawaiians, 3,800 Portuguese, a thousand Chinese, five hundred Japanese, and the balance of the population is made up of different nationalities,—English, Americans, Germans, South Sea Islanders, etc.

The revenue from the "Crown" (public) lands is pledged by the territorial act for the support of the public schools.

The school system stands so pre-eminent, and is so ably conducted, that the superintendent of schools of Australia recently sent to Hawaii asking to send one of his teachers, that they might introduce into Australia the Hawaiian-American system of English education for the people.

They have also industrial training. The industrial training at Hampton is the child of Hawaii. General Armstrong's father was president of the board of education, and under his influence education was broadcast over the land. His son inherited the traits of his father, came to this country and embodied them here. To my mind, as I remember him from his boyhood, no more beautiful picture remains of that noble man than when I saw him, in the city of Boston, introduced to a Boston audience by Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale. There he stood, a man born on heathen ground, whose parents comparatively a few years before started on their marriage trip on the top of a stage-coach to go to New Bedford, to sail from there round Cape Horn as missionaries to the Sandwich Islands. And now he had come home and stood on that platform to plead with that Boston audience to open hearts and purses to contribute to the education of the black man and the Indian in the United States : the bread on the waters returned after many days. And the fruits of that life are seen every day in that noblest of institutions, Hampton.

Look at this contrast. Seventy-five years ago a queen, one of the five wives of the king, celebrated her escape from a burning house by a grand procession. Her dress was seventy-five yards of broad-cloth wound round her body, rich with adornments. Coming to the public square she disrobed herself of most of it, built a bon-

fire in the public square, and consumed it as an offering in commemoration of her deliverance. Her niece, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, ever to be remembered and honored, bequeathes her property, which, with her husband's—Hon. Chas. R. Bishop—additions, make over a million dollars given for the education of the people of Hawaii.

There are about 135,000 people on the eight islands, 40,000 Hawaiians including the half-castes. The half-castes are coming to be the hope of the country. The pure Hawaiians are passing away. There is seemingly no power that can save them, but we hope much from the amalgamated races. John Chinaman makes a very desirable husband for the Hawaiian girl, and the product is good.

In the various islands there are about 42,000 Japanese. They are much more troublesome than the Chinese, of whom there are 27,000. It is a cosmopolitan population, and the result is that castes are broken down there as nowhere else. Children all go to the same school and mingle together. I think I may say that forty-five per cent of the teachers are from New England, and the pay is about the same as here. Hawaii is not ashamed of the education she gives to her children of all races.

On the 14th of June last, by order of Congress, signed by the President, the new government came into power, under the territorial form. That makes the former president now the governor,—Governor Dole, a noble and manly man, born there of missionary parents, and knowing the people, both native and foreign born, well. (The missionary children have been noble children of noble fathers and mothers.) A legislative assembly comes in with the new government.

The legislature consists of two branches, the upper and lower house. Congress in its wisdom decided on unlimited suffrage for them, except the reading and writing qualifications, so that the Hawaiian stands on the same ground of privilege as the man of New York, and if he can read and write Hawaiian or English he can vote. The senate has fifteen members and the house the same. The people elect one man to represent them on the floor of the House of Representatives.

The proportion of illiteracy is very small; ninety-two per cent of the Hawaiians can read and write; sixty-five per cent of the entire population are above the line of illiteracy.

The problems before the American people in regard to the new possession of Hawaii are:—

Keep the standard of Civil Service Reform high, and all territorial appointments from Washington to be of highest order, necessarily, for the model of the new government.

Keep the educational development well sustained, that the people may appreciate and rightly use the great gift of almost unlimited suffrage recently acquired by them.

They are not "a dependent race," but a younger one, liable to the mistakes of inexperience, but capable of higher attainment; let us foster among them the American foundations, principally of

civil and religious liberty, and they will help us to solve the problems.

The Rev. Douglas P. Birnie, of Rye, N. Y., for three years pastor of the Union Church in Honolulu, was asked to speak.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE PEOPLES OF HAWAII.

BY REV. DOUGLAS P. BIRNIE.

Honolulu is a modern city. The broad, well-paved streets, the large churches solidly built of stone, the fine hotels, the luxurious homes, all surprise the tourist. The city is well lighted by electricity. The public water works afford an abundant supply of pure water. To-day there is in process of construction an electric street railway and a complete system of sewers. Side by side with the new town there was the old native city. In the great fire at the time of the bubonic plague this was burned. In the few moments that are allotted to me I wish to say just a word as to the mixed population, and then state three principles which should, in my judgment, be followed by the American people in dealing with the new races now under our care. Mr. Gilman has told you of the five races that make up the population. The Japanese is restless, quick to work and quick to strike. The Chinaman is quiet, industrious, and, barring his fondness for gambling, a law-abiding citizen. He is a good scholar, and comes to the front in the city schools. When the Society of the Sons of Revolution offered a prize for the best oration, written and delivered, on an appointed topic in American history, the first honor was carried off by a full-blooded Chinese boy, though many Americans competed. Of all the many mixtures of blood, there is only one that seems to be of vigor and promise. The children of the Chinese father and the Hawaiian mother inherit the virtues of both peoples. The pure-blooded Hawaiian is a generous fellow. He is a poor leader, but a good follower. He turns readily under strong guidance to virtue or to vice. There is not a business enterprise of any importance in all the Islands under the management of an Hawaiian. Racially they are children,—loving, kindly, yet children,—and we must so treat them if we are to help them.

Let me state briefly three principles which should guide the United States in her dealing with the races new to our life.

First, if we are to work intelligently, we must know where each race is in her development. We must discover where they stand; meet them where they are, not assume that they are where we think they ought to be.

God's children are not all of an age: some are learning to walk; some are running about at play, like the Hawaiians; some

are full-grown. China is of age. We must not repeat the blunders of the past, and call all outsiders barbarians.

If we are to do permanent work, we must discover what the Father has done for each child in the great family of races. The early Hawaiian missionaries went to the Islands with zeal and enthusiasm. They had a house built in New England, then took it to pieces, carried it round Cape Horn in a sailing vessel, then set it up in Honolulu. Of course they dug a cellar. Why? Because they had a cellar in New England. In all the Hawaiian Islands there is not a house built to-day with a cellar beneath it. Why? Because it is absolutely useless. That which has developed mind and muscle in New England will not of necessity make vigor in Hawaii. Some tell us that what the people in the tropics need is roast beef. The Hawaiian of the old type, great, splendid men physically, ate no meat. Poi and fish was the food of the people. If we take our civilization and place it upon the shoulders of any people before they are ready for it, the next generation will throw it off.

Second, We must discover the true rate of speed. Americans are in a hurry. We travel at the rate of sixty miles an hour. Movement is swift. We expect things to be done quickly. We make history at a rapid rate. As a nation we have not known patience. We expect another people to accomplish in one generation that which cost our fathers' fathers struggle and toil. The finest plants are of slow growth. It takes time to make men, to shape a race. The men who, hot with ignorant zeal, expect to mold a nation in a lifetime, often come back to the homeland broken-hearted and disappointed. The slow East cannot be hurried. You remember how Kipling puts it in his snappy fashion:—

“It is not good for the Christian's health
To hustle the Aryan brown;
For the Christian riles and the Aryan smiles,
And he weareth the Christian down.
And the end of the fight is a tombstone white,
With the name of the late deceased,
With the epitaph drear,—a fool lies here,
Who tried to hustle the East.”

Third, The reflex influence. When we meet other peoples we ask what can we do for them; we forget to consider what will they do for us. There is tremendous test in contact; we learn as well as teach. The early missionaries who went out from New England carried with them Puritan fashions and furniture. They took the old mahogany chairs and sofas covered with horsehair cloth, placed them in the parlors of the new homes, then carefully closed the doors, shut the blinds and lived in the kitchens. To-day they have learned from the hospitable Hawaiian; they have caught the generous, kindly spirit of the Islands. There is no more genial, cordial, social circle to-day than these same children of the early Americans.

The Anglo-Saxon is possible saint or possible devil. There is capacity for righteousness or for iniquity. When brought face to

face with others he meets his opportunity to crowd a weaker race to the wall, to do a terrible and cruel thing. There is chance to reach out the strong hand of love in helpful service. The white man may be a curse or an angel of light; both are in Hawaii. There are men and women who have done a magnificent work in helping God's children. There are men and women who have been a shame and a disgrace to this land of ours. It is a tremendous test; it is the open door of opportunity, this coming face to face with the weaker peoples.

I have studied this question of the shaping of the races not only in Honolulu, but in many lands, I have come to definite conclusions in the matter. Civilization cannot redeem; telephones, electric wires, paper constitutions cannot save.

There is only one force which can take the vigorous capacity and energy of the Anglo-Saxon and convert it into right channels; there is only one power which can make the white man a blessing, not a curse; from one source only can America learn that patience which lifts with its slow, sure movement. There is only one view of the world which compels a man to know all others as members of one family. At the heart of the whole matter lies the gospel of Jesus Christ, which is the power of God unto salvation. The man, whether merchant or teacher, who sails to other lands and carries not with him the spirit of the Master, cannot help the peoples to whom he goes.

Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson was the last speaker of the evening.

THE PATH OF EMPIRE.

BY COL. T. W. HIGGINSON.

There is this advantage in being the last speaker of a meeting, that one can take his text from all his predecessors. He has also the convenience of thinking that even if he should say something differing from his predecessors, or unsatisfactory to them, nevertheless when he gets through they will be too sleepy to answer him—at this hour—and the audience will be too sleepy to listen to them. And, finally, as the present speaker is to leave to-morrow morning, it makes no difference how much people come down upon him in a subsequent meeting. In such a position, if at any time, a man can venture to dissent from his predecessors. I speak, therefore, not so much to communicate information, although probably my personal knowledge of Porto Ricans goes farther back than that of any person present, but because I would, if I could, sum up one or two of the leading points that have been made to-night, and if I give the precedence to the points in which I utterly disagree, that is only human nature, and you must take the consequences.

It has always seemed to me a merit in these Conferences that freedom of speech is allowed. This is the first one that I have ever attended, and I find myself rather interesting, to myself at least, because I am apparently the only man who has never been here before. I find, I say, that in these meetings it has always been the habit to speak very frankly, and in that respect it seems to come nearer to that ideal of my youth, the old anti-slavery meetings, than anything I know to-day. I remember when that splendid old fighter, Stephen Foster, of Worcester, would say with the utmost composure, as he looked at you through his spectacles in an anti-slavery meeting, "I love my friend Higginson, but if there is anything I abhor, it is the opinions he has just been expressing." I cannot treat any of my predecessors worse than that, and I do not know but, if I relieved my whole soul, I should treat one or two of the things they have said not much better.

I said that I was probably the oldest man here who had known Porto Ricans. I went to school with three of them in a private school in Cambridge. It was rather a custom to send Porto Ricans here to school then. Finer fellows than the two older I never saw; a more interesting little scamp than the younger one I never saw. He carried a very sharp little dirk, and he did not hesitate to prod it into the side of any school-fellow who dissented from him. So I saw something of the peaceful and of the warlike side of the Porto Ricans. And now when I think of those people the special interest to me is not that my nephew, Admiral Higginson, was the second officer in the squadron to which they surrendered, but it is the question, What have we to give them? What have we to give to the Hawaiians? I cannot help being a little touched by the moralizing of the last speaker, who said that because *poi*—whatever that may be—is the thing on which they feed best, it is the thing which is best for their sustenance. I ask how he knows that, and he says it is because they taught it to him. Very well, then, they know what is good for them in the way of physical food, but when they think they know also what is good for them in the way of moral and mental food, and say, "We think we should have liberty to govern ourselves," my friend the Superintendent of Schools from New York speaks of it as if it were an unpleasant little delusion, and the sooner they get rid of it the better for them. There is where I diverge from his view of the present duty.

With reference to that so-called "possession" of ours of which we have been talking, both of the speakers who have described it so well this evening join in the testimony that the people do not wish to be governed by us; that what they wish above all things is freedom. They desire freedom even beyond schoolhouses. And I ask myself, Are they then so very different from the thirteen colonies of America when they separated themselves from Europe?

When Vergennes had sent Rochambeau and his army to save the young American nation at Yorktown, he nevertheless wrote to the Spanish Government his frank opinion that the colonists were absolutely unfit for self-government, and would never be anything

more than a feeble body. Yet what did France do under his guidance? It ordered its navies and its armies away, to leave the young nation to work out its own problem; and it did it. If the British Government and the French Government together had offered to substitute for freedom as many schoolhouses as we now propose to offer Porto Rico, the American colonies would have said, "Take your schoolhouses and give us freedom," and would have fought the seven years' war over again for the result, and the world would ultimately have thanked it for doing so. Sir George Trevelyan, in the best history of the American Revolution yet written, tells us that when the war began, George III., his ministers and his army, agreed in the opinion that "no population was ever composed of worse men or poorer creatures than the rebellious town of Boston." Yet, in spite of all this, Lord Chatham, the great English statesman, said when he heard of the resistance of the colonies, "America has resisted; I rejoice, my lords." Probably there never was an insurrection, large or small, in which the stronger party did not honestly believe the weaker party to be utterly incapable of self-government.

And now, when I see Cuba making ready to resist its subjugation, and Porto Rico doubting whether it is better for it to stay subjugated, I remember the words of Chatham, and I say to myself, "Resistance *is* freedom." I am glad that there are still islands which dare to wish for it. How shall we dare to say that what was not treason in Lord Chatham is treason in a humble American?

I myself saw those Cuban youths and maidens when they came to Cambridge. I saw those girls and boys going about harmless, innocent, giving absolutely no occasion for criticism, except that the young ladies were perhaps a little too fond of musky odors. When I remember them in their earnestness and innocence, their almost beauty, I think of my fears, the sudden shadow of a possible future, which came over me when I saw them there. I saw possibilities of what might come in the future, the possibilities of what may yet come, if this god of imperialism is to be worshiped much longer; I saw those young men with rifles substituted for their jaunty little canes, and fighting for the defense of their country from the very nation that saved them from Spain. I saw possibilities that the presidential election has postponed a little,—for we shall try to keep the thought of imperialism out of sight for about a month,—I saw what might come at the end of that time,—the American armies let loose in West India villages, as now in the Philippines, those youths dying on their own hearthstones, and those innocent girls made fatherless children or weeping widows, or the dishonored outcasts of camps. I tell you we have got to face the dark possibilities of this tremendous work that we have undertaken in interfering with the world's affairs. With so many problems of our own to undertake, we surely should think well before we try to govern the rest of the population of this planet, against its will.

Above all should we hesitate to walk in the path of that nation

that has so fearfully mismanaged a large part of what it has undertaken in the effort to make the English language the universal language of the globe. When the president of the Christian Endeavor Societies tells us that the Chinese rebellion was more than half justified by the way in which the English forced opium on the reluctant Chinese; when the most accomplished English missionary that I have seen among us for years tells you, as she told me, that nine tenths of the terrible famine in India came from the fact that England dried up the manufactures of India in order that English manufactures might be put in their places,—(I still remember the Dacca muslin we used to hear about, so delicate that if you put it in a glass of water the muslin would disappear, the threads were so small, and now there is in all India but one aged man in Dacca who can make it),—when I hear this, and know that this substitution of English fabrics has driven men to agriculture as a sole pursuit, and that when this failed only famine was left; when I see, in short, how that great predecessor of ours in the path of empire has brought grief and despair to thousands in its path, I confess I shrink at the thought of following it,—I shrink at the thought, I will not say at the acceptance of Hawaii, but at the compulsion of Cuba or even Porto Rico to be under the American Government. I know how the great hand of Providence wrings good out of evil, but the terrible mystery of evil remains. Earthquakes have their use. The sunken ship may have its place in the universe. We cannot reach the sinking ship to save it, but the sinking nations all around us in the world we can see and help. We can help the cause of freedom in those nations. Will we? Or shall we copy that mother England when she sent out three hundred thousand troops to conquer two little republics of thirty thousand, and then thank the Lord, as she did, for his blessings?

I confess that I look beyond all these immediate advantages. I look to the principle they all imply. Do we believe in freedom as we once did? Do we believe in the right of the human being as we once did? When I had the pleasure of commanding the first regiment of freed slaves mustered into the United States service, the gentleman to whom its success was due, Major General Rufus Saxton, when some editor sent a lot of questions about the negro, "Are they this?" and "Are they that?" said to his secretary, "Draw a line across all those questions and write at the bottom, 'They are intensely human.'" That was the verdict. Do we still believe as we then did, during the Civil War, that all men are alike human? Are we slipping into this terrible old habit of believing that the Government is not founded upon the consent of the governed, as it once was? Are we slipping into the theory of the distinction in races which ends in differences in nationalities, which ends in the triumph of particular families, and special subdivisions in particular families? I knew a family in an old New England town of which it was said that they were so connected with some remote Tudor family in England, that it was always the custom in the family to speak of Queen Elizabeth as "Cousin Betsey Tudor."

These things are cultivated in England. They are growing fast in America. Are we safe unless we fall back on the essential principle that man is man wherever he is? "Intensely human;" that is the test.

In that regiment which I commanded, a regiment which at least did its little part so well that 178,000 black soldiers afterwards marched through the gates it opened; in that regiment we invariably found that whenever a man came in as officer with a feeling of race superiority, the old overseer spirit, the feeling that he was to command simply because he was white, we had to get rid of him as soon as possible. The first thing we had to learn was that these blacks were men like ourselves, and were to be treated like men; that they did not obey us because they were black and we were white, but because they happened to be in the ranks. The officer who understood that could wind them round his finger, and the men understood if he recognized it more quickly than he did.

Are we going to carry that doctrine to Porto Rico? Are we going to carry it everywhere we go? That is the question on which the test is to come, and which faces us in the ten million of the Philippines.

We have just heard in this meeting that fine statement of the position of the successive Presidents of the United States with reference to the Indian question; and that so early as the time of Madison it was recognized that sooner or later the Indian must be a citizen. There were those who threw out the idea that we were ultimately to treat the Indians not as inferiors, as belonging to some other nation, but as persons to be brought in among ourselves. Our chairman said that the more we treat the Indian as one of ourselves the more we succeed. Are we prepared to carry that further? Are we to go as friends and preachers of human rights? Or are we to take the position that these men are never to be citizens, and we do not seek them as citizens? Then are we falling into the old tiresome path of conquering nations; and the Republic turns its back upon its early dreams, and there stands before us the fate predicted by our enemies that sooner or later we should go the way of all the rest, and in Caleb Cushing's phrase, come under the sway of the man on horseback at last. That man on horseback at last is the doom of nations that sacrifice their early principles.

Perhaps it is wrong in me in this our happy time to throw one shadow of sorrow or solicitude over our many pleasant thoughts. But by great good fortune I am naturally of a hopeful temperament. Whatever a mother gives to her child, if she gives him a hopeful temperament she has given him the best thing for the happiness of life. I do not believe, however it may be at this particular election, that the American nation is going to give itself permanently to any such false guidance; and I know that many of you, like the speakers of to-day who have given the text for such solicitude, would be among the first to oppose the application of such principles. Nothing must swerve us from the principle that we are dealing with those nations as men with men, and that we

should ask nothing from them that we would not accept in their place.

In closing I cannot forbear to say what I have never before had the opportunity to utter in these hospitable meetings, that in parting presently with our kind hosts, we are likely to find ourselves in a situation best stated in Lowell's one perfect New England poem, "The Courtin'," where he describes Huldý, on parting with Zekle, as being

"Kind o' Smiley raound the lips,
And teary raound the lashes."

PRESIDENT GATES.—How thoroughly we are in accord as to the principles, and how well it is that we do not agree as to all the inferences and conclusions. But that voice has given us warnings it will be well for us to carry away with us,—words of warning from one whose devotion to the principles he has advocated the country can never forget.

MR. SMILEY.—I must say how delighted I have been with the frankness and courtesy of the utterances of Colonel Higginson. I like an independent statement even if I do not agree with it.

Adjourned at 10.30 P. M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 18, 1900.

After morning prayers the Conference was called to order by the President, and the following address was given by the Hon. W. A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

BY HON. WILLIAM A. JONES, COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Mr. Chairman: I find upon looking over the published report of the last Mohonk Conference, in which a synopsis is given of the work done by the Indian Office during the previous year, that it will be necessary to repeat largely the statements made at that time, changing only some of the statistics. Much of the work done by the Indian Office is continuous and does not require a change of policy, and all that is necessary at this time will be to change some of the figures under the several items.

FINANCE.

The total appropriation for the current fiscal year is \$8,873,-239.24, comprised of the following items:—

Current and contingent expenses	\$824,240 00
Fulfilling treaty stipulations	2,512,447.45
Miscellaneous, supports, gratuities	646,500 00
Incidental expenses	92,680.00
Support of schools	3,080,367.00
Miscellaneous	1,041,004.79
Payment for lands (Ft. Hall and Kiowa, etc.) . . .	676,000.00

This is \$1,123,287.30 more than last year. Adding to the school appropriation amounts taken from treaty funds, and the total school expenditures would amount to about \$3,330 for the last year.

According to a Treasury compilation there has been expended in the Indian service from March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1900, \$368,358,217.17.

TRANSPORTATION OF SUPPLIES.

Previous to the passage of the last Appropriation Bill the Office was compelled to advertise for bids for the transportation of Indian supplies, and for some reason it was unable to induce the railroad companies to bid. This necessitated dealing with private parties, and they in turn made whatever arrangements they could with the railroads for performing the work.

The Office recommended to Congress at its last session an amendment to this law, permitting it to ship in the open market and to deal directly with the railroads. The success of this method from a financial standpoint has been very gratifying.

Deducting all additional expenses connected with this new method in the way of additional clerical help, we find that there has been an actual saving of about twenty per cent, or a total not far from \$40,000. In addition to this the amount of time saved in the delivery of goods has been very great. A great deal of complaint was made under the old system in regard to the tardy delivery of goods, but so far this year not a single complaint has been sent to the Office.

EDUCATION.

The Government supported during the past year 25 non-reservation schools and 81 boarding and 147 day schools on reservations, which made a gain over the previous year of 1,412 in enrollment and 1,142 in average attendance. The attendance at all Indian schools was as follows:—

	No. Indian Schools.	Enrollment.	Average Attendance.
Government schools	253	22,124	17,860
Contract schools (including Lincoln and Hampton) . . .	32	2,806	2,451
Twenty-two public day schools . .		246	118
Mission schools	22	1,275	1,139
Total	307	26,451	21,568

For the past nineteen years the yearly increase in the enrollment of Indian pupils has averaged nearly 1,000.

These figures exclude the New York Indians and the Indian Territory. Exclusive of those tribes the school population may be estimated at between 45,000 and 47,000. Deduct 30 per cent for Indian youth who are married, sick or otherwise disabled, and it leaves 34,000 children to be provided for, of whom over 26,000 have been in school the past year.

The amount allowed for contract schools last year was only \$113,242; being 15 per cent of the amount so used in 1895. In 1892 the amount assigned contract schools was \$611,570; since then it has slowly decreased. Beginning with the fiscal year 1896,

Congress reduced the allowances 20, 30, 10, 10, 15 and 15 per cent, leaving no Government money to be used for contract schools during the current fiscal year, except that the special appropriation for Hampton was continued.

There are 1,480 white and 695 Indian employees, the salaries ranging from \$100 to \$2,000. This does not include several pupil assistants and apprentices, receiving from \$1 to \$5 per month.

A compulsory school law is recommended for Indians. Such a law is in force in twenty-nine States and two Territories among the white people.

The Outing System, which was organized by Major Pratt, of Carlisle, is being extended, and is proving successful at some of the other schools as well as at Carlisle. The earnings of Carlisle pupils last year amounted to \$27,255.

EXHIBITION OF INDIANS.

No authority has been granted the past year to take Indians from reservations for exhibition purposes, although some have joined these exhibitions without the consent of the Office.

SPELLING OF NAMES OF INDIAN TRIBES.

The Bureau of Ethnology and the Indian Bureau have undertaken to secure uniformity in the spelling of the names of Indian tribes and bands; and the Printing Office has published the list agreed upon by the two Bureaus.

ALLOTMENTS.

During the year 6,912 allotments have been approved. Schedules of 5,396 allotments have been received, but have not been acted upon.

IRRIGATION.

The Office is now maintaining twenty-six systems of irrigation upon the several reservations; some of these are somewhat primitive, while others are quite elaborate and expensive. The Pimas in Arizona are becoming pauperized for the want of irrigation, or rather from the fact that the water they have been using in the past has been appropriated by white settlers; and until storage for surplus water is furnished by means of reservoirs at the head-water of the Gila River on the San Carlos Reservation, it will be necessary for the Government to provide some other means of relief for these much-abused people.

The canal to be constructed on the Fort Hall Reservation by the Idaho Canal Company was a comparative failure; also the "Ray Ditch" on the Wind River Reservation. Work on the Crow Reservation ditches is nearly completed.

FORT HALL AGREEMENT.

It has at last been ratified. The Indians received \$600,000, to be paid in ten years, of which \$75,000 is to be used for a new school plant; 400,000 acres were ceded.

KIOWA, COMANCHE AND APACHE AGREEMENT.

This has also been ratified, and the work of allotments is now being conducted upon that reservation.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

I understand that at last evening's session a letter was read from the venerable Chairman of the Dawes Commission, giving a synopsis of the work done by the Commission during the past year. I was not present to hear the letter read, but presume it gives a fair résumé of the situation as it now exists.

I will yield to no man in my admiration of the character of that noble man who has done more for the Indians than any man living or dead; but, with all due deference to his opinion, I do not hesitate to say that I believe that the Indian Territory would be better off to-day if the Dawes Commission had never been created. If the Government had assumed the responsibility of enacting laws allotting lands to the Indians in severalty, dividing their trust funds per capita without consulting them and *without their consent*, conditions in that Territory would be far more satisfactory than they are under the operation of the Dawes Commission.

I will go a step further, and say that I could wish a treaty had never been made with any of the Indian tribes; that a reservation had never been set aside; and that the Indian Territory, as such, had never existed.

If the Government had established a policy of dealing fairly with the Indians, giving them what they were entitled to, always keeping in view that they were human beings, and entitled to the same consideration and no more than the white race, I am firmly of the opinion that they would be better off than they are under the demoralizing influences of the present system, with all its opportunities for corruption and vice.

In our anxiety to make atonement for the cruelty which has been perpetrated on the Indians, and to wipe out the records of a century of dishonor, we have gone to the other extreme, and have been guided largely by sentiment in dealing with our wards.

I know that I am treading on dangerous ground, and it may be presumptuous on my part to take a position which seems to be diametrically opposed to the principles so eloquently advocated last night by Colonel Higginson in discussing the doctrine "that just government rests upon the *consent* of the governed."

While I listened with admiration to his impressive address, I could not help offering a silent prayer of thankfulness that the

Colonel Higginson of 1900 was not the Colonel Higginson of 1861-4. Moreover, I do not believe that the Colonel Higginson of 1900 has a word of apology to offer, nor does he feel the pang's of a guilty conscience for the very honorable and prominent part he took in making history during the four years of the Rebellion, when he with others succeeded in forcing upon the Southern States, not only without their consent, *but in spite of their armed protest*, a government which to them was obnoxious and tyrannical in the extreme.

Under the Curtis Act and subsequent legislation the following action has been taken. The Indian Bureau has assumed supervisory control of educational affairs among the Creeks and Cherokees and entire control of the Choctaw schools, while the Chickasaws have operated their own schools and resented Government assistance.

There is a Superintendent of Schools for the Territory, and under his direction a Supervisor of Schools for each nation except the Seminoles, as follows: Benj. S. Coppock for the Cherokees, John M. Simpson for the Chickasaws, Calvin Ballard for the Choctaws, and Miss Alice M. Robertson for the Creeks.

The Superintendent has conducted summer Normal Schools, in which the teachers have shown great interest and from which they have obtained much benefit. Under their tribal management the schools in the Indian Territory were notorious for nepotism, waste of money, inefficiency of teachers and generally unsatisfactory conditions. These conditions continue among the Chickasaws, but in the other nations, under Government supervision or control, there has been a noticeable decrease in expenditures, and at the same time a marked increase in efficiency.

There are about 50,000 white children in the Indian Territory who have no schooling, and nearly 2,000 children of freedmen among the Choctaws and Chickasaws who have the most meager school advantages. A bill was introduced in Congress during the past year making an appropriation for the purpose of establishing and maintaining schools for the white children in the Territory, but it failed to become a law.

The agreements with the Creeks and Cherokees relative to the distribution of their lands are still before Congress.

Town sites are being surveyed and platted in the different nations.

PAYMENT FOR OTO AND MISSOURI LANDS IN KANSAS AND NEBRASKA.

This dispute has at last been settled. The Indians have agreed that the original appraised value of the lands with twenty-five per cent addition shall represent the purchase price. Interest thereon to be computed at five per cent simple interest. Any payments heretofore made shall be deducted with simple interest at five per cent. This applies only to delinquent purchasers.

PIPESTONE AGREEMENT.

The Yankton Indians have agreed to surrender their rights in the Pipestone reservation for \$100,000, retaining the privilege to go there and quarry pipestone, but the agreement has not been ratified by Congress.

NORTHERN CHEYENNE RESERVATION.

Congress appropriated \$171,615 to pay for lands and improvements of settlers on this reservation, and Inspector McLaughlin is now engaged in securing deeds and paying the money.

So much for a résumé of the events of the past year. I will now ask your attention to some points which will be touched on in the forthcoming report of the Indian Bureau, under the head of

OBSTACLES TO SELF-SUPPORT.

I will read in part from the advance sheets. There are three obstacles in the way of self-support on the part of the Indians; viz., The Ration System, Annuity Payments and the Leasing of Individual Allotments.

The ration system is the corollary of the reservation system. Many of our Indian tribes to-day are upon the reservations, where the natural conditions are such that farming cannot be relied upon, and all other means of making a livelihood are limited and uncertain, and it follows inevitably that they must be fed wholly, or in part, from outside sources. Out of such conditions has grown the ration system, which has been widely discussed and vigorously condemned, while the extent of it is probably not generally known.

Out of about 267,900 Indians in the United States, about 45,270 receive regular rations, issued generally twice a month, the quantity issued being based upon a certain daily allowance for each individual. Issues are made to the heads of families, each member of the family, including infants, being counted, except the children in boarding schools.

Except for the Sioux the ration is not fixed by treaty or agreement with the tribes, but is regulated by the Department according to the means and necessities of each tribe. The maximum daily ration allowed is one and one-half pound net beef (or its equivalent in bacon) and one-half pound of flour to each person, with three pounds beans, four pounds coffee, and seven pounds sugar to every one hundred rations. This ration would cost about \$51 a year, but this maximum allowance is rarely issued, the policy of the Office being to reduce rations so far as practicable.

The following table gives the tribes (except the Sioux) which are receiving regular rations, and the per capita cost of the rations for the current fiscal year, and it will be noticed that the cost ranges from \$6 to \$47 a year.

Agency.	Tribes.	No. requiring rations.	Cost per capita.
Blackfeet, Mont.	Blackfeet Bloods and Piegans	1850	\$33.00
Crow, Mont.	Crows	1850	29.00
Fort Belknap, Mont.	Gros Ventres and Assinniboines	1027	42.00
Fort Peck, Mont.	Yanktonai Sioux and Assinniboines	1654	23.00
Tongue River, Mont.	Northern Cheyennes	1354	47.00
Shoshone, Wyoming.	Shoshone and Northern Arapahos	1400	30.00
Southern Ute, Col.	Utes	972	13.00
Ouray, Utah.	Utes	700	17.00
Uintah, etc., Utah.	Utes	770	12.00
Fort Hall, Idaho.	Shoshone and Bannock	1288	13.00
Ft. Berthold, N. D.	Arickaree, Gros Ventre and Mandan	1018	17.00
Lemhi, Idaho.	Shoshone, Bannock and Sheep-eater	365	17.00
Yankton, S. D.	Sioux	1540	13.00
Cheyenne and Arapaho, O. T.	Cheyenne and Arapaho	2500	16.00
Kiowa, O. T.	Apache, Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita, etc.	3296	9.00
Jicarilla, New Mexico.	Jicarilla Apache	843	23.00
San Carlos, Arizona.	Apaches	2627	24.00
Ft. Apache, Arizona.	Apaches	1789	9.00
Colorado River, Ariz.	Mojaves, etc.	550	6.00

27,393

The Sioux, numbering 17,876, comprise nearly two fifths of the nation Indians. The agreement of 1876 obligates the United States to provide these Sioux with a daily ration for each individual, consisting of one and one half pounds of beef (or one half pound of bacon in lieu thereof), one half pound of flour, one half pound of corn; and for every one hundred rations, four pounds coffee, eight pounds sugar, three pounds beans, or in lieu of these articles their equivalent. Such rations, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be continued "until the Indians are able to support themselves."

The value of the full Sioux ration varies somewhat according to the location of the Sioux agencies, but it will average about \$50 per annum. The full ration, however, has not been issued for several years. It has been gradually reduced, and for the current fiscal year the cost will average about \$35 per capita. Even this reduced ration suffices to give over one pound of net beef and over five and three-quarter ounces of flour to every man, woman and child on the reservations (except children in school) every day in the year. Besides this they get coffee, sugar, beans and corn. Improvidence may make the Indians go hungry, but with such rations they are certainly in no danger of starvation.

Although the Sioux agreement says that rations are to continue only until they are able to support themselves, the Indians protest against any reduction, and claim the full ration as right. If this is conceded, the time when they will be self-supporting is in the very distant future, if it ever comes; for so long as they are supported by others they will make little or no effort to support themselves.

The figures which I have given do not include the Santee and Flandreau Sioux, as they do not receive rations regularly.

A number of Indians are assisted by occasional issues of subsistence, and at several agencies the old and indigent are provided for. These, however, would aggregate only about 12,570. Altogether there are about 57,570 Indians receiving subsistence in some degree or other from the Government, not counting children in boarding schools, who are wholly and liberally provided for there.

The total cost of the subsistence purchased for issue to Indians for the current fiscal year is about \$1,231,000.

The evil effects of gratuitous issues of rations were early recognized by the Government, and in 1875 Congress passed a law requiring that all able-bodied male Indians between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, in return for supplies and annuities issued them, shall perform services upon the reservations for the benefit of themselves or the tribe to an amount equal in value to the supplies to be delivered. The Secretary of the Interior, however, was authorized, in his discretion, to exempt any particular tribe from the operations of the law. The Regulations of the Indian Bureau make it the duty of agents to see that each able-bodied male Indian is given an opportunity to labor, and when this is done to judge whether or not the Indian is entitled to a daily ration, determining the matter rather from the spirit and disposition to work manifested than from the value of the work performed. These regulations go further than this, and in order to enable the agents not only to encourage, but also to enforce regular labor among Indians, they require that sugar, coffee and tea, except in cases of old age or infirmity, shall be issued to Indians only in payment for labor performed by them for themselves or the tribe. Though agents are required to, and do, certify upon their vouchers that labor has been performed upon the reservation by the Indians to whom the supplies were issued, it may be doubted if either the letter or the spirit of the law is complied with, on some of the reservations, at least.

There has been a decided improvement in the method of issuing rations in late years. The old way of distributing the beef was for the Indians to assemble at a central supply station on ration day. The wild, frightened cattle were turned loose on the prairie to be chased and shot by the Indians in imitation of the buffalo hunting of earlier days. When the animal was killed a motley crowd of Indians, ponies and dogs gathered around where it lay. The men and women gorged themselves upon the raw meat, the hide was taken to the trader's, and the women divided up the carcass and took it away. The time consumed by the Indians in going to and from the central station greatly hindered their progress in civilization. In many instances the distance they had to travel was so great that they were almost continuously on the road.

All that has been done away. Beef is issued to Indians "on the block" in a civilized way, and issue stations have been established at convenient places, so that the necessity for so much travel no longer exists.

Nevertheless, the gratuitous issue of rations, except to the old and helpless, is demoralizing. It encourages idleness and destroys labor; it promotes beggary and suppresses independence; it perpetuates pauperism and stifles industry; it is an effectual barrier to the progress of the Indian toward civilization.

Until the Indians are placed in a position where the way is open before them to support themselves they must be assisted. As a method of aiding the deserving while they are learning to support themselves, the ration system is commendable. That is its aim and object. The great evil lies in the gratuitous distribution to all alike. I am firmly of the opinion that in nearly all the tribes that receive rations the men are fast deteriorating, because of the lack of effort to maintain a livelihood.

It is difficult to point out a complete remedy for the evils described; but as a beginning the indiscriminate issue of rations should stop at once,—a somewhat difficult thing to accomplish as long as tribes are herded on reservations having everything in common. The old and helpless should be provided for; but with respect to the able-bodied the policy of reducing rations and issuing them only for labor should be strictly enforced, while those who have been educated in Indian schools should be made to depend entirely upon their own resources.

Cash annuity payments also tend to demoralize Indians. During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1900, \$1,511,617.34 were sent out for distribution among the various Indian tribes, the per capita payments ranging from \$255 down to 50 cents. The money distributed had been appropriated under treaty, or was derived from interest on trust funds in the Treasury belonging to the tribes, or was the income from grazing. As the law or treaties provide that these treaty and trust funds shall be paid per capita in cash, the Indian Office had no other alternative.

That much, if any, good is derived from these annual payments is doubtful. Not having to earn this money the Indians do not appreciate its value. It either goes to the traders on account of debts contracted in anticipation of the payment, or is squandered,—often for purposes far from civilizing. The larger the payments the worse the effect. They degrade the Indian and corrupt the whites; they induce pauperism and crime; they nullify all the good effects of years of labor and the teachings of the schools.

The very existence of the money is a constant menace to the welfare of the Indian. The knowledge that he has money coming to him leads unscrupulous people to induce him to go into debt; and then when the debt has accumulated, and the Indian's credit is gone, pressure is brought to bear by the creditors upon the Government to pay the Indian so that he may pay his honest (?) debts. If this is successful the old routine continues until the money is exhausted. The state of affairs growing out of this around some of the agencies is a scandal and a disgrace.

There is now in the Treasury to the credit of Indian tribes the sum of \$33,317,955.09, drawing interest at the rate of four and

five per cent, the annual interest amounting to \$1,646,485.96. Besides this several of the tribes have large incomes from leasing tribal lands and other sources. It is a safe prediction that so long as these funds exist the Indians will be the prey of designing people.

The ultimate disposition of the Indian trust funds is a subject for the most serious consideration. The small funds can be paid out to the Indians with little, if any, evil consequences. How to dispose of the large funds so as to avoid disastrous results is still a problem. It is easier to point out an evil than to provide a remedy.

The method which I would suggest is: To provide for the gradual extinction of these funds by setting aside a sufficient sum to maintain the reservation schools as they now exist for a definite period of years, say twenty-one; then divide the balance per capita, and pay to each member of the tribe between certain ages, and to each one who shall thereafter arrive at the proper age, his or her share, suitable provision to be made for the disposition of the shares of the old and incompetent, and of minors.

Of course the land belonging to the tribe should also be divided; but this course is already being pursued through the allotment system.

The remedy is an heroic one and is not new. If applied, the immediate result would almost invariably be to relegate to poverty a large number of the Indians concerned. The remote result might be (and this is the argument used in its favor), that finding their subsistence gone and themselves in actual want, they would realize that they must work or starve, and so from necessity, if not from choice, put forth effort in their own behalf. The final result would then be that in time they would become industrious, self-supporting members of the community.

At any rate, the sooner steps are taken to break up their interests in common and place them upon an individual basis, the sooner will they come to a realizing sense of their responsibility and prepare to find their place in the body politic.

The third obstacle to self-support among Indians is the leasing of individual allotments. It is believed that in the allotment system, wisely adapted, lies the true solution of the Indian problem. The idea of breaking up tribal relations and making Indians independent was early entertained, and some of the older treaties contain provisions for putting the Indian on land of his own. But it was not until 1887 that there was any systematic attempt to allot land. With the provisions of the general allotment act of February 8, 1887, you are familiar. Since then the work of allotting has gone on steadily, until now a large number of the tribes are allotted—on paper, at least.

The true idea of allotment is to have the Indian select, or to select for him, what may be called his homestead; a piece of land upon which, by ordinary industry, he can make a living, either by tilling the soil or in pastoral pursuits. The land allotted should have both water and fuel; but above all the former, for fuel can, if necessary, be brought from a distance. To put him upon an allotment with-

out water and tell him to make his living is a mockery. His allotment having been selected he should be required to occupy it and work it himself. In this he must have aid and instruction. If he has no capital to begin on, it must be given him; a house must be built, a supply of water must be assured, and the necessities of life furnished, at least until he can get a start and his labor become productive. The allottees should be divided into small communities, each community to be put in charge of persons who by precept and example should teach the Indians how to work and how to live.

This is the theory. The practice is very different. The Indian is allotted and then allowed to lease his land to the whites, live on the rentals and resume his life in the tepee.

This pernicious practice is the direct growth of vicious legislation. The first law on the subject was passed in 1891, when Congress enacted that whenever it should appear that by reason of age or other disability, any allottee could not personally and with benefit to himself occupy or improve his allotment, or any part thereof, it might be leased under such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior should prescribe for a period of not exceeding three years for farming or grazing, or ten years for mining. In 1894 the word "inability" was inserted, and the law made to read, "by reason of age, disability or inability." The period of the lease was also fixed at five years for farming or grazing, and ten years for mining or business purposes. This remained unchanged until 1897, when "inability" was dropped out, age or disability alone made a sufficient reason for leasing, and the periods changed to three and five years respectively. This law was operative until the current year, when it was again changed, "inability" restored and leases limited to five years for farming purposes only.

It is conceded that where an Indian allottee is incapacitated by physical disability or decrepitude of age from occupying and working his allotment it is proper to permit him to lease it, and it was to meet such cases as this that the law was made. Had leases been confined to such cases there would be little room for criticism, but "inability" has opened the door for leasing in general, until on some of the reservations leasing is the rule and not the exception, while on others the practice is growing.

To the thoughtful mind it is apparent that the effect of this is bad. Like the gratuitous issue of rations and the periodical distribution of money, it fosters indolence with its train of attendant vices. By taking away the incentive to labor it defeats the very object for which the allotment system was devised, which was, by giving the Indian something tangible that he could call his own, to incite him to personal effort in his own behalf.

Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT.—May I express our thanks to the Indian Commissioner for coming here and giving us this clear statement of the present condition. I am sure that those of us who remember our first gatherings, who have listened to this admirable statement

of difficulties and conditions, cannot but feel greatly encouraged by the progress made in public sentiment and in the action of the Government. (Applause.)

The subject for the session was then taken up, Allotted Indians, and Rev. A. G. Murray, of Pawnee, was introduced as the first speaker. The following is an abstract of his address.

THE ALLOTTED INDIAN.

BY REV. A. G. MURRAY, PAWNEE MISSION.

Most people have a very indefinite understanding of some of the conditions that exist among allotted Indians. The allotted Indians will soon include all the Indians of the nation,—at least that is seemingly the purpose of the Government,—and in the opinion of many that is the only solution of the Indian problem. I think perhaps on one point I might say something as to the status of the allotted Indian.

I confess to you that I was ignorant with reference to that status even after being among them some time. I did not fully understand the relation of the Government to the Pawnees. My idea was that when the Indians became capable of managing their own affairs the Commissioner of Indian Affairs should allot them land in severalty, and they should have control of their own affairs. My attention was called to the subject by one of our Indians, who showed me a letter from Commissioner Browning, just after the allotment to the Pawnees had been completed. In that letter from Mr. Browning, which was addressed to some of the chiefs of the little delegation that had gone to Washington, the Commissioner used some such language as this: Go home to your own people and tell them that they are now United States citizens. Very soon your reservations will be settled with white people, from whom you may learn many of the things that you need to know to advance yourselves in civilization, and especially impress upon your people the responsibility that rests on them as United States citizens. As such they will henceforth have charge of their own affairs. Make them realize, if possible, the great responsibility that rests on them personally.

That is the status of Indians according to the law. They are supposed to have the same prerogatives, privileges and rights that you and I have.

These Indians have been allotted seven years. Not one of the tribe has ever been treated as an American citizen. They have been treated in the same way by the Government as before they took allotments,—as tribal Indians. Not that the Government makes treaties with them, but that it continues to look after their

affairs just as it did when they were on the reservation, when they looked to the agent for everything they needed; and they have the same people to do it—agent, clerks, farmer, doctor, blacksmith, etc. While the countryside is settled up and every Indian has white neighbors and opportunities for civilized life within easy reach, the things they need on the reservation are still provided.

Not only that: the agent has the same authority over the Indian that he had when he was a reservation Indian. He cannot go out of Pawnee county in which his reservation lies without the agent's permission; he cannot go to the town across the line. In all respects we are teaching him that he is dependent on us to think for him. What was said by Commissioner Jones of the ration system and its degrading influences is also perfectly true. Because of the sale of their lands the annuities of the Indians have been increased. By the letting of their lands they now have an income from their allotments by rental; consequently their income has been further increased. They had only five dollars in annuities when they came from Nebraska, and now they have about eighty dollars per annum per capita, besides the income from one, two, three, four or even six quarter sections of land. I know an imbecile little girl of the Pawnees who has control of five and a quarter sections of land. She has control? A man "adopted" her, a mixed blood, and he has the control and all the income, while she is up yonder in a school, for the child has no home to go to.

This increased income makes it unnecessary for these Indians to labor. In addition to that they have the agent, the clerk, the employees to do all their little jobs for them. I do not know whether it is in the law or not, or whether the law requires it, but they rent the lands, collect the rents for the Indians and keep the accounts, and twice a year pay the rent. It will be easily seen that this produces the same deplorable results as the ration system. We shall never get people to support themselves so long as we support them. It destroys manhood. I believe that our Heavenly Father never loved man more than when he decreed that the earth should not spontaneously support us. We have got to dig out the briars and root out the weeds and cultivate the soil, and it was Love that made that arrangement for us.

What is the remedy for this state of things? There must be some heroic remedy that shall put these Indians in charge of their own affairs and bring out their latent energies, as they are brought out in all other people. Let them come in contact with law and they will learn law. As their missionary, I have dealt with them kindly with reference to the violation of the marriage law; but when I could not get them to discontinue their evil practices I have placed their names before the grand jury and had them brought before the courts, and that has done more good than preaching sermons for three months. Let them feel the law and they will know what law is. I believe the court of Oklahoma is as fair and just as anywhere in the United States, and I believe the courts can be trusted. I believe the Indians can be made to become

active, energetic United States citizens by letting them work out their own salvation instead of trying to work it out for them.

President GATES.—Miss Alice C. Fletcher will address us next. Miss Fletcher went into the study of this subject first from an interest in science and as a student of anthropology; but she was drawn into it more deeply by the desire to do good to the Indians. She was appointed the agent in charge of the first thoroughly systematic plan devised by the United States to allot homes to Indian families; and she allotted land to the Omahas first. She devised and carried out a thoroughly scientific registration of the heads of families and of all the members of each family, retaining the record of the Indian groups and the Indian system of family relationships. This is thus far the best record that has been made of the families of an Indian tribe. Later she allotted land to the Winnebagoes and the Nez Percés, spending in all several years among the Indians. She has been a most deeply interested student of Indian life and one of the most effective distributors of such results of her studies, through the press and in lectures. She holds a fellowship in Harvard University, and is as well a contributor to the publications of the Smithsonian Institution. It gives me great pleasure to introduce Miss Fletcher.

THE REGISTRATION OF INDIAN FAMILIES.

BY MISS ALICE C. FLETCHER.

In the suggestive words of one of the speakers last evening we were cautioned to think of the native Hawaiians as children among the family of races. That is a very good thought in dealing with the so-called dependent races. The life of the nations and the peoples of the world is like the life of the human being; it has the childhood period, the adolescent period and the mature period. We have attached to these periods popular names, which have found their way, unfortunately, into scientific classifications; so we speak of savagery, barbarism and civilization,—terms which merely represent these stages, childhood, adolescence and maturity.

The tribal relation, or the tribal political form, is a form through which all peoples have passed or are passing. It underlies our political forms, and its rules and regulations have left certain vestiges which can be found in modern laws, particularly the common law. The tribe is no random grouping, but a very complete and effective organization. Within the tribe is the clan or *gens*. We make a distinction between the two in the study of the tribe, giving the name clan where the descent is traced through the mother, and taking the Latin name where it is traced through the father. Both forms exist among the Indians of the United States. The clan or the *gens* is the tribal unit. It is essential to the formation of the tribe, and essential to its maintenance.

Within the *gens* or clan is the family; but the family has not the same legal existence, does not take on the same legal form, as it does with us. In a family within the tribe the father and mother must belong to different clans or *gentes*; they therefore represent two distinct political organizations; and as the stability of the tribe depends upon the integrity of the clan or *gens*, marriage does not make any change in the relation of the man or woman to his or her *gens* or clan. Consequently the family can never be unified, and the children must belong either to the *gens* of the father or to the clan of the mother, whichever custom of tracing descent obtains in the tribe.

The construction of the family under tribal conditions prevents a child from inheriting property from both parents. There are definite laws of property descent within the *gens* or clan, but these tend to conserve the existence and power of the group, and take no cognizance of other claims.

The family within the tribe is not only differently organized, as to the relationship of its members, from the family under our social conditions, but the laws of the descent of property are widely dissimilar from those we maintain. When the Indian is allotted he is taken out of the tribal relation and placed in families, according to our custom, and the *gens* or clan cease to have claim on him. The married man and woman find themselves placed in new legal relations to each other,—new and strange. The Severalty Act provides that the allotted land shall descend according to the laws of the State or Territory in which the land lies: these laws are foreign to the tribal customs with which the Indian is familiar, and they often fail to appeal to his sense of justice.

It was because I had studied tribal customs that I recognized the importance of a careful registration of these newly formed legal families, if the Indians were to reap the full benefit of the allotment of their lands.

The Indian Department issues a schedule sheet for allotting, showing the Indian name, the English name, the age, the sex and the general family relation. When the allotment is transferred from this sheet to the tract book only the name and description of the land are entered. The relationship is not entered, and all that the department has to refer to is the original schedule sheet, which is preserved carefully, but it is often very imperfect in data.

There are many difficulties in the way of this registration of the people. The Indian's groups of relationships are very different from ours. We have the term father and mother, but with us the term father and mother can apply to but one man and one woman; but in the clan and *gens* system it applies to a number of persons. All my father's brothers are my fathers. All my mother's sisters are my mothers. All my father's sisters are my aunts, and all my mother's brothers are my uncles. So when you are asking for relationships and are unaware of the Indian form of relationship, confusion can arise; and when descent is traced in the legal process of ascertaining heirs, you will see that your registry will be incom-

plete unless you are careful to translate into our forms of relationship the statements made by the Indians.

Another difficulty arises, and that is in the matter of Indian names. An Indian never speaks his name, nor is it proper to speak his name in his presence. I refer to the aboriginal custom. An Indian's name is a very sacred thing. It is a religious emblem and symbol. Even where the name is changed, as it is when a man has achieved some deed, it has the same character. As an old priest explained it to me, life is an ascent; and when a man has reached some stage where, by the help of the gods, he has been able to achieve some act or do some deed worthy of remembrance, he takes a name commemorative of that act. If the power is within him and the favor of the gods continues, he rises to a higher level and takes another name, showing that he has advanced, and that the favor of the gods is still with him. All these names are taken with religious ceremony, and they stand for what a man *is*, and to mention to a man his name is an offense to him. Therefore in taking the names of people it is difficult to secure names which shall last, because so many persons have more than one name. That is pre-eminently true of men. The woman's name is very apt to be the same from birth till death. It is never changed by marriage, since the woman by marriage never changes or loses her right in her clan or her *gens*. This complexity of names is a matter which has to be looked after carefully, and provided for by proper registration.

There are necessarily many details to consider in this registration. One thing should not be allowed, that is, the re-naming of school-children without reference to the surnames of their parents. We must be able to trace the family through the children. This whole matter of registration is very difficult, and its importance has been recognized at the department. I remember once when Commissioner Oberly was examining some work I had been privileged to do, that he asked me if I would be willing to instruct some of the new allotting agents. Of course I consented, and several were sent to me. I explained to them the books which I had kept, and presented some of the difficulties they would meet with when doing the work; and I was always asked these questions: "Are you *obliged* to do this thing? Does the law require it?" "No," I would say; "the law does not require it, but one must do it if he would do faithful work." "Well, then you were a fool for doing it," was the response; and I think the Commissioner had a great deal of difficulty in enforcing work which was not obligatory.

If a proper registration of the tribes could be made, and these registrations not only be preserved at the agency, but entered in the county in which the people are allotted, the chances would be lessened for contesting land titles in the future. The fact that most of the Indian lands are likely to have clouded titles, which will demand and open the way for a great deal of legal work, is very clear to lawyers; and many of them are now getting possession of material which will afford them opportunities to conduct lawsuits in the near future when fee simple patents are due.

Registration of the tribes is important, if we would do a clean-cut piece of work for the future descent of the land in proper lines, as well as secure a home for the Indian of to-day.

Mr. Francis La Flesche, an Omaha Indian, author of "The Middle Five," was introduced as the next speaker.

AN INDIAN ALLOTMENT.

BY FRANCIS LA FLESCHÉ.

In the spring of 1883 I was detailed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to assist, by way of interpreting and doing clerical work, in the task of making allotments to the Omaha Indians, the tribe to which I belong.

The special agent who was appointed to make the division of the land [Miss Alice Fletcher] undertook the work more from an earnest desire to scatter the Indians on the choicest parts of their reservation than to earn the meager compensation offered her by the Government, because it was through her efforts that the law authorizing the allotment was enacted by Congress.

With this purpose in mind the allotting agent, upon her arrival on the reservation, drove over the land to ascertain where the best portions lay. She saw that the lands best suited for agriculture and the most conveniently located as to market lay along the valley of the Logan and its slopes. So there she pitched her tent and called for the Indians to come and make their selections.

One morning, as we were driving from corner to corner, running the lines of the quarter sections, we came to a man standing on a section mound. As we halted at his side he looked up at the allotting agent and said, "This is my land," making a sweeping motion with his outstretched arm. The surveyor gave the description of the land, and the agent entered the numbers in her block book. This done, she held out her right hand to him, and as he grasped it she said:—

"I congratulate you upon making such a beautiful selection. I want you to build a nice house, a barn and granaries upon it, and to cultivate the land. And I wish you every success."

With his hand still grasping that of the special agent, the Indian replied:—

"We have had agents here to manage our affairs, but none of them have ever offered us advice such as you have just given me. My people are not prone to follow the advice of women, but I shall strive to follow yours."

It is the story of this man to which I desire to direct attention, because it has much to do with the success of Indian allotments.

One day a solitary tent appeared on the land thus selected, a woman moved in and about it in her daily domestic toil, while day

after day a man following a team of horses and a plough walked around and around from morning till night until a large portion of the quarter section turned into a great dark field, in striking contrast to the grassy hills. In the course of a year the tent disappeared and a neat little house stood in its place. Soon a barn and then a granary appeared. The man had striven to make good his word given to the special agent, and had succeeded.

While he was thus improving his land the man would call together the other Indians who had taken lands near to his, and try to persuade them to come out there to live. Two returned students from Hampton, with the aid of some friends in the East, built houses on their lands out there, and the man felt greatly encouraged. A few others followed, and this little colony worked happily together until there came a time when they learned that Congress had passed a law which gave them the privilege of leasing their rich lands. Then, one by one, including the returned Hampton students, these people left their lands to the use of white men and returned to the poorest part of the reservation, some to live on the forty-acre lots of their children and others to crowd upon their relations.

The first man, greatly to his disappointment, was left to struggle alone. He was not discouraged, however, but pushed on, and he now lives like a white man among white men. He has his little house, his barn, his well-filled granaries, a number of fine cattle and splendid horses, while those Indians who leased their lands and left him have scarcely anything to show for the rent received by them.

One day this man said to his Indian neighbors before their departure: "Let us build a little church and ask a white preacher to come and teach us. I am not a member of the church as some of you are, but I want to know something about the white man's religion. We are getting along nicely, and we can each afford to contribute something toward the little house. Let it be on my land or on some one of yours, as you may choose."

He had almost persuaded them when the leasing privilege spoiled his plan. His friends of his own race having abandoned him, he turned to his white neighbors for sympathy, and they responded with a will.

If I did not know that the two men had never met, I might suspect that Major Pratt of Carlisle had been whispering to him on matters of Indian education, for I found that this man had been putting into effect the Major's very ideas about mingling white men and red men together. The man went to his white neighbors and said to them:—

"You want to educate your children, and I want to educate my little grandson; but we can do nothing unless we have a school. If you will build a schoolhouse, I will let you have the use of one acre of my land; then we will have a school. I don't want to send my boy to the Government school; children do not learn very fast there. I want my boy to grow up with your children; he will then learn faster."

The white men built the schoolhouse and employed a teacher, and this Indian and his white friends have to-day a good school.

Last summer when I was visiting my home this man came to see me. Said he:—

“I wish to send a message by you to the white people, to any of them who might wish to help us. The leasing business is ruining the Omahas in every way. It is producing idleness among them, and idleness brings out the worst that is in man. It has proved to be injurious rather than a help. Nearly all of the land is leased, and most of the Indians have scarcely a thing to show for the rent they receive. Many of them loaf about the towns, and some of them come to my house in a shameful state of intoxication, and expect hospitality of me. When they should be at work upon their farms they go in large bodies to visit other tribes, spending their rent money in railroad fare. Labor is the only thing that will maintain the dignity of man and command respect from every one. So long as the system of indiscriminate leasing exists, work among the people will be almost an impossible thing. Cannot the friends of the Indians relieve us of this curse in some way?”

I have delivered my message.

Dr. ABBOTT.—I would like to ask Commissioner Jones how the lands can be leased.

Commissioner JONES.—The Secretary of the Interior is supposed to approve the leases, but really it has to be done on the representation of the agents, as we are unable to see them ourselves. It depends, like so many other things, on the integrity and good work done by the agent.

Dr. ABBOTT.—Practically, then, any land can be leased which the agent approves?

Commissioner JONES.—Yes. Sometimes we have a protest, but very seldom; nine times out of ten the agent is selected from the locality. There is a system of “home rule,” as it is called, and the agent has a desire to stand on good terms with his neighbors, and if a white man comes to him whom he knows, and asks to lease land, his request is usually granted. If the agent were selected outside the community we should have fewer leases of allotments.

Major R. H. Pratt was invited to speak.

Major PRATT.—Thus far I am more willing to hold my peace than I have ever been before in a Mohonk Conference. It has gone my way, and I am satisfied. I have been asked to speak about Lands in Severalty, but first I want to say a few words about irrigation.

The admirable paper on this subject attracted my attention by its omission of one great feature of irrigation, which has a larger influence on the welfare of the Indians than the one presented to us by the speaker.

I have had a large experience in the West, and it is a most common custom in their communities to welcome a newcomer

with, "Stranger, will you irrigate?" A large part of the people out there have always been in favor of giving the Indians all that sort of irrigation they will take. They force it on him, and that is a feature of irrigation for the Indians that this Conference should consider, for it is bringing to the Indians no end of destruction.

We had yesterday another admirable paper from the patriarch of this place, giving greater than Mohonk antiquity to the plan of giving lands in severalty. We found that the Presidents of the United States had gone into the business long before this Conference and Senator Dawes and Miss Fletcher and other great leaders of "land in severalty" had anything to do with it. And while I was listening I recalled something, went down stairs and telegraphed to Carlisle for an old act of one of the Colonial governing bodies, put on their statute books in the earliest days of the country. It came this morning, and is valuable because it shows that even the Presidents were antedated in the idea and in the actual granting of lands in severalty. I will read it.

"For settling the Indian title to lands in this jurisdiction, it is declared and ordered by this court and authority thereof, that what lands any of the Indians in this jurisdiction have possessed and improved, by subduing the same, they have a just right unto, according to that in Genesis i. 28, and Chapter ix. 1, and Psalms cxv. 16. . . . And for the further encouragement of the hopeful work amongst them, for the civilizing and helping them forward to Christianity, if any of the Indians shall be brought to civility, and shall come among the English to inhabit in any of their plantations, and shall there live civilly and orderly, that such Indians shall have allotments among the English, according to the custom of the English in like case." (*Laws of Massachusetts*, Edition of 1672, p. 74, Act 1633.)

Note in the last paragraph "among the English." Here is help, civilization, real brotherhood. I have no doubt that if we look around a little, perhaps in Genesis, we might find that lands in severalty and allotments were a feature even before this I have read.

Some years ago I was invited to the banquet of a convention of our county physicians, and was told there would be after-dinner remarks, and I would be expected to stand for the army. The gentleman who preceded me, a physician, had an elaborate paper on the antiquity of his profession, asserting that it was the oldest of all professions. I followed him and questioned the position he had taken, for the reason that I had read somewhere that in the very beginning of things there was war in heaven; and as there could be no war without an army, my profession was older than his. Some things get old, antiquated and useless, and, so far as I am concerned, I shall not be sorry if eventually my profession gets into that category; but at present it is an honorable calling, or I would not be in it, and it is all right that now and then we have a little fighting. I like thunder and lightning, because afterwards the air

is cleared, and I have sometimes felt that here there was a little too much restraining of the clash of ideas. I have no objection at all to the tallow dip asserting that it is older than the arc light. There are new things a good deal better than the old ones, and old things it is vitally necessary to hold on to.

The principles that underlie our work at Mohonk were announced at the beginning of the meeting in proper form. The Great Director of affairs in this world, when he placed us in it, gave us duties to perform. He directed that we should eat our bread in the sweat of our faces, and told us to be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, and wherever we interfere and relieve any man from these duties we make a mistake. No contrivance that the Church or the State can make to excuse from these duties, placed by the Almighty, can help the situation. It is a great mistake to have our own children believe that they are to be supported all their lives by father and mother, and tenderly cared for. We should push them out, and make them do what they can of the world's work. When in the Indian Territory I sent my own boy to Indiana and arranged that he have something to do besides attending to his books, and did the same things with the girls,—pushed them all out. Sometimes it was rather hard on the mother,—father could stand it a little better,—but it was the making of the boy and the girls.

“Lands in Severalty” I have had views about all the time. Good Senator Dawes and I used to discuss the subject in one of the dens under the Senate; but he never came to my idea, and so I have had to wait and let it work out its own solution; but I was right. I insisted that we should take into consideration a great principle. A lady asked me this morning to write a sentence in her birthday book. I wrote, “The contact of peoples is the best of all education.” That is the essence principle in the progress and unifying of races. It helped the negro up in spite of slavery. It Americanizes every foreigner. We have all been Americanized and made into one nation by living together. If we are thrown into a wrong community, where all the influences are downward, we join the crowd and don't pan out so well. If some of us are so highly privileged as to be invited and come to this delectable place, it has the best effect upon us. Now, I have always believed that when lands are allotted to Indians—as they are to become citizens of the United States—there should be alternate allotments, one quarter section to an Indian and the next one to a white man. Distributing the land in this way there would be destruction of tribalism and the taking on of citizenship at once. The white man would improve and make the highest possible use of his land, and the Indian, surrounded on all sides by industrious example, would become ashamed of himself and his worthlessness, and would first imitate and then rival the white man. Instead of that the present system was adopted, and the Indians were forced to take lands adjoining each other, to the exclusion of the white man. What I said when the present system of allotments was under discussion I

say now : It was a reservation reducing process. It got the Indian into a smaller place, concentrated his evils, and bound him to the tribal influences which hindered him before, and forced him to continue in them. Therefore, so far as the present system of lands in severalty is concerned, I have no great expectation that it is a material civilizing influence ; but it is the law and has to be gone through with, and the whole subject of lands has somehow to be got rid of, and then if some equally imperious clog is not invented and again forced on him, the individual Indian may get his chance to escape from the hindrances of the tribe into the opportunities of American life.

I want to parallel the situation with another case by which you can better understand me. When the War Department arranged to take the Indian into the army, it was planned to make each company from men of one tribe,—a Sioux company, a Cheyenne company, etc. After it was all arranged I got a telegram from Mr. Proctor, then Secretary of War, asking me to come to Washington. Mr. Proctor asked what I thought of the arrangement. I replied : “ If you make a company of Sioux who all understand each other and cannot understand English, and who cannot be understood by their officers, difficulties will arise and the Indians will be masters of the situation. It will be an army tribalizing Indian reservation scheme.” He asked me what I would do. I replied : “ Take the Indians into the army as individual men. Do not put two Indians into the same company, nor two of the same tribe into the same regiment ; that is, in the twelve companies of a regiment put twelve Indians from twelve different tribes. Then there will be no Indian reservation in the regiment. If two Indians of the same tribe go into one company there will be an Indian reservation at once.” But the orders had been issued, and the War Department was not willing to change the orders until a trial had been made. The result was that after two years the Indian in the army was declared to be a failure, and the Indian companies were disbanded. Now, the facts are that the Indian never was in the army ; a little of the army was tacked on to him, that’s all. Eighteen months ago I went to General Corbin and asked him to try my way ; to instruct his recruiting officer at Harrisburg to receive young Indians whom I would present that were suitable in every way, and he gave the order. We have now thirty-four in the army,—one in each of thirty-four different companies. So far I have not heard the slightest whisper indicating that they were not equal to their comrades. After the battle of Tientsin I received a letter from one who had gone there with his regiment, giving a full description of the battle and his part in it, and as intelligently as the average soldier in the United States army would have written it. One of my Sioux boys was one of the body guard of General Lawton, and was present with the brave general when he was killed. Their letters come to us from Porto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines, China, and elsewhere. None have complained of their duties. All have claimed credit for equal ability and service.

Lands in severalty ought to be considered in much the same way ; that is, land should be so severalized as to influence a unifying of our various peoples instead of the contrary. But land is not an essential element in the civilization of the Indian.

The PRESIDENT.—The Major lives on a reservation.

Major PRATT.—If I did not live there I would gladly live somewhere else, and no one would deny me the right. We stumble a great deal over the minor things and forget the more important. The soul is not to be driven to the wall or lost because, perchance, there is a little land in some way tied to the body.

I do not feel bad when one of my boys going out from the school meets hardships. It is my duty to school them to, instead of relieve them from, hardships. I say to them: "If you find difficulties in the home where I send you, thank God for it, because that is God's way of making men. You are in the world to overcome difficulties, and if you learn to overcome them as a boy, you will be able to overcome greater when you are a man, and so God will make you a force in the world. He is not going to take you from under the fostering care of the Government and place you on your feet and make you a valuable factor in the world's progress against your own will and efforts. You have got to do it yourself, and by hard labor. If in the family you go to you find an exacting woman who may say things not pleasant to you, or if you make a mistake in the field and the man reproves you, stand it, correct yourself, and go ahead. Overcome. Don't run away." And the majority succeed.

The other day one of my boys who had graduated, after being away four years, came back to visit. After graduation he asked to be turned loose to hunt a place for himself. He came back a nice manly fellow, with such gentlemanly ways I was proud of him. "How have you got on?" I asked. "First rate," he said. "How much have you earned?" "Well, by the month, from sixteen to seventeen dollars, but I get a dollar and a half a day during harvest." "How much have you saved?" "Almost five hundred dollars." "Where is it?" I asked. "On interest," he replied. The largest interest gathered from this case, however, is that which the Government receives in his ability to multiply and replenish the land through staying away from his people, and illustrating by a useful and unblemished life that it pays to give right help to Indian youth. Both boys and girls educated and trained at Carlisle to usefulness in civilized life, returning to that young man's tribe, have been cruelly and publicly whipped by the old and ruling Indians because they insisted on keeping out of the dances and other demoralizing tribal customs.

Fit the Indians to our civilization by moving them into it, and it will kindly and speedily end the Indian problem. Continue fitting our civilization to the Indians on their reservations and they will remain an expensive incubus for generations.

Rev. T. L. Riggs, of Pahe, S. D., was asked to speak.

Mr. RIGGS.—The whole question resolves itself into this, that we have to build up character if people are to do any work that amounts to anything.

Some twenty-one years ago I took a hand in the matter of allotting Indians. I want to tell you a word about that, for as I look back it seems very ridiculous. When certain land was thrown open in 1879, some of the Indians who had been holding part of it were greatly alarmed lest they should be dispossessed. They came to me and asked what they should do to secure their holdings. I did not know, but said we would go to the land office and find out. But the land office was three hundred miles away, and I had just come in from a drive of five hundred miles. They said if I would take my little spring wagon they would furnish the horse, so Yellow Hawk, Spotted Deer and I started out for the three hundred mile drive. We covered it in a little less than five days, which was good driving. We went to the land office and asked what we could do. They said they did not know, but thought, as the applicants were Indians, that they had better go to the judge of probate and have them naturalized. So I packed my Indians into the buggy again, and we went on to another town. The judge of probate was taken aback at the question, for he had no precedents to go by; but he put the questions, "Where is your place of residence? How long since you came to this country," etc. It was most absurd. However we did the best we knew how, and I actually had those men naturalized that they might be able to hold their land. Naturalized native Indians who held this land long before we had any right or title here. Naturalized! Think of it.

Dr. RYDER.—May I ask Commissioner Jones if the Santee Sioux did not voluntarily relinquish rations because they saw the evils connected with it?

Commissioner JONES.—I think you are correct. A large number of Indians have seen the evil effects of rations, and some have voluntarily given up receiving them. We have given them a little now and then on account of drought and failure of crops, but the relinquishment was voluntary on their part.

Mr. C. F. Meserve, president of Shaw University, was called upon.

Mr. MESERVE.—I am hardly willing for this session of the Conference to close without trying to remove, at least in part, the unfavorable impression made upon your minds by this morning's discussion of the allotment of land in severalty.

I was present ten years ago when the land was allotted on the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation in Oklahoma Territory, and have made a study of this question in that part of the reservation

known as the Seger Colony, having visited this Colony at least once a year to observe the operations of the law. As a rule, the land allotted to the Indians lay in the bottom lands of the North and South Canadian and Washita Rivers, and was considered at the time the most fertile land on the reservation. The remaining land was sold to the whites, and the Indians have had the example of thrifty white settlers all around them. There was, however, a mistake made at the time in supposing that the uplands were not fertile. The rivers seem to act like sewers, conducting off the rainfall very rapidly, while the uplands retain it. Nearly every year since the land was allotted the crops have been good, and this year the wheat crop was as heavy, if not heavier, on the uplands than it was in the bottom lands. Oklahoma, during the wheat harvest in June, was a land flowing with milk and honey, for everywhere there were indications of plenty and prosperity. The wheat crop was so heavy that in some instances settlers, with the money realized from this year's crop, have been enabled to move from a dugout, or sod house, into a frame house; and some are now riding in surries instead of Studebaker farm wagons. More than seventy per cent of the two hundred Indians in this Colony are living on their allotments. Nearly all of their houses were built since 1888. I had the pleasure of traveling extensively over the reservation in company with Mr. J. H. Seger, the founder of this Colony, and the present superintendent of the Seger School. Much of the success of the allotment of lands in severalty to the Indians of the Seger Colony has been due to his very wise, practical and judicious management. I have studied him and his work for a number of years, and I believe he is the wisest worker among the reservation Indians in the entire country; and I am inclined to think that he has done more toward solving the real problem of adjusting the Indian to his new environments than any man living. The best test of a system or a law is its fruits. In this Colony there were Indians that raised this year considerable wheat and other grain, and also quite a little cotton. I do not wish to convey to you the impression that these Seger Colony Indians are hungering and thirsting for an opportunity to labor; far from it. But I do wish you to understand that they have made progress in the last ten or fifteen years; and it is my opinion, formed from observation and approved by Mr. Seger himself, that if Government rations and other aid now granted were withdrawn, they would become independent and self-supporting.

That they are making real progress is evidenced by their desire to have their children attend school and by adopting the ways and customs of civilized life. They are not only anxious to have their children attend day school, but also the Sunday school; and the Mission church near the Seger School is made up largely of Indian members. They have materially changed their ideas concerning their medicine men, as well as their burial rites and customs. The white physician is summoned and his medicine taken, and his instructions carried out so far as possible. There are Christian ser-

vices at the burial of the dead, and a cemetery has been established near the church and school. In some instances these Indians have erected marble headstones over the graves of their loved ones.

Since most of the denominational schools have been closed, and the work of educating Indian youth turned over to the United States Government, there should be near every school a mission station or church to look after the spiritual wants of the Indians. There is danger when the head and hand are trained and the culture of the heart neglected.

I was deeply touched in visiting the little cemetery near the Seger Colony Mission Station. In a little salt box standing on the top of a child's grave there was a pewter cup, a drinking-glass, cups and spoons and several bottles,—some empty and others partly filled with medicine. In mute eloquence they told how loving hands had done everything in their power to save the life of the one called home.

Perhaps the best way I can show you how education and the allotment of land in severalty are solving the Indian problem, will be by taking you with me on a visit to the house of James Inkanish, a Caddo Indian, twenty-seven years of age. James was a student for six years at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, and during these years obtained a good English education, and also came to be a very good carpenter. He lives six miles south of the Seger School. His wife was Mary Littlebear, a reservation Indian girl, who had never had the advantages of an education at a non-reservation boarding school. They had a two-room house, with the walls and ceiling sheathed. The house was 14 x 28. I visited this family in company with my wife and Mr. and Mrs. Roe, the missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church at Colony. As we approached the house Mary saw us coming, and at once turned away from the door and went and washed her hands and face and came out and shook hands with us. James had been hoeing in the garden. He had twenty-two acres of Indian corn, twenty acres of caffir corn, and also cane and millet. His stock consisted of two milch cows and calves, five hogs, six pigs and a lot of chickens. He also had a well and a good surry. His wife makes butter once a week. He talks good English, is thrifty and industrious, but said he had no time to get out and talk politics. He was married about two years ago, and after the white man's fashion. When we called, Mary wanted to stay out in the kitchen, because, as she said, she did not look clean enough to see company. Mrs. Roe, however, persuaded her to the contrary. Mary is twenty-five years of age, and talks English. There were pictures in the room, and on the wall was a map of Cuba. In addition to his other work, James cuts and hauls wood at four dollars a cord. He had at the time of my visit twenty to thirty cords cut and seasoned, and was to haul it in July, after the rush of the harvest work was over. His home was better than that of some of the white settlers. There was also in the room a sewing machine, the money to pay for which Mary had earned. There was also a

commendable attempt at neatness displayed in the room, for in a dish was a fly poison that Mary had manufactured by soaking the coffee bean in milk. She said it was a fly poison that was sure to kill. In the yard was a tepee, in which they sleep at night during the summer, because it is cooler and more comfortable than in the house. I noticed that she used a metal washboard. An excavation had been made in the ground, in which she kept her butter and milk. She used an oil-cloth on the table, and I saw the table was provided with a butter-dish, sugar-bowl, pepper and salt shakers, a syrup cup and spoon-holder. Near the house there was a line of washed clothes drying in the wind. When Mrs. Roe met Mary she put her arm around her and took the baby. The baby was very clean and attractive, and the Indian mothers understand that unless they keep their babies in this condition Mrs. Roe will not take them. It was observable that the dogs about this house did not bark. I presume that they, too, were civilized. James informed me that wild cats sometimes came and killed his pigs; but he said that did not discourage him, because he bought more, —not cats but pigs. His sister, Alice, rode in the carriage with us, and we drove by a house and one hundred and sixty acres of land that belonged to her. She has rented it out, and is having it put in good shape by a white man. Her rent is paid, not in cash but in work.

At the Seger School there was a school-building in process of erection. Grasshopper, a Cheyenne Indian, whose English name is Ed Harry, and Scabby, a Cheyenne, Little Chief, Onohoe and Hartley Rich Bear, Arapahos, were quarrying stone and tending masons, receiving as wages \$1.25 per day. Mr. Seger said that their services would be as valuable as that of white men provided they could talk English. The execution of the land in severalty act, if wisely directed, as in the Seger Colony, is anything but a failure.

President GATES.—The first paper I ever read on these subjects was in 1885, when I defended the system of allotting the land alternately. President Cleveland did me the honor to say that that was the most desirable plan he had looked into, but it did not go through Congress. The only man who can get anything done is Commissioner Jones. That is the difference between him and us. If he would insist upon it, the status of the marriage relation could be established within two weeks, and the department should back him in this. And in doing this he will feel that we are all with him. That is a stronger piece of personal exhortation than I ever gave here.

Adjourned at 12.30 P. M.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Night, October 18, 1900.

The Conference was called to order at eight o'clock by the President. An original poem, based on an incident which occurred long ago among the Indians of South America, was recited by Miss Edna Dean Proctor.

The subject for the evening was Porto Rico. The first speaker was Dr. H. K. Carroll.

PORTO RICO.

BY DR. H. K. CARROLL.

If we could know the inmost thought of every heart here we should find that it is beating in hearty sympathy with the aspirations of the people of Porto Rico; and if this audience could know exactly what the people most need there, you would be glad to furnish it.

It has been my lot to travel a good deal from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the northern border pretty well to the south, and I have met all colors and conditions of people, and I have found, without exception, that everybody is interested in Porto Rico and its people, and desirous of those things which shall inure to their benefit and advantage.

We need to know the condition of a people in order to help them. Some very well-intentioned people who desired to help mankind, soon after the Stars and Stripes were raised over Porto Rico, sent down some tracts to be distributed bearing upon the subject of cruelty to animals, and setting forth, among other things, the terrible cruelty it is to put a frosty bit into a horse's mouth. As none of the people had ever seen ice or frost they hardly knew what it meant.

I was requested to go down there by the President of the United States to find out everything about everything and everybody in Porto Rico and put it into a report, and formulate a system of civil government for that island. This (holding up a large volume) is only a part of my report, for the appropriation was exhausted before it got through the press. The President kindly gave me all the assistance that I needed, so that with an interpreter and secretary I went under most favorable auspices. I was there in time to see the evacuation of San Juan by the Spanish soldiers, and I was everywhere received with open arms as the President's commissioner.

I need to say a few things about the island in general. As you know, it is fifteen hundred miles from New York, nearly south, and eight hundred miles east of Havana. It is about one hundred miles long and from forty-five to fifty miles broad. It is a mountainous island. The whole interior is covered with mountains, and the surface is so varied and the climate and atmosphere so different that the various crops of the island have good opportunity to grow. Sugar cane grows along the ocean, tobacco on higher land, and coffee on the still higher land. Almost every foot of the surface of Porto Rico is capable of being cultivated except the southern slope of the mountains. The climate is equable. I went down in October and stayed until April, and almost every day was a perfect day. The poet speaks of the rare day in June. If you will take the rarest day in June and multiply it by one hundred and twenty or thirty, you will have pretty much the climate of San Juan as I saw it in winter. The thermometer rarely rises above 89, 90 or 91 degrees, and it rarely falls below 65 or 66. When the rain falls in the winter it falls very quickly, and is soon over with. They have no gloomy, cloudy days as in the vicinity of Boston or New York. In summer it is a degree or two warmer, and the humidity is greatly increased.

The population is about a million,—I think 957,000. I want to correct the notion so prevalent in the United States that the population is composed of a shiftless, lazy, black people. About sixty-five per cent are white people, about twenty-seven per cent are mixed, and only eight per cent pure black negroes, and the proportion of black and mixed population is decreasing, as the census shows.

Now, who are the white people there? Of course they are in part descendants of the Spanish settlers; but there is a line of demarcation between the peninsular Spanish and the Porto Ricans. The Porto Rican hates the peninsular Spaniard, and the peninsular Spaniard despises the Porto Rican. The reasons are not far to seek. The governor general was sent over with the expectation that he would remain a year or two, and in that time he would satisfy his thirst for wealth. He expected to line his pockets and return to the American colony in Barcelona and live in luxury. His first idea was to make his own fortune; second, to take care of those who came over with him. His third care was for the mother country; and his fourth, if he had a fourth, was for the people of Porto Rico. The offices were given to people from Spain; nearly all the insular offices and many municipal offices. The government was oppressive and corrupt. I can give you one illustration of the corruption of the government. When the autonomous system was introduced, and a certain gentleman of San Juan was appointed superintendent of education, he called in a man to clean the windows of the room he was to occupy. Later he called for a man to clean the floors. The man who cleaned the windows brought in a bill for twelve dollars for one day. The gentleman said to him: "Why do you bring in a bill of twelve dollars for one

day's work? You must be crazy." "O," he said, "that is the way I have always done it. I do not ask it for myself; I only ask \$1.50, but I have always made out my bill in that way. "Well," said the gentleman, "take back your bill and bring it in honestly." The same thing occurred with the man who scrubbed the floors. That will give you a faint idea of the character of the Spanish government with respect to corruption.

In addition to holding the offices so largely, the peninsular Spaniards were the merchants and bankers, and had charge of most of the business of the island. The government also discriminated against the Porto Ricans in levying taxes. This case came to my attention. A certain property had been owned by a Spaniard, and he had paid \$80 tax per year. It was sold to a Porto Rican, and he had to pay \$400. You can see, then, why there should be this line of demarcation between the peninsular Spaniard and the Porto Rican.

The Porto Ricans, almost without exception, welcomed the Americans when they came. They welcomed the American army. "Subjugation" of Porto Rico?—there was none. There was a breaking of the Spanish yoke and a freeing of the people, but no subjugation. I found no desire in the island on the part of the people for independence. On the contrary, everywhere I went I was met by deputations who said if there was any thought of declaring independence they should protest against it. "We are not strong enough," they said, "to stand alone. We are not able to maintain our independence; we want to be connected with the United States." So far, therefore, as we are governing them it is with their own consent. I want to put that as clearly and plainly and emphatically as I can, because that represents things as I found them in 1898 and 1899. The people of Porto Rico did not want independence. They wanted a very close connection with the United States. They wanted justice and their rights. They wanted their relation to the United States to be that of a territory, like New Mexico or Arizona to the United States. They did not aspire to independence.

I have to correct another idea,—that the Porto Ricans are savages and barbarians. The government of Spain never had any trouble with Porto Rico. There were insurrections in Cuba and in the colonies of South America, so that one after another got its freedom; but there never has been anything more than a very small, local insurrection in Porto Rico. Spain has always said that Porto Rico never gave her any trouble. The people are not barbarians and savages. They do not love war and they were very restive under a military government, because it seemed to them to be almost a disgrace to be under such a government. They asked what they had done that they should be subjected to such a disgrace. They do not like war and the clash of arms, and it is a mistake to speak of them as savages. I am sure that I am safe when I say that they have nothing to learn of us in politeness and in manners. A politer, kinder, more courteous people it has never been my lot to be among.

In San Juan one day, with Father Sherman, I started to find the Episcopal palace. I asked a young man if he could direct us. He took off his hat, bowed and turned, and accompanied us to the next corner, up an ancient street, round the next corner, over to the palace, into the entrance, up the stone stairway to the iron gate, rang the bell, bowed very politely and left. In the United States you would have been told to go round the next corner, then to the left, then to the right, etc., etc. But this young man seemed delighted to do this act of courtesy. So I found it everywhere.

I remember this incident. We were on the journey from the center of the island to the coast. My stenographer had a camera and wanted to change some plates, and we came to a shack by the roadside, and he went in and asked the woman if she would allow him to remain long enough to change the films. She said certainly, and was very kind. When he got ready to leave he offered her a piece of silver; but she put her hands behind her and declined to take it. "Just as a recuerdo," he said, still holding the silver out. "To prevent you from holding out your hands longer I will take it," she said. That was a poor peasant woman. These illustrations show that the people are not barbarians, but are polite and kindly, with deep sensibilities, and we need to be very careful as a nation in dealing with them, lest we outrage their sensibilities.

The subject of schools was treated at such length last night that it is hardly necessary for me to go into it in detail. I made an effort everywhere to visit schools and to investigate them. I found the teaching of the most superficial character, yet some of the teachers were excellent women, and pretty well prepared for the work of schoolmistress. They only needed to be better instructed to do much better work. I remember a school we visited in Mayaguez, one of the most progressive cities on the west coast. There were two departments in the school, taught by two women. I had my stenographer and interpreter, and it was my purpose to ask questions and have the questions and answers taken down. I asked the teacher if she would call out the superior class and ask questions in geography. She began with the shape of the earth, the sun, moon, stars, planets, asking questions about fixed stars, the use of the telescope, etc., and left the children all up in the sky. I said: "Now, I want to ask what I regard as important questions in geography, and I do not want you to coach the children. I asked what was the capital of Turkey, of Spain and other European countries, and they answered fairly well after a little hesitation. When I came down to Cuba and asked where it was they were dumb. When I asked where Porto Rico was they were dumb. When I asked how it was bounded they could not tell me a word about it. When I asked whether it was east or west of Cuba, one girl hazarded that it was east. The same thing took place in arithmetic. The teacher asked them some questions and they answered by rote. If they were asked to stop and go slower, they had to begin at the beginning and rush through. They gave definitions of the properties of numbers and worked out some examples under the rule of the

greatest common divisor, and then I asked a few simple questions in arithmetic, such as 9×7 , 18×6 , etc., and they answered with great hesitation, and in some cases could not answer at all. The poor teacher, for whom I was very sorry, with tears in her eyes said, "Well, here I have some very beautiful lace work, and we have taken prizes for it at San Juan."

Something was said last night about illiteracy. I examined the census of the district of Ponce for 1897, and I found it was reported that twenty-eight per cent of the entire population could read and write. Of course, in the entire population those under five cannot be expected to read and write, and the figures should relate only to those who might be expected to be able to read and write. I found a great many people who had been educated in the United States. The leading practicing physician, Dr. Barbosa, a colored man, formerly a slave (slavery was abolished in 1878), is the leading physician in the social and political center of Porto Rico, and has the cream of the practice. He is a graduate of Michigan University. In almost every town and city where I went I found somebody who had been educated in the United States. And while it is true that illiteracy is alarming in extent, it is not true that the people are densely ignorant. I talked with professional men and with business men, and with workers in the poor quarters of the city and on the farms with the peasants. I talked with them about features of the Government of the United States, and they showed intelligence, although their knowledge, I must confess, was somewhat limited; but they have great aspirations.

With regard to learning English, we do not need to push it or to introduce it into the schools to the exclusion of Spanish. It is their great desire to learn it. The fact that so many come to this country shows that. I remember a scene which occurred between San Juan and Ponce, when I was making my trip across the island to witness the evacuation of the Spanish. We had stopped at a house for breakfast, and when we got ready to go, the grandmother of the hotel family came to me and said: "It is a very good thing that the Americans have come to Porto Rico and broken the hated Spanish yoke; and now we must learn English. I shall not learn it, nor my husband. My son and his wife may not learn it, but their children will, and we hope that a professor will be sent to every city to teach English. And I hope that the charges will not be very large, for our people are very poor." I said to her: "Madam, the United States will establish a free school system in Porto Rico, and no one will have to pay. It will be perfectly free to the children of the poor as well as to the children of the rich." The old lady raised her hands in benediction, and, while tears rolled down her cheeks, exclaimed, "May God and glory be with you."

Now that is the spirit of the people I met when I was there. It is said that they have changed, and some now say that the people hate the Americans and hate the American flag. If that is so, it is because the class of Americans who have gone there are men who

do not fairly represent the United States, and it is because we have not fulfilled our obligations to them. They are not asking for charity; they are not asking us to make large appropriations for their relief or for their benefit. They are simply asking us to give them the same relation to the Government of the United States that the people of New Mexico and other Territories have. It is true that they were impoverished, but that is not strange when we remember the circumstances which have occurred in the island during the last three or four years.

The great industry, that on which they have depended, is agriculture. Three or four years ago the price of coffee was cut almost in half, and the price of sugar was greatly reduced. That brought the agriculturists into straits. Then came the war with its devastation. Then came the home-going of the Spaniards. They had but a small circulating medium, and the Spaniards carried away a large proportion with them. The Spanish merchants began to liquidate their business to go back to Spain. Plantations came into the market, but nothing could be realized on them. The Stars and Stripes were raised, and the markets which had been free were nearly all shut off. Porto Rico had no markets into which she could take her produce and in which she could buy. Her tariff was as much against Porto Rico as against every foreign country, and there she had to continue under that state of things for more than a year. Everywhere I went people said to me: "What we need most is a market for our productions; we cannot get along without that. Agriculture is crippled." We did not give them free trade. I am sorry we did not; we ought to have done it. We owed it to them. They expected to be citizens of the United States. I saw the draft of the bill that was introduced into the Senate, and which afterwards, with many changes, became law. That bill first proposed to extend the Constitution of the United States over them. That was not done. Next, it was proposed to make them citizens of the United States. I well remember a conversation I had with the Senator who drew that bill. "I do not see how we can do anything else," he said. "They must be citizens or subjects or aliens. They are not aliens. They are no longer citizens of Spain; they are not subjects, and according to international law we must regard them as citizens." When the bill was passed, "of the United States" was taken out and the words "of Porto Rico" were substituted, making them citizens of Porto Rico.

Now, they do not ask anything more than the Spanish people of New Mexico enjoy, and they did not wish to be put in any such relation as has been given them; and if the word "America" or "American" does not mean as much now in Porto Rico as it did, it is because they have been disappointed.

We have taken one step forward. We have given them a fairly good government, and I hope the time will come when we shall give them all else that they have any right to ask for.

QUESTION.—Do they study music in the schools?

Dr. CARROLL.—They did not in the common schools. They do now. I recall hearing the little ones singing in the American school in Ponce, and I had to hold my hands over my ears, they sang so lustily.

Major BRIGHT.—Can you give us any information as to the course of justice in the island. Statements have been made that justice is denied, that the old methods prevail, and that there is a great deal of corruption in the judicial proceedings.

Dr. CARROLL.—When I was there it was the general impression that the administration of justice needed to be reorganized in the direction of simplicity and of justice. The codes are pretty good and need no radical changes, but the method of procedure needs to be thoroughly changed.

Let me add a word with regard to the legitimacy of marriage. I investigated it fully. There is great danger that people will be misunderstood when it is stated, and it is a fact that more than half of those living in that relation are living together without any ceremony civil or religious. In the great majority of cases that was not the fault of the people so living, but it was the fault of the system. According to the civil code there was but one method of marriage for a Catholic, and that was the religious ceremony. There was a civil marriage, but only for those who were not Catholics or who would abjure Catholicism. The civil marriage was almost as difficult as the other. In one place where I asked for information they brought me a document relating to a civil marriage, that consisted of twenty-four sheets and fourteen documents. There had to be the application of the man, the same of the woman, the banns, the consent of the parents, the advice of the grandparents, the statement that the banns had been published two weeks, the statement that the man after that lapse of time still desired to be married, the baptismal certificates, etc. All these required fees, and poor people could not pay these fees any easier than they could pay the fees for the religious ceremony. After I had looked into this matter General Henry requested me to revise the code, and I did so, so as to make the way easy for civil marriage. I left the island before its promulgation, but I heard afterwards that a great many couples went to the municipal judges and were married by this system.

Dr. W. H. WARD.—I went down to Porto Rico to look up the religious and educational conditions. The religious conditions it is not necessary here to discuss, and the educational condition has been fully stated. The memory of those conditions will not fade easily from my mind. Wherever I went I took pains to go into the schools. The system was lovely on paper. It was the French system. Nothing could be more complete or better, but it was not carried out. There was supposed to be a full series from the lower to the higher schools. Instead of that there was scarcely a school to be found except of the primary grades. No school buildings existed on the Island. The schools were in private buildings, hired,

where the teacher lived with his or her family, with one or two rooms given up to the schools. Go into one of those rooms and you would find a blackboard or two, one or two maps hanging on the wall, a globe above the door on a shelf, and two or three shelves devoted to geometry. I was startled by that. I had not been in the habit of seeing geometry in a primary school, but I found it was to teach the difference between a cube, a square, a sphere, an angle, etc. Nothing beyond the definition of a few forms was taught. Geography was the show recitation. There were few schoolbooks. Questions were written on the board by the teacher and the answers given, and they were copied off by the pupils. The pupils committed them to memory and made fluent recitations. But one thing was well done—the writing of the boys and girls. The embroidery and sewing were also good. In geography I asked the scholars to point out California on the map; not a scholar was able to do it. I asked where New York was. The scholar looked at the map, at the teacher, at me, and then on the floor, and finally looked up again and pointed out Alaska. There would be but one or two reading books in a school. The children are quick, apt and full of life; ready to learn, and I have no question that under proper instruction they would make excellent scholars. They are just as bright as anyone else. They are small and their parents are small. How can they be anything else when they have nothing to eat but bananas and cocoanuts? We should not be as large as the people in this company if we lived on that kind of food.

As to our treatment of those people. I lay it down as a fact, which lies at the bed rock of the true policy, that we have got to consider the principle of individuality. I don't want to talk about races. I am tired of talking about races. I do not know how to teach races. I know how to teach a man, a boy, an individual. These people are individuals. Races are not entities. You cannot corral a race, only a boy, or a child. It is perfectly impossible to undertake anything more. The characteristics are the characteristics of the individuals of the race. Here we have a story told by Mr. LaFlesche of an Indian who had been called to take his allotment. He had worked among the American people, and he influenced them in the way of establishing schools. By race he was an Indian, but in that purpose he was as white as you and I are. Mr. LaFlesche himself, what is he? An Indian? No; just as good a white man as you are. Race is not something that we are to consider. I do not like to hear people talking about the classification of races: certain are infantile, certain adolescent, certain mature. Individuals may be. The majority of the people in a crowd may belong to that particular class or division which we may characterize as one of these, but some are of one sort and some of another, and any one of them can be raised to the other series under proper conditions. Sometimes people talk about the dependent races, or inferior races. I do not like the words. I would like to know what are the dependent races in Hawaii. The Chinese? Not at all. The Japanese? Not at all. I should not want to call those

Hawaiians who are full blooded dependent or inferior. I believe that men are to be treated as individuals, not as races, and are to be developed accordingly.

Twenty-five years ago an army officer went among the Arickarees and Gros Ventres and told the people that they had got to be white men in ten years, and in about that time they were having their lands allotted. You and I have seen among the Sioux in one room, the old Indian grandmother sitting down cross-legged on the floor, while doing work in the same room was her decent but heavy-looking daughter, who had not got quite used to civilization, and her daughter, the granddaughter, cultivated under American education from childhood, just as much a white woman as you are in all instincts, and habits and character. I want to bring out this thought, that we have not to treat them as races but as individuals, and that by proper treatment we can get men like any of us.

Kipling had the right idea. He said :—

“ Oh! East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet
Till earth and sky stand presently at God's great judgment seat :
But there is neither East nor West, Border nor Breed nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, though they came from the ends of
the earth.”

That is my doctrine. I think that is the doctrine of this company and of Christianity. I tell you I like the wisdom in that chapter of the good old Bible, the eighteenth of Ezekiel, in which more than in any other passage in all literature this doctrine of individuality is put forth: “Thou shalt no more say the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge. As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel. The soul that sinneth it shall die.” It is what we do, not what the father did. It is that doctrine, so hard for us to learn, that teaches us that it is the individual that we are to consider. We are not to consider races; we are to work for individuals, one by one, and bring them out of the lower into the higher conditions.

What is the lesson in these countries? That we have got to respect them; that we treat them with real respect. We have got to trust them.

I remember once that I went into an Arab encampment and slept all night in a black tent with a camel's head swinging over me, and I asked in the morning, “Are there any robbers around here?” “Yes; I am a robber myself,” was the reply. He could be trusted because he was trusted. I have known a case where the whole company was looted because the leader would not trust the men. Trust Porto Rico.

Dr. W. N. Hailmann was asked to speak on the value of industrial and other education for different races.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

BY DR. W. N. HAILMANN.

I have paid much attention to what goes by the name of industrial education or manual training. I am in hearty accord with the last speaker upon the important point of attack in all educational work. I am thoroughly convinced that the teacher has to do primarily with the individual in his work. So far as our experience with the Indians goes we find that individual Indians who have been singled out and induced to come out of their racial environment into the Anglo-Saxon environment make very fair Anglo-Saxons. This, for a time, at least, until "flesh-pot" memories of earlier environment reassert themselves in temptations to "return to the blanket."

The question of industrial education for these so-called dependent races, or other races, for that matter, is a question of economic expediency.

The values of manual training, of which industrial education is a phase, are twofold. In the first place there are the educational values, which are the same everywhere in every place. Manual training strengthens and makes more alert, more nimble the physical apparatus of the child. It makes more keen the child's intellectual powers. It makes him intellectually quicker to see and interpret and apply what he knows. He understands more clearly the means necessary for certain ends. He gains more liberty in every direction.

It makes him ethically a better individual. He becomes more persevering, more persistent, more thoughtful. He begins to feel that there is something in him which enables him to be a factor in the life of the world. He begins to see that he is of some account. He gains self-respect, which is a valuable ethical possession. Further on he sees that the things which he has studied and observed and learned are of use to him in the achievement of certain purposes, and, what is more and better, are of use to him in his association with others in attaining to some common end. This makes him strong socially. It makes him a power in the community, and by reaction strengthens him in practical benevolence. These educational advantages or values of manual training are the same wherever this is a factor in educational work, whether among us or among the Indians, in Hawaii or Porto Rico, in the Philippines or in China.

There are, in the second place, certain economic values in manual training on its industrial side. Inasmuch as in the work with individual Indian children it is proposed to transfer the Indians gradually from Indian economic ideals and customs to Anglo-Saxon or American ideals and customs, the question becomes one of great importance in Indian education. A real change is to be effected. The economic ideas of the Indians are not like ours. Indeed, the differences between the two are almost polar.

First and foremost, the family has a different organization, a different place in the tribal life of the Indian from the family life

of the American. Consequently, it is needful primarily to teach the Indian children American home arts, and the purposes of these arts. In Indian life the home is a tribal affair, and, frequently, a much shifting incident. In American life the home is an individual sanctuary, and lies at the very root of our civilization. The first and foremost aim in the industrial training of the Indian, therefore, should be the teaching of the arts of home-making, and through these arts the establishment of American ideals of home and family. In this the Indian school will of necessity address itself chiefly to the girls, who are destined to be the real home-makers among the Indians as our girls are among us.

The industrial life of the boy has reference more to the institutional interests and concerns of the community. It has a wider range. It has reference to the State, to the institutions of the State, to commerce, to manufacture, to the school, to the church, all of which do not exist in the tribal life of the Indian. The Indian has no desire for expansion. No expansion is needed to gratify his longings. With us expansion is an absolute necessity. We wish to come in contact with all the world. Wherever there are resources for enjoyment or beneficence we wish to exploit them in greed of gain or in the fervor of benevolence.

It is an interesting fact to me that, while we are deeply concerned to give industrial training to the Indians, we are so apt to neglect it for our own children. It is a curious fact that, while we are so anxious to confer that blessing on the Indian, we are so negligent about conferring it upon our own. In our own schools manual training has to struggle against opposition, and yet its physical, intellectual and ethical advantages are as great, as far-reaching, as persistent as in the Indian schools.

In this connection I would direct your attention to an observation I made in the Indian schools. In a properly organized Indian school there is not time for schoolroom work proper more than half a day. The other half is necessarily devoted to industrial pursuits. Yet in spite of this, in spite of the fact that many of them do not speak English on entering the school, and in spite of the fact of heredity, previous home environment, mental habit and drift, they are at great disadvantage, these Indian children learn in eight years about as much of schoolroom lore as ours do in six years. Does not this indicate that in our own schools, with our own children, there would be a great gain of time and intellectual vigor and ethical stamina if we were to give them only half a day in school over books, and spent the other half day in the practical application of principles to the practical requirements of life?

Work is a noble thing. You remember how marvelously Carlyle sings the praise of work, and his bitter denunciation of the "one great monster in the world—the idle man." I was at one time in Arizona, at Yuma City. Across the river is the Indian reservation. Yuma City is connected with the opposite shore by a bridge. Across this bridge Indians are constantly passing singly

and in groups. They carry with them bundles of goods,—things which they have secured in hunting or which they have made with their hands. They bring these things into the city to sell, or, if they go empty-handed, they go about asking for chores to do. They never ask alms, never for assistance without offering something in return.

In the same place there were a number of white men along the railroad line, loitering about the station, walking along the street into the city, accosting every stranger for “something to buy a meal.” They were not Indians; they were white men. I talked with many of these men. Had they gone to school? Yes, every time. A few claimed that they were graduates of the high school. One of them claimed to be a college graduate, and yet he had sunk to this deplorable condition of the idle man, of the purposeless life, an outcast from the industrial life of our nation, a parasite, a burden upon our civilization, because in our schools, in our educational system, no attention is paid to this common need, and which we are sensible enough to give to the children of the Indian.

Thinking, speaking and doing are, as I take it, in their origin and development not separate but indissolubly connected. They bear to each other the relation of body to mind. We cannot neglect one without injury to the other. They are inseparable phases of the one conscious soul-life of man. In their interrelation, however, work is social rather than individual; whereas thought is individual rather than social, and speech mediates between the two, making individual thought into social thought, and the social work the realization of the individual aspiration. It is not possible to get the true result of education without looking upon it in this light. Work conquers the world for man. Work compels the spirit that is within man. Without work, language and thought, brotherly love and the spiritual development of man are unthinkable. War and strife, wretchedness and crime, ignorance and selfish greed have no mightier foe than work. The very Saviour of men was the carpenter’s son.

Miss Doubleday was introduced to the Conference as a lady interested in industries for Indians. Miss Doubleday exhibited some fine specimens of basket work, and made a brief address of which the following is an abstract.

MISS DOUBLEDAY.—We have heard a good deal about the antiquity of some things, land in severalty and so on. If we should go back and study the art of basket making, we should find that the Egyptians, the Assyrians and all old peoples made them, but we should not find the exact age of basketry. Probably Adam and Eve kept their apples in baskets! Indians have made baskets for a long time in this country, and certain designs have been handed down from one generation to another. But with the changes that have come, many of those baskets are now increasingly difficult to obtain. The curator of the British Museum told me that he had

sent to certain tribes for baskets that were once to be had which can no longer be found. The making of them is a lost art. One of the baskets on this table was made by an old Indian woman who said that she could not induce the young girls now to make them, and it is true that the young people on the reservations no longer make baskets. The old women and some of the men may make them, but basketry as an art has fallen into disrepute, because it is vogue to be a white man. Tourists have encouraged the manufacture of baskets in certain places and they pay well for them, but after the trader has been satisfied there is not much left to go to the Indian who made the basket. This basket (exhibiting a strong, well-made waste-paper basket) has been in constant use eight years. It was made by an Apache. Hundreds and thousands of baskets are imported annually from Germany when the same kind of baskets might be made by our American Indians, who are the most expert basket weavers in the world. It is for lack of attention to this form of industry that many Indians lack comforts that they might otherwise have. I have come to Mohonk hoping to learn how the Indians may best be encouraged to continue basket making.

Rev. A. S. Twombly, D.D., of Newton, Mass., was asked to speak upon Hawaii. He said that it was a splendid subject, but it would require three days instead of fifteen minutes. The following is the substance of his address:—

We should never have annexed Hawaii if it had not been that other nations wanted to hang this necklace of brilliants about their necks. There are several burning questions to settle there. First, the franchise. The people there know what they are about, especially the white people. The commissioners who came to Washington also knew. There are two houses in the new government of the territory. The plan was that there should be a property qualification for the voters for the upper house. Unfortunately that was struck out by Congress, and now universal suffrage, that bane of all republics, is settled on our new territory.

The second question is with reference to Asiatic labor. According to United States law it is impossible to import any more Chinese. The Japanese government has decided that no more Japanese are to emigrate for the purpose of spending their lives there. Where are the laborers to come from? That is the great problem in Hawaii. They must have cheap labor.

The third question they have to consider is the interference of the United States Congress in the local affairs of Hawaii, with regard to land tenure, homesteads and other matters.

With regard to sending out men to hold offices, offices given as a prize for the work they have done in a political way for United States politicians, it is the worst thing that could happen. The politicians seem to have the idea that Hawaii is a prize. The people of Hawaii may have all the wisdom and patience worried out of them with these problems.

Now what is the remedy? I can think of but one, and a great many of the people of Hawaii think as I do. It is to let them alone to work out their own salvation. They can work it out. Give them the liberty to make their own way in civil, educational and religious things and they can do it. The people are of all sorts,—Scotchmen, Englishmen, Irishmen, a few Negroes, etc. But there are two thousand Americans, who are full of the energy of New England people, and who are among the finest of our New England race, and, with President Dole at the head, they can accomplish far more than they have already achieved.

Now the people. Are they capable of doing the things that must be done even with the franchise? They were a very noble race. When I stepped into the carriage to ride up from the vessel, on my arrival, there sat on the front seat a splendid-looking man, and I thought he must be a prince of the blood royal, and that I ought to be driving him instead of having him drive me. They have fine physiques, but they are dreadfully lazy. There is nothing to stir them up. If they have a taro patch they are satisfied. One day I crossed a bridge from the center of the city and went back of the king's mausoleum. Down in a beautiful dell through which a brook runs I saw a grass house. I went near it and asked if I might look in. Certainly, was the reply. Calabashes hung on the wall, and three or four changes of garments, and I found that eight people inhabited that little house. I asked why they were not working. "There is no need to work," they said. "Do you see that man? That man does the work for the whole eight. He helps load the ships, and gets a dollar and a half a day, and that lasts a week. Bananas grow the whole year round. What is the use of working?"

Mr. Charles K. Ober, in charge of the Y. M. C. A. work among the Indians, was the next speaker.

Mr. OBER.—The Young Men's Christian Associations have done a great deal for the young men of the country, and this system has a large power of adaptation. In colleges and universities we find that it is adapted to the needs of students, and it is becoming a great factor in this and in other lands, even in the Orient. Upon the reservations, especially among the Sioux, and in Montana, Nebraska and other places, it has developed co-operation and leadership in Christian work. About fifteen years ago I had the pleasure of meeting Major Pratt; and I remember he said that he needed something of the Association idea to bring into the lives of the young men in his school. It lays responsibility on the young men. The work has spread among the Indians almost spontaneously. Going from the Santee training school the idea of association went out to the young men on the reservation, and almost the first thing we knew there were about twenty of these Indian Associations, and now we have thirty-seven or eight. Fifteen hundred young men for over a dozen years have been held together in this way, and devel-

oped in Bible studies and in their religious life. We have had summer schools for training for leadership in Christian work. About a hundred Indian young men were present at one conference, and very good results came from that training conference. At one place there were six reservation conferences, lasting about four days each, comprising an aggregate of nearly a thousand young men; and at one meeting every officer and committeeman of each one of the eight Indian Associations on that reservation came to the conference and stayed through the entire time, and went back with new inspiration. We have a traveling secretary, a young man, Arthur Tibbits, recommended for the work by Dr. Riggs, who took a course at Springfield. We planned to have him take a two years' course, but at the end of that time his classmates said, Tibbits is going to do a work that none of us can do, in a hard field, and he needs the best training, and we want him to stay for the third year, and we will pay \$150 toward the \$250 necessary for his expenses. So he was enabled to do that. He is doing splendidly. He is bringing things to pass, teaching athletics as well as the Bible, training leaders, and helping the young men to lead more manly, industrious and Christian lives. We are touching that secret spring of action, a sense of responsibility and a desire to be something and do something. We recognize Jesus Christ as the inspiration of our lives.

A second young man may be sent to the training school to reinforce Tibbits. We hesitated about it on account of the expense, but finally we telegraphed him that if he could go without imposing any financial obligation on us we believed there was a future for his work. The only thing necessary is to have means to support these young men at modest salaries. I thank you for your attention, and trust that some of you may like to have a share in this work.

Dr. WARNER.—Dr. Charles Eastman worked for some years in this work of establishing Y. M. C. Associations among the Indians.

Adjourned at 10 P. M.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 19, 1900.

The Conference was called to order at 10 A. M. by the President. The first address was made by Rev. H. B. Frissell, D.D., of Hampton.

THE VALUE OF CONFERENCE.

BY REV. H. B. FRISSELL, D.D.

I feel whenever I get up to speak at Mohonk that I want to give thanks first of all for the opportunity of being here. I consider this one of the greatest schools of the country, where we have a chance to learn what we could not perhaps learn anywhere else. Do you know what an influence this has been in the establishing of other conferences? We have started a Hampton Conference. There has been one at Tuskegee for some years which was suggested by this one of Mr. Smiley's. In the early summer we have a Conference at Capon Springs, and another has been established at Montgomery, Alabama. All these have resulted from the one started here, and they gather together men and women of different ideas representing different denominations from all parts of the country, to discuss great national questions. I am thankful, too, that our friends here do not weary of these problems. As a people we are wont to get tired of things. We are impatient. But I do not see that Mr. Smiley ever gets tired of us; I sometimes wonder that he does not. He lets us come and talk about the Indian and about the Negro. There is too often impatience and something bordering upon dislike of these races that live among us. People may be willing to help the Indian, but they do not like him.

I was glad of what Dr. Ward said of the need of working for the individual. We must understand that Indians are not all alike. There was a time when they resembled each other more closely than they do to-day. There are some who are just passing from barbarism to civilization; there are others who are well along on the road, and it is not wise for us to treat them all alike. Dr. Ward was right when he said we ought, so far as possible, to treat them as individuals. Further than that, we should group similar individuals together. He does not like the word race. Suppose we say then that there are different groups, some of which need one sort of training and help, and others another sort. I have just been meeting our new Indian students at Hampton, who have come from

various parts of the country. Every year I ask these boys and girls individually about the conditions at their homes, and then we try to adapt the education we offer them to their home environment. I think all education is tending toward individualism. Instead of trying to deal with great masses, it attempts to give to each person that which he especially needs, which, it seems to me, is the true idea of education.

Let me explain what we are trying to do at Hampton along this line. Mr. Merrill, of the Oneida Mission, was at our Commencement, and he told us that he was trying to establish a creamery among the Oneida Indians. They are civilized people. They have no rations and are independent of the Government. He feels, and I think he is right, that, as General Custer said, the cow is the solution for a large part of the Indian problem. By teaching these Oneidas how to take care of cows, and how to make butter and cheese, we are helping them up. Mr. Merrill offered to buy cows on half shares with the Indian boys, agreeing to care for the animals while the boys remain in school. I recommended that they invest their earnings in this way, and they at once subscribed for ten cows at twenty dollars each, which will enable Mr. Merrill to start his creamery. Five of the Oneidas have gone out to our farm in the country to fit themselves to work in the creamery when they return to their homes. And what we have done for the Oneida reservation we are trying to do for other reservations that need our help. Among those who came to me at Hampton the other day was a young boy from Indian Territory. It is sometimes said that it is of no use to send returned students there. I said to this boy, "What is your name?" He said it was Alford. His father came to Hampton twenty years ago as Thomas Wildcat, but he had added the name of Alford. I turned to the students' biography cards, and I read to that boy the story of his father's life,—the story of a man who has done remarkably good work in Indian Territory. He learned to survey, and has done a great part of the surveying that has been done for his tribe. He has a comfortable home and a good farm, and now his boy has come back to our school. We have several Indian grandchildren of Hampton, and charming young people they are. They show the important results of the work of all these years.

I went to Harvard Commencement in June, and I saw there in the senior class one of our Hampton graduates. He is the first Indian who has been graduated from Harvard in two hundred and fifty years. The last one came from Cape Cod. He studied a little while and then went back to Cape Cod, and was never heard of again. Two hundred and fifty years have passed, and this young man has gone through Harvard. He is now at Columbia University studying Indian languages, and he will be of great assistance, as Mr. Francis La Flesche has been, in helping us to understand his people.

President GATES.—For three months this summer I was at the same mountain resort with the young man of whom Dr. Frissell

speaks. There was not a more interesting young man, in general conversation, on the place, nor a more universal favorite than this perfectly quiet gentleman.

Dr. FRISSELL.—Reference has been made to another Indian, Angel De Cora, who was graduated from Hampton, and then helped by this Conference to further study because she had talent for painting. Some of you have seen her illustrated articles in *Harper's Magazine*, and her illustrations in Mr. La Flesche's book, "The Middle Five." She is a young woman who is able to portray characteristics of the Indian that will be of great interest and value. I believe she will be a tremendous help to her people.

I am in sympathy with every word that has been said in regard to the matter of getting rid of the reservations. Certainly no one can feel the need of this more than I do; and yet I feel that the reservation life cannot be broken up all at once without great danger. Reference has been made to Mr. Seger's remarkable work. He is a man who shows the right spirit in helping the people out from the old life into the new. We must all try to help in this matter; we cannot leave all the work to Commissioner Jones and the Government. The "friends of the Indian" must stand by him in this terrible crisis. The Church has been inclined to say that the Government can do it all, and so in some cases they have taken away their missionaries. We must plead again and again for these missionaries, that they be kept at their work, and that the churches be made to feel that it is at this very time, when two hundred and fifty thousand people are passing from barbarism to civilization, that the Christian Church needs to do its best work.

Reference has been made to the home life of the Indians. There is nothing more vital. Nothing can be accomplished by any people until they have good homes. Take the Negroes. What could they be expected to know about homes? Here are the Indians, accustomed to a communal system. We expect both races all of a sudden to start homes. My friends, the truth is that we expect too much of these people. We are surprised that they do not do this, that, and the other thing, and do not stop to think, How could they *know how* to do these things?

The suggestion made last night in regard to basketry was excellent. I am grateful for that; for if these people can take such work as basketry and lace making into their homes it will be most helpful. We must not be discouraged. Some one asked me if I thought the work was worth while, and I wish to say in reply that I believe there is no work in the world which has paid better than that for the so-called "inferior races" of our land.

Rev. F. W. Merrill, of the Oneida Mission House, Wisconsin, was introduced as the next speaker.

Mr. MERRILL.—When I begin to lose faith because people seem to be no longer interested in mission work, I shall remember this splendid gathering of people who are friends of the Indian,

and it will encourage me in my isolation. And if some of you when you are praying for missionary work will remember Oneida, I am sure we shall gain blessings from your prayers. I wish I could tell you what my first visit here means to me. I can only say that I shall count it one of the greatest privileges of my life.

I can give you only a skeleton of my work among the Oneidas. I could fill your eyes with tears by telling you instances of the faith of these people. It is marvelous what Jesus Christ has done for them. The pastor of the Methodist church and myself went carefully through our list of people, and we decided that there were but 100 bad Indians on the reservation, and we made the standard a good deal higher than if we had made it for our own people. I wonder how many villages with a population of 2,000 can produce as high a record.

The Oneida Indians were among the first to take advantage of the allotment act, and every Indian earns his living from his twenty-five to forty acres. They have never been pauperized by Government. They have never received rations nor annuities, except fifty cents per capita annually in accordance with a treaty signed by George Washington that they should receive one thousand dollars a year for all time.

We hear a good deal about returned students. When we came to make out our list we had to include all, and we found that the majority of them were those who had had advantages of education in non-reservation schools, but those failures are not the fault of Hampton and Carlisle and other places. Those schools have given us two splendid trained nurses, one in the Government school and one in charge of my hospital work. I visited Hartford a few days ago, and was told that Nancy Cornelius could earn her twenty dollars a week there and have her time fully occupied. But she felt the call of duty to care for the sick and aged among her own people; and for her services as nurse, housekeeper, scrub-woman she receives the meager salary of two hundred dollars a year, which I am obliged to raise for her. Our hospital is now clean, and a generous friend has kept it open for three years. Our nearest doctor is ten miles distant, and neither telephone nor telegraph. You can see what it would mean to us could we have a physician as well as a nurse.

Hampton has given a farmer and an engineer to the boarding school. Carlisle has made famous not only the leader of her band, but not less famous the greatest ball-player, one of the most modest young men that I ever saw. Carlisle gave to us two boys who last winter went to our State Agricultural College to be taught dairy work, and I hope this winter that I can doff this clerical uniform and put on a pair of white overalls and jumper and go and learn how to run a creamery with them. We have made a beginning of raising money for the creamery. We need for the full equipment the modest sum of twenty-five hundred dollars, which will give us the building and some money toward cows. The Indians have everything to learn about cows, from the simple fact that it is not

advantageous to milk a cup of milk every time they happen to need one, or that it is not the best thing for cows to let them forage for themselves in the deep snow. I do not believe therê is any way in which we can help the Oneida Indians more than by the establishment of this creamery plant.

Mrs. A. S. Quinton, President of the Women's National Indian Association, was asked to report about the work the women are doing.

Mrs. QUINTON.—It is sometimes good for us workers to stop, look over the ground, see, and give thanks for what has been accomplished. We all recognize that under all this movement for the Indian race there is a divine purpose, and we recognize that all such races can be and are to be brought up to the stature of Christian manhood. We recognize that many evils which belonged to the childhood of the Indian service have ceased to exist. The honorable Commissioner alluded to some of them. A great deal has been said of the brutality of the Spanish bull fight, but we had something very like it on our own frontier in the days when the beef supply was issued on the hoof and the wild chase and shooting followed. That is ended. And the Indian shows are gone; or, if here and there exhibited, it is without official sanction or permission. The rations, too, are to be retained only until they can be exchanged for some better and higher mode of discharging our obligations to Indians; and the great gain to industry and manhood of a final settlement of debts to Indians seems to be in sight. For all these changes thanks are due to God and to the friends of Indians in office and out of office.

It has been somewhat amusing of late to see how many ideas which are really venerable have been thought to be modern and original, by "original" workers in this Indian service. But a good many Columbuses thought themselves the original discoverers; and the explanation is simple, for there was a divine inspiration in each. Could anything better prove that inspirations which help a race or a future are divine? Such never mean failure. The land in severalty idea was one of President Madison's, we are told, and of others all along the years; but it was also from a divine inspiration that the women's association, first as a society, planned and began a popular appeal and combined movement to secure it; a movement which went on until enough joined it to secure the severalty law. Ideas have wings, and they nest in minds and hearts; and what a singing of birds follows in the fullness of time!

There is another thing for which we are all profoundly thankful, which is that all workers for Indians are in substantial agreement. All believe in work, in citizenship for the Indian, and, above all other benefits, in that of revealing to his soul his personal relations to God and his fellow-men. And we are glad to know that compulsory education, existing for us in twenty-nine States of the Union, is also applied to Indians, under humane conditions.

Another gain is that we have come to see that there are no *per se* dependent races. There cannot be when all are made "of one blood," in the "one image," and, with opportunity, witness the same results. And all our work for the red man is practical, educative, uplifting. In our own society, the Women's National Indian Association, the work among Indians has been from the first, as our records, literature and periodicals show, industrial, domestic, the work of schools and missions. To forty-seven tribes or tribal remnants we have been enabled to bring, directly or indirectly, the light of Christian truth; and what force is equal to Christianity for laying hold of all the faculties and powers of men for practical ends? As one Indian said: "You say Great Spirit love Injun all same white man? I work; I plow; make house; put children in school; I be white man." In this practical work our Association has erected forty-one buildings,—missionary cottages, chapels, schoolhouses, etc. Through its loan department it has enabled Indians to build civilized homes; has granted them agricultural implements, stock, sewing machines and many other things to help them into civilized labor; and recently it has sent a loom to the Moquis, who enthusiastically received it, and will, by our missionary, be taught to use it. Last year we builded a hospital on the northern edge of the great Navajo Reservation in New Mexico; and it is under the care of Mrs. M. L. Eldridge, to whose excellent work as a field matron reference has here several times been made. At the center of that reservation, seventy miles farther south, we have also another station for kindergarten and medical work.

PRESIDENT GATES.—Twenty thousand Navajoes need this help, and I trust all this work will be nobly supported.

MISS ANNA BEECHER SCOVILLE.—I shall not take my text from President or Pilgrim, but from one of the bugaboos of American history, old Sitting Bull. When he was first brought onto the reservation, and before we had civilized him by a course in the "Wild West Show," he appealed to a worker among his people in these words: "Take pity on my women. The young men can be like white men and work, but then the women, to whom in the past we owed everything, have nothing left; help my women."

These women once took the skins, tanned them, made the embroidered clothes for the family and the great tepee they lived in. These women dried the meat, planted and gathered corn, prepared the winter's store of wasna. Surely in them was the trust of the family, and they did not eat the bread of idleness. The resources of the family went with the buffalo; the old life fell when, worn out with war, the tribe surrendered to reservation life, and to-day in the squalor of the dirt-floored cabin, while the man awkwardly takes her place as a builder and farmer, the woman sits hopeless and helpless.

Old Sitting Bull was right. If we would save the Indian, if we would make him a self-supporting, reliable citizen, we must

restore the women to a position of respect; must help them to find in the new life a field of activities as necessary to the family as the cornfield and the tent were in the old days.

To this end the Government has established the office of field matron, and her work is to teach the Indian women how to care for their families, just as the farmer is appointed to teach the men how to till the land, raise stock and win support by labor. If these offices were intelligently filled, the aim that the Commissioner set before us yesterday—the forming the Indians into small self-supporting communities and then leaving them to support themselves—would soon be possible. But to do this our field matrons must not only be honest and earnest, but intelligent in their work. They must study the field, and see what the land will produce; they must study the village, and see what will appeal to the people. The children will be the first bond between her and her people, and often her cow will teach civilization faster than any preaching. Indians dislike milk, but when they learn that babies thrive on it the cow will be entered with the ponies as members of the family.

In the great Sioux reservations future self-support depends on cattle-raising; yet on one of those reservations I know two field matrons who keep no cow, and a school of a hundred children where only one cow was kept, because “it was no use to give Indians milk,—they didn’t like it.” A wise man coming to the head of the school put big pitchers of milk on the table three times a day, saying, “Hungry children will eat anything, and it is better for these young citizens to learn to like milk than to learn to read.” At the end of the school year he found that all of the children were drinking milk.

The appeal to the stomach is the surest plea for civilization. For that reason the field matron must have a garden and grow vegetables. If she gives a man a hoe to earn his meal instead of charity, she is teaching agriculture and self-respect at the same time. If, added to this, she has a cooking class, and teaches the women to prepare the vegetables and to eat them, she can give out seeds in the spring, and her people will plant gardens.

If once the people have a steady food supply, rations can be given up, and when the people have cows, pigs and chickens, nomadic wandering must stop, and that should be the first object of the field matron. But other industries are not only needed, but welcome. The Indians are in the artistic period of their development, and next after the appeal of the stomach is the appeal of beauty; hence their beautiful bead and basket-work, and the ease with which they learn lace-making. Patch-work, knitting, sewing, all are a delight to them, and sewing classes are one of the surest ways of getting hold of the people.

But more than that—every reservation should have an industry that not only interests the people, but pays in hard dollars and cents, and teaches them business habits. Such are the lace schools, and the flocks and blankets of the Navajoes, and for this reason we should establish a creamery at Oneida, where there is a good

market for butter. Encourage cattle raising on the great ranges of the Northwest.

These are suggestions as to what can be done; but, as it is to-day, two thirds of the Indian communities have no field matron, and of those who are in the field, many are indifferent, self-seeking, or ignorant. If we cannot afford to furnish all tribes with this help, we surely cannot afford to pay matrons who do not work. But, on the other hand, many a good worker is swamped with the conditions. I know one woman who nursed a village through an epidemic of measles this year, and walked from six to eight miles a day besides her work, because she had no horse. I know of another field matron who is paying twenty-five cents per barrel for water. Such deprivations open our eyes to the needs of the people.

Surely we can hardly expect the Indian to be cleanly or a good farmer where he draws the water three to four miles by team. Is it not time that we stopped such waste of time and money, and took steps to have water located and wells bored in all available places? Only when that is done can we settle the people permanently.

In closing, let me say that only by the patient and *intelligent* work of matrons and farmers can the love of land and the value of land be taught the Indian, and only by such love can the land in Severalty Act be a real force for good among the Indians.

If, then, the work of the field matron is so important, is it not economy to have the positions filled with women trained and fitted for their work?

PRESIDENT GATES.—When we want information in Washington about the Indian service, and want facts promptly, and marshalled with common sense and accuracy, we send for Miss Emily S. Cook. I think she knows more about Indian affairs than any one living. We are going to hear her next.

MR. SMILEY.—Twenty years ago she was the oracle of the Indian Department.

MISS EMILY S. COOK.—In view of all that has been said about home-making, and what great need there is for giving attention to it, I think I need not apologize for giving you Dr. Ward's conundrum, "What is woman's worth?" The answer is, "Double you, O man."

PRESIDENT GATES.—We are all prepared to indorse it.

MISS COOK.—The Indian Office has recognized that to a small extent, and is making domestic training and the growth and development of womanhood a part of its work. But outside the schools it does little for the Indian woman except through field matrons, and they are few in number and far apart. The appropriation for them is only \$15,000. The salaries range from five hundred to seven hundred and twenty dollars a year. We have generally about twenty matrons in the field, though the number varies somewhat during the year. I think the Indian Office realizes the importance of the qualifications of the matrons, because these are the qualifications expected: The field matron should be about forty-five

years old or upward; she should be as strong as a horse, as gentle as a dove, as wise as a Solon and as modest and loving as women are generally. The Indian Office does not always get such matrons, and so a great many people say the field matron does no good whatever. The Office is sometimes obliged to admit the fact, but when it wants to prove its position it turns at once to Mrs. Eldredge and says, "Here we have one who combines all the qualities and does all the work expected."

Mrs. Eldredge is on the San Juan River on the north of the Navajo reservation. She has helped the Indians in digging a ditch for irrigation, and has hoes and plough and shovels and pickaxes which she lends them. The women come to her in every possible circumstance when they need help, and she goes miles to visit them when they are sick. She helps to repair the ditches when they break down, teaches the men how to farm, and, in short, is farmer, teacher, mother, sister and field matron to the entire community. It is interesting to note that no small part of her success is due, incidentally, to the Mohonk Conference. At one of the meetings here Mrs. Fisk, from Boston, mentioned that she belonged to an association that would like to help, practically, in such work, and the name of Mrs. Eldredge was given to these ladies, and a correspondence began, which has resulted in the Massachusetts Association furnishing money for the ditch, tools and most of the equipment for her work, including the horses and wagon.

These field matrons are scattered from the Pimas in Arizona, where there is no water, to the Mandans in North Dakota, where there is a matron who has not got a well yet; but it is hoped that within a few weeks the Commissioner will give her that well. This matron, instead of being a widow of middle age, is a very attractive young lady, Miss Dawson, who, with her cousin, has been carrying on the work. The cousin is a trained nurse, a member of the Mandan tribe. The two have helped each other out. Miss Dawson's work among her own people has been remarkable, and every one who goes there speaks of the beautiful home which she provides as an object lesson. She has headquarters for returned students, to keep them from getting discouraged. She has Sunday school, sewing school, mothers' meetings and clubs, and, in general, exercises the religious and civilizing influences which a good woman can throw round a community.

The field matron has a great deal to do outside the specific work of helping women to care for their homes and children, to take care of their sick, to cook their food, to make their soap, etc. There are a thousand and one other things which she does.

Among the Walapai the field matron encourages basket making, and she makes sales of the baskets, so that the women may have this means of getting a little extra money for house furnishing, and of adding to their other resources. She is also helping the Indian men to get jobs of work on the railroad and among settlers.

In the State of Washington there is a matron who has done much toward putting Indian girls in white families and getting under

sheltering care those who have gone astray until they can have an opportunity to rebuild their lives. She has also found employment for boys, and is trying to establish the outing system in that neighborhood. The one who could tell you the most about field matron work is Mr. Murray. His wife is a field matron and is doing devoted work among the Pawnee.

It is absolutely impossible to give statistics about such work, as mother love and sister influence defy statistics. Its outcome and its successes time alone can develop. It is not done by machinery nor by wholesale. It is "hand-picking," and that is slow, but it gives the best and most lasting results. It is by utilizing such means as this that the Indian Office undertakes to teach the Indian woman how to shoulder the white *woman's* burden.

Mr. SMILEY.—Nothing better can be said of the Indian Service than that they have had the discretion to keep Miss Cook so long in the Indian Bureau.

The Business Committee reported the Platform, through the chairman, Dr. Lyman Abbott. After reading the Platform, which for convenience of reference is printed on page 7, Dr. Abbott spoke as follows.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES IN GOVERNMENT.

BY DR. LYMAN ABBOTT.

In moving the adoption of this report I shall not enter into a discussion of the details covered by it, for they have been sufficiently brought before you by those far more familiar with those details than I am. I shall only attempt to bring your thoughts back to certain principles which I think ought to govern a great nation like ours in dealing with peoples who have not had in the past the advantages which we have possessed.

When two civilizations meet, a higher and a lower, there are only three alternatives possible. The higher civilization may extirpate the lower, as the Hebrews extirpated the Canaanites. The higher civilization may subjugate the lower, as the Anglo-Saxons subjugated the Celts. The higher civilization may convert the lower, as the Hebrew civilization, superior in all its moral elements, converted the Roman imperialism in the first four centuries. There is no other alternative: extirpation, subjugation, conversion.

When our fathers landed on this coast they did not attempt any one of these three methods. They were too humane to extirpate, they loved liberty too much to subjugate, and they were not ready to convert. The consequence was that a policy was substituted, not intelligently planned and deliberately purposed, which allowed these two civilizations, the higher and the lower, the Anglo-Saxon and the aboriginal, to live side by side on the same continent. Here and there a statesman like William Penn attempted to enter into relations with the Indians as men. Here and there a missionary

like John Eliot endeavored to convert a few out of the many; but for the main part it was assumed that the continent was big enough for both the colonists and the Indians. The colonists took what they needed, and to the Indian was left the rest. As the population of the whites increased the Indians were pushed farther and farther west, so the Anglo-Saxons got more and more and the Indians got less and less.

Then there grew up, not by any deliberate plan or purpose, a second stage. Instead of the attempt to leave these two civilizations side by side, the Anglo-Saxon and the aboriginal, there grew up the reservation system. Large tracts of land were set apart for the Indians, in which they might continue their own civilization, and habits, and vocations, and live their life as they pleased. These reservations grew gradually less and less. More and more there was a consciousness on the part of the surrounding people that land which contained minerals never mined, and agricultural wealth never extracted, and mill streams never set to work in industries, should not be left to be mere happy hunting grounds and fishing waters.

Meanwhile the Indian lived in his reservation shut off from all the influences which make us and continue us a civilized people. The telegraph, and the post office, and the coach road, and the railroad were all stopped at the border, and the Indian was left a barbarian. We could not quite endure to see him starve, as the waters grew less populous with fish and the woods less populous with birds and deer, so we began to feed him and give him rations; but we left him a barbarian, and it is a fair question whether our philanthropy and our thoughtlessness have not done him in that respect the greater harm. For a long time we thought we could not afford to educate him. He was regarded as a heathen, a pagan,—a pagan close to our own doors. This is illustrated by the fact that in my own denomination, the Congregationalist, he was passed over to the *foreign* mission board for all missionary operations. We put him under the control of agents. He had no law, no courts. Was a wrong done to him, he could appeal to no one for justice; did he do a wrong, no one could appeal to the court to bring him to penalty. He was outside civilization, outside the domain of the court, under the flag of the Nation, and yet without the protection of the Nation, and the agent became his little despot. Sometimes the agent was a good despot, sometimes a bad despot, but always a changing despot, generally without experience and without understanding of the problems with which he had to deal.

At last we have come to the conclusion that this has been a fundamental error. I repeat the statement that I made on this floor some years ago and for which I was sharply criticized then, but for which I still stand: barbarism has no rights which civilization is bound to respect. Barbarians have rights, but barbarism has no rights. The function of the higher civilization is not to extirpate the old, not to subjugate the old, and it certainly is not to leave the old to take care of itself. The higher civilization is to

convert the old; and I do not mean by that that it is to impose its own habits and its own methods. I do not mean that it is to require the Indian to put on shoes instead of moccasins, to take off his picturesque headgear and wear our unpicturesque stove-pipe hats, or even to abandon his tent and live in a house. I mean this: that where there has been idleness there is to be industry; where there has been the servility of womanhood there is to be equality of the sexes; where there has been lawlessness there is to be justice and obedience to law; where there have been children in ignorance there are to be schools and children learning something. There is to be intellectual and moral civilization, whether men like it or whether they do not.

The mistake which we have made in our Indian administration, we ought to protect ourselves from making in our new relations with new peoples. We shall make mistakes, there is no doubt about that. We are all the time making mistakes; but a wise nation, like a wise man, learns from mistakes. A blunder is a mistake twice repeated, and we must not make blunders.

What I wish this morning is to try to put before you the fundamental principles which ought to apply to this nation in all its dealings with peoples whose advantages have been less than our own. I will not call them inferior races; I will only say that they are races with inferior advantages.

In the first place, then, at the risk of trenching a little on what may be called politics, it is the duty of the Government of the United States to assume all the responsibilities which its authority imposes upon it. There are inalienable duties as there are inalienable rights. How far and over what territory this Government properly has responsibilities is not to be debated here by me this morning, but wherever the responsibility exists, there the duty exists. For my part, therefore, I agree heartily with what I understood the honorable the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to say that it is the duty of this Government to go into the Indian Territory, treaties to the contrary notwithstanding, and see that in that Indian Territory under its law and authority justice is maintained, persons and property are protected, corruption is expelled, and civilized life made possible. If we have made a treaty which we must break in order to fulfill that fundamental function of the Government, we must, with the consent of the tribe if possible, without it if necessary, set that treaty aside. What is true of the Indian is true wherever this nation has taken upon itself the responsibility of government.

I shall not argue the question so gracefully put before us by Colonel Higginson the other night; but I think I may be permitted to say this, that I believe there would not be voters enough in this country to carry a single State in the Union, nor a single county in a State, nor a township in any county, in favor of a war of subjugation; that I believe that in Cuba, in Porto Rico and in the Philippines we are fighting for the liberty of the people protected by justice and defined by law.

In the second place, wherever Government has this responsibility it has a second duty laid upon it; it must secure to all the people who are under that Government those rights which belong essentially to manhood,—the rights to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness. Every man whether he be foreign or native, black or white, in colony or territory, is entitled to the right to go where he pleases if he does no wrong to his neighbor. He has a right to buy in the open market and to sell in the open market. He has a right to have his marriage relation recognized and protected. He has a right, if he be accused, to be brought before a court of justice and to confront his accuser, to hear the witnesses against him, to have a speedy trial, and to have it before a jury of his peers. He has a right to own personal property, to have his land and to have a title to that land, and to have that an inalienable title, and to hold it in such fashion that no act of Congress ratified and confirmed by a President can take it away from him except by making compensation for so doing. These are among the essential and vital rights that belong to all humanity. We have denied them to the Indians by our reservation system. We are now going into lands where for other reasons they have been denied by Spanish law. When our troops landed at Havana they found men who had been in prison for years who did not even know why they had been put in prison; there was no man living who knew why, and there was no record to show why; and that they called “law.” Now, wherever we are to go we are to substitute, I do not say Anglo-Saxon for Roman law, but the fundamental principles of justice which give the man to himself, and make him the protector of his wife and children. And the better to secure this we are to provide. But there is no better way to say what we are to provide than by reading the recommendation in a very old Book. “Thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties and rulers of tens” (Exodus xviii. 21). Able men—competent; such as fear God—having conscience; men of truth, and men not covetous? More than that; men that know how to hate and what to hate,—men that hate covetousness.

I cannot sympathize with those who cast scorn on politicians. There are quacks and practitioners among doctors; there are peddlers and merchants among tradesmen; there are pettifoggers and advocates among lawyers; there are pedants and scholars among teachers; there are saints and sinners among preachers; and there are self-seekers and patriotic servants among politicians. We have found General Wood for Cuba, and Governor Allen for Porto Rico, and President Dole for Hawaii, and Judge Taft for the Philippines, and Commissioner Jones—who is no longer present to hear me—for the Indians. We shall not get such men as Jethro recommended to Moses by sitting afar off in an attitude of, I am holier than thou, casting scorn on men who take public office. Our host is no less a Christian gentleman because he has long held

a public office. Our President is no less a valued defender of the Indian because he now holds public office. You remember, perhaps, the story of Davie and the Goblin. The butterscotch men were chasing them, and Davie was much afraid, and the goblin said: "You needn't be frightened, for the butterscotch men cannot run unless they are warm, and they cannot be warm unless they run."

There are gentlemen who sit quietly in their sanctuary and tell us with a supercilious air that the Government will never be purified until it is administered by honest men, and that honest men will never go into service till the Government is purified. Phariseism will not make the nation better; it never has and it never will. We can find good men and we do find good men, and when we find them we ought to applaud the good men and stand by them. Dr. Carroll told us last night how Spain administered her civil service in Porto Rico, changing the governor every two or three years to give another man a chance for the spoils of office. That, ladies and gentlemen, is a good way for us not to do.

The fourth principle that should guide us is this: It is our business to see that public systems of education are carried on in all territory belonging to the United States, under federal supervision and under federal control. That control ought to be exercised with great regard for the prejudices of the people, but it ought to be exercised. We should have had practically no Mormon problem to-day if the United States Government had maintained from the outset a public school system in Utah free from all ecclesiastical control. The remedy for hierarchical control is public education, and the public education in an inchoate community not yet organized, and which has not yet acquired the means and the skill for administration, should be exercised by the central authority.

Lastly, in all this policy, in the formation of a Government, in the administration of the Government, in the selection of the officials to carry on that administration, and in the methods of education, let it be insisted on that the only object which should be kept constantly in view is to make men and to make women; and by making men and women who individually are able to govern themselves, we shall lay the foundation for a community that will be self-governing.

These are simple, almost alphabetic principles, but it is sometimes good to come back from details to simple, alphabetical principles. I think the world has never seen a more splendid illustration of one community reaching out a helping hand to aid another community than we saw last summer in Harvard University, when she opened her arms to invite thirteen hundred teachers from Cuba, and sent them back with new strength and new life. Other nations have undertaken to exercise a government over inferior nations. If America, in the new path on which she is entering, undertakes to make self-governing communities of the nations that come under her authority, and if she uses that authority, that administration, her appointments, her educational systems always, constantly and

continuously for this one purpose, she will show herself the supreme nation among the nations of the earth.

Dr. LUCIEN C. WARNER, of New York, in seconding Dr. Abbott's motion to adopt the Platform, said: I do not need to make any argument, for it has been our purpose to express in the Platform the general feeling of the Conference. But I should like to speak of two or three underlying principles which have influenced us in shaping the Platform.

Our host recognized in the call for this Conference that new duties were laid upon us, and that the people of our new provinces should be considered in connection with our treatment of the Indian question. While these people are by no means identical with each other or with the Indians, there are still some general principles which apply to both.

In the first place they are all strangers to our language, our laws and our civilization. Our civilization is the Anglo-Saxon civilization, and our laws are the laws that have been developed under this civilization. If we are to live in harmony with the people of our new territory, and if they are to become either a constituent part or even a subordinate part of our nation, then it is essential that they shall be trained in our language, our laws, and our civilization.

Another characteristic that is common to the Indian and to most of our new population is the lack of thrift, of industry, of foresight, of the habit of saving. This does not apply to the people of Porto Rico, nor to the Chinese and Japanese of Hawaii and the Philippines, but it is one of the conspicuous deficiencies of uncivilized nations. If we want to give a reason why China and Japan are civilized countries, we could almost find it in the fact that the people are thrifty, that they have learned to save, and that this lack of thrift which so affects our Indian tribes, and which to a considerable extent affects the Negro population, is practically unknown in China and Japan.

In order that the Indians should reach self-support it is absolutely necessary that they learn to be thrifty. But instead of teaching the Indian to be industrious and to save, we have taught him the opposite by giving him rations which make it unnecessary for him to work. The first stimulus to work must be necessity. We do well in the case of the Indians to hasten as much as possible the discontinuance of individual support, so that each Indian shall find that upon his own labor must depend the food that he eats. In this way he will the sooner come into a larger civilization and independence.

But there is still another trait of half-civilized people that stands even more in the way of their civilization, and one that is of great consequence to recognize in dealing with them, and that is the lack of self-restraint, the lack of ability to withstand temptation. I sometimes think that the highest product of civilization is self-restraint. It is no particular merit, no particular virtue in you or

in me to pass a saloon and not go into it. In our leading cities we find an open saloon on almost every corner, and yet in spite of these temptations to drink the great majority of our people are temperate. This is because we have learned as a Christian and civilized people to control our appetites, and to deny ourselves the things not good for us. This is a lesson yet to be learned by the Indian tribes and by most of the half-civilized tribes of the earth. Put these saloons on any Indian reservation, and instead of a majority withstanding the temptation to drink it would be an exceedingly small minority. We must recognize these principles in dealing with all undeveloped races.

It is a duty that we owe to the Indian, to the people of Porto Rico, and the Philippines to keep intoxicating drinks from them. I am not a radical temperance man or a member of any temperance society, but I do feel that it is a disgrace to our civilization that it should be said in Manila that there never was the amount of drinking under Spanish rule that there is under the American flag.

We must recognize in our treatment of the Indian, and of all undeveloped races, that they have not reached moral manhood, and we must keep away from them, as far as possible, temptations which will lead to their ruin. This is not a new principle, but one already recognized in our legislation. There is scarcely a State but has a law against the sale of liquor to minors. Many, also, have laws against the selling of cigarettes and cigars to boys under sixteen, because of their immaturity. Habits are not formed at this age, and they have not learned to deny themselves, and so they must not be allowed to meet too great temptation. Many people do not reach majority at twenty-one; and with some the majority is never reached, if by this we mean a self-reliance that can withstand temptation. In Alaska so strong is the desire for liquor among the natives that if they cannot get it they will buy cologne or Jamaica ginger and get drunk on these. It will be a work of generations to cultivate such a degree of self-reliance as shall enable these undeveloped races to withstand the temptations which accompany our civilization.

In treating of the means for the development of character, the first and most prominent place must be given to Christianity. We shall not see any people raised to civilization and acquiring the ability to withstand temptation except as they are developed under the religion of Jesus Christ. This subject has not had a large place in our discussions, but its fundamental importance has been assumed as the basis of all our work. When we are called upon to cultivate character in these people, to bring them up to where they can meet temptation and overcome it, and take their places with us as members of a civilized nation, we must see to it that Christianity goes hand in hand with education and with the cultivation of thrift and industry.

Mr. SMILEY expressed his approval of the Platform, and felt that it covered the general ground in a clear and condensed way.

Rev. LEMUEL MOSS.—The spirit of hope and aspiration with reference to the whole work makes this a remarkable Conference. The Mohonk Indian Conference will not meet again in this century, and it may be well at the close of the century to look at what has been brought to pass within a hundred years.

At the close of the last century Napoleon Bonaparte dominated the world, and the spirit of militarism was the spirit of Christendom. At the close of the last century there sailed out of Europe a man who made his way to India. We regard him as the first of those great missionaries in this missionary century. He had to endure a flood of ridicule, especially from Sidney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review*. He was not permitted to set his foot in territory under British control. The great East India Company would not tolerate him. But William Carey found a place to work. The early missionaries sent out by the American Board were treated in the same way, and denied access to territory under British control. They found their places as best they could, and they too did their work.

I ask you to look at the condition to-day. It is not Bonaparte that rules the world. England not only welcomes missionaries to England, but to all her colonies, and there is no English journal of prominence that would dare to say that the colonies of that great empire are not administered with a view to the good of the colonies rather than to the benefit of the home government, and that is the spirit that has been with our Government through all these troublous times. It is the spirit that has always animated this Conference, and through this spirit have grown up the activities of the missionary work at home and abroad. We do well, then, to hope, to aspire, to expect and to labor. The mountains and the valleys are filled with angel presences. We hear the rustling of their wings as they fly upon their errands carrying the gospel of Jesus Christ to all lands, and it comforts and strengthens my heart to know that this Conference has done its part in that blessed work, and that its members will have their part in the joy of the reward.

Adjourned at 12.15.

Sixth Session.

Friday Night, October 19, 1900.

The Conference was called to order at eight o'clock, after singing by Mrs. Hector Hall. The President asked Mr. Darwin R. James to read a letter which had been received from Oklahoma, and make comments upon it.

Mr. James read as follows:—

BRIDGEPORT, OKLA., Oct. 9, 1900.

To Gen. E. Whittlesey:—

MY DEAR SIR: I see by Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (p. 83) that you saw fit to read at the Mohonk Conference the "report of a Committee of Missionaries" and others at work among Cheyennes and Arapahoes. That report, with slight alteration, was adopted by a convention of missionaries and others, who met shortly afterwards. The recommendations of that convention, however, seem no nearer realization than before.

The harmfulness of the present ration system has greatly increased, because many of them (the Indians) are now able to lease their land for a money consideration. This money, together with rations, helps him (the Indian) to *live in idleness*. The pernicious effects are most disastrous among the educated young men. Under one plea or another their lands in many cases have been leased. They become spendthrifts, idlers, gamblers, drunkards. Rations, interest money and lease money all make for idleness. As a rule, what farm work is done, it is by the uneducated Indians,—those who have never been in school. Large numbers of educated young men are doing absolutely no work at all on their allotments. They have no house in many cases. Often the land, and house, too, if any, are leased to white men. A few Indians—about a dozen—have cattle, but they are nearly all men who have never been in school.

The young man who has been away at school,—say for five years,—upon whom the Government has expended not less than one thousand dollars for his education; who has one hundred and sixty acres of land allotted to him; who draws about \$15 per year as interest money; who draws \$30 to \$100 as lease money for the use of his land; whose arm is strong and health vigorous,—such a young Indian here has a *ration ticket*, and his mother, perhaps, or young wife, if he has one, goes after the rations and beef, carrying them on her back.

The present ration system is, in my opinion, a terrible curse to these Indians. Crops in Oklahoma this year are excellent. Yet, in the midst of abundant opportunities, these young men are *fed as paupers*. For these Cheyennes and Arapahoes no longer can the plea be made of a past treaty, for the treaty has expired. Why then is this terrible curse continued? For the old and infirm some provision should of course be made. They have interest money; they are justly entitled (and they alone in my opinion) to lease-money from their land. Relatives in many cases can provide for an aged father or mother. They ought to do so, and will in many cases if it is laid upon them. Those whom the government might justly feed would be comparatively few if it were rightly managed. For such a home should be provided,—or some other means,—in which they should be carefully guarded from imposition by the idle and thriftless.

I have been six years at work as missionary among these Cheyennes and Arapahoes. I have visited many other Indians, and have had a wide experience. I have written in the hope that you and others interested may more thoroughly see the situation *as it really exists*. In my opinion a *home for the Indian* should be the pivot around which central idea all measures should turn. The object of allotment should be to lead the Indians to self-supporting industry in their own homes.

In my experience the present system has been, not to strengthen, but to *weaken* and destroy family life; to *keep the Indian dependent*. The methods and measures in practice have not been to dignify the idea of the home, but the very reverse. The present ration system is the greatest curse; but along with it are other evils to be reformed.

Is it possible to put in practice here on these allotments measures and methods that will dignify the idea of a home, and make it possible for these Indians to have *real homes* on their allotments? The Indians are not altogether to blame that they do not have such homes here now.

Knowing that you are interested in the welfare of the Indian, I have written you thus freely.

Yours faithfully,

D. A. SANFORD,

Missionary to Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians.

Mr. JAMES.—This letter, as you have heard, bears upon the iniquitous ration system, and it tells its own story. My own observations are very much in the same line.

I was upon the Crow reservation last year. The Crows are very wealthy. They are spending of their own money \$800,000 in developing the irrigation system, and very much of their land is irrigated. They are what you may call reasonably thrifty. Many of them work farms, and are really interested in what they are doing. The amount of rations they receive is comparatively small; nevertheless those men and women come up every week with their

two-horse wagons, and sometimes spring wagons, for their little allowances of flour and beef and such other things as the Government gives them. They were at that time negotiating for the sale to the Government of a portion of their reservation, a million acres at a dollar an acre. They had already received a large sum, yet there they were, coming up in their spring wagons to get these rations. It is shameful, absolutely shameful. I do not know that anything has been done about it. I think it is wise to have this letter printed.

President GATES.—The appendix to our report of the Board of Indian Commissioners contains the report Mr. James made with reference to breaking up tribal funds. I do not often risk prophecy, but I am confident that the next step forward lies in breaking up these tribal funds into individual holdings, and paying them to individual Indians in some proper way. As to rations, Mr. Davis has a word to say.

Mr. JOSHUA W. DAVIS.—I cannot remain silent after the reiterations of an advocacy of the speedy reductions of rations, with which, in the main, we agree, but which does not set forth in proper strength the qualifications of that policy which are presented in the address of Commissioner Jones.

Instances have been cited here of Indians who of their own accord have renounced their rations; and we wisely wish that all shall be brought up to that standard of manliness, and under an inexorable condition that all shall work, and if any will not work, neither let them eat.

For all is true that has been said of the generally demoralizing effect of the ration system; but we are bound to recognize the fact that there are some Indians who are as manly as those who have renounced their share, who are willing to work and do work on their land, but who by no mortal possibility can support themselves on that land to which they have been forced until some redemption from its barrenness by means of irrigation is provided for their relief. And this condition of things is distinctly recognized in Commissioner Jones's paper as true of many of the Indians. For instance, a year after the Crow Creek reservation was opened to white settlement, hundreds of the whites who had rushed in were driven out by being brought to the verge of starvation on the miserable land, and many piteously begged Government to help them to get back to their old homes in the settled States.

And the Indians of Dakota, who constitute a large body of those dependent upon rations (because of the exceptionally bad character of their lands) are not only suffering the usual meagerness of crops at the best, but are sharing this year with the whole white population of Dakota the blight from insufficient rains over a large part of the State.

This raises the special question for this season, whether a new reduction of rations should be enforced just at the time of this dis-

aster, when even physically sound men, as well as the less vigorous and able, are this season slowly losing their vitality through insufficient food; but beyond this, as a general truth, and without fear of reasonable contradiction, it is claimed that while aiming at the abolishment of rations, the bounden duty of the Government is to make good to the industrious Indian the possibility of self-support in proportion to the cutting down of Government issues of food,—through promotion of water supply, through the improvement of their crude attempts at farming by really efficient training by truly competent and energetic farmers, and through the fostering of cattle raising. And the effectual pressing of these measures should, of course, be not only in proportion to the reduction of rations, but should precede it.

One other subject is being renewedly pressed upon my attention by correspondence,—that the Indians may be relieved from their confinement in trading to the licensed trader's store, *where this now continues* to their injury; for this subject has received the attention of the Department, and some relief has already been secured.

I wish to yield the most of my time to Mr. Brosius, who has been studying this subject in his journeys among the reservations, but would call your attention to the illustration of it in the present great mining strike that engages the attention of the nation. In addition to the central question of advance in wages, the miners are claiming deliverance from bondage to the corporation stores, where their hard-earned wages are consumed by excessive charges for the necessities of life. And Indians may as justly appeal for deliverance from the system of licensed tradeships, that subjects them to extortionate prices for oftentimes very inferior goods.

Mr. SMILEY.—I think we ought to stop giving anything to Indians—flour, ploughs, hoes, every sort of thing. Any one who visits reservations sees wagons lying uncared for, tools of all kinds unused. No one values a thing unless he earns it. A man who is capable of earning a dollar and a quarter a day should not have these things given to him. You make a pauper of him when you do it.

It is important that some one should see the President and the Indian committees of Congress with reference to all the matters that we have discussed here. I move, therefore, that the President of this Conference name a committee of five to visit Washington to confer with the President, the Secretary of the Interior and members of Congress on Indian affairs.

Voted.

The first paper of the evening was read by Mr. Brosius.

IMPRESSIONS FROM A SUMMER'S TOUR AMONG THE INDIANS.

BY S. M. BROSIUS, AGENT INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

One of the objective points of my summer's visit was the Osage Reservation, Oklahoma; the unsettled condition of the affairs of the Osage tribe having received more than the usual attention in the recent past, not only on the part of Congress and the executive branch of the Government, but from persons in civil life who desire the best for the Indian.

It is almost a year since I previously traveled by wagon through the Osage country, being then impressed with the need of reform in the management of this tribe. I found a very large area, comprising nearly all the valuable farming lands, fenced and controlled by a very few persons, some of whom are alleged to have no interest in tribal rights, while many others have but a slender thread upon which to base an interest therein. Thousands of acres of the best lands are controlled in several instances by a single individual, with but little or no profit to the tribe. A clearer idea of the extent to which this monopoly has been carried may be had when I state that, through a drive of sixty or more miles through the reservation lands, we were either inside a pasture of some claimant, or were surrounded on either side by fences of the large enclosures. The then Indian Agent, William J. Pollock, upheld these usurpers in the possession of their fields or pastures, and refused to allow members of the tribe the privilege of entering a pasture and selecting an allotment for a home, notwithstanding the fact that all the desirable farming lands were within these fenced enclosures, and contrary to the avowed object of the Government for the past half century to encourage the disintegration of Indian tribes and tribal lands by allotment and otherwise.

Happily, the conditions have been changed with a change of agents; the present incumbent, Mr. Oscar A. Mitscher, favoring aspiring young members by encouraging them to select allotments when in good faith, whether within or without fenced enclosures.

I believe that communal or tribal interest in the large trust funds and the lands of the Osage tribe should cease, and a *pro-rata* division of the same be made without delay. The far-reaching effect of the tribal relation may not be generally understood: A child is born, its name added immediately to the roll of membership, and, until death, it shares in the beneficial provisions of the tribe, to the full extent of any other member, and, dying, leaves the undivided interest intact in the tribal estate; if an attractive young woman, then she may very likely be beguiled by some artful white man, far her inferior, who covets the tribal patrimony. No opportunity to secure an allotment to any member, that may be guaranteed under the law, shall finally be patented to him in fee; no law under which a will can be legally executed. The result of such a

condition is to destroy any incentive to individual aspiration or the sacredness of family ties, the fostering of feeling of kinship and love of home.

A *pro-rata* share of five thousand dollars, that will be due the Osages, is too large a sum to be carelessly turned over to the average guardian for the benefit of the ward; the shares due minors and incompetents should be held by the Government until minors reach maturity, and proper provision made for incompetent persons. Such a division of the funds and lands would carry with it the further decree,—that children born after the register of membership was completed should not be enrolled, so that there would be no further entailment of tribal estates.

Another grievous wrong that reached its climax under the former agent was the illegal pasturing of cattle upon tribal lands without profit to the tribe; an evil that has been remedied to some extent by proper survey and leasing of the same. That such a condition was allowed to exist under any agent is ample proof, from a business standpoint, of his unfitness, besides savoring strongly of dishonesty and fraud.

There is now pending in Congress a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to audit, and pay the Osage licensed traders without the consent of the Indians, the accumulated indebtedness upon the books of such traders, amounting to possibly five hundred thousand dollars. It is an attempt to secure purely partisan or class legislation, backed by a powerful and, as has been officially shown, an utterly unscrupulous lobby, and if successful, will overturn the well-established policy of the Government that the Federal authority should not become a collecting agency for licensed traders. It will be a dangerous precedent to establish, especially at so critical a period as the present, when the Indian wards are entering upon the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

With careful legislation affecting Osage interests we believe there is a brighter future in store for them; upon my recent visit there, a hopeful feeling was apparent with many that their conditions would improve under the better management.

THE PUEBLOS.

From the fertile upland and valley of Oklahoma it is but a day's ride to the desert lands of New Mexico, the home of the Pueblos. Prior to the year 1848, under the Mexican allegiance, the Pueblos seem to have enjoyed immunity from the encroachments upon their water supply for irrigating purposes, which is the essence of value in farming operations in the Southwest.

A lack of such protection by our Government, guaranteed under the terms of the treaty of Gaudaloupe Hidalgo, has caused foreboding of distress for the future. In a decision rendered some months since in the case of the Albuquerque Land and Irrigation Company *vs.* Pueblo of Sandia, *et al*, by Judge John R. McFie, Associate Justice of the Territory of New Mexico, in which the

rights of the Pueblos were considered, he finds, with other conclusions “. . . that the rights of said cross-complainants (the Pueblos) as such prior appropriators are not and cannot be affected in any way by the construction of said ditch, and that the decree rendered in this cause is subject to such rights as the said cross-complainants have to the use of the water in said stream as such prior appropriators, and for the purpose of protecting said rights said cross-complainants are not now entitled to an injunction.”

This decision is in line with the general law and favorable to the Indians' interests. The Pueblos are not aggressive, however; they have for generations cultivated their small fields, using the ample water supply for irrigation without stint, and under the Mexican sovereigns were not molested; but, surrounded by the enterprising Yankee, conditions have changed, and even under the favorable decrees of the courts their rights will most likely be encroached upon continually, requiring assistance from their friends for many years to come.

The altogether simple and harmless side of the Pueblo character is illustrated in an incident which occurred in the Capital City during the past winter. A delegation of the Indians had come all the way from New Mexico, at their own expense, to personally plead with the President for the protection of their water rights. Immediately after their arrival at the railroad station they proceeded to the White House to visit the Great Father, who was so engrossed with important matters of State that he could give them but little attention, and advised the delegation to call at the Indian Office. This they did, and related in a simple manner how they had paid their respects to William, and that he did not ask them to stop with him, but that if he had called to see them in their Western home, they would have asked him to remain with them during the time of his sojourn there; and now, feeling they could ask no one to entertain them, they desired work, so that they might earn sufficient to meet their expenses while in the city. It is needless to state that the rule of the Indian Office was violated in this instance, and provision made for the comfort of the delegation while in the city. The incident shows quite clearly the need for guardianship of their interests.

Many of the Pueblos have located upon what are now the public lands, tracts that were not included within the “Pueblo grants” as designated by the treaty of 1848, and have paid no attention to the statutes governing the settlement of the same; registers and receivers are not recognized, rightful possession being with them “nine points of the law.”

Near Laguna there are probably three hundred Pueblos settled upon the unsurveyed lands of the United States, having good water-rights, well improved farms, fine orchards, etc. The Rev. C. E. Lukens is doing a good work among this people. Being a graduate of a school of medicine, he is enabled to meet a need often felt among the Christian workers. Rev. Lukens reports that after a residence of something over two years among them he has a church

with eighty communicants, and points with just pride to the fact that he can depend upon twenty men out of the number to take up independent Christian work at any time.

The twenty day schools established by the Government among the Pueblos are doing a much-needed work; the position of teacher in most of these schools surely requires a "forgetting of one's self." Oftentimes the teacher is the only white person within a distance of fifteen or twenty miles, the schoolroom with only a dirt floor, with little better conditions for the living quarters. So we are not surprised to find in some of these far-away places teachers who seem consecrated to the task of elevating those about them.

The need of a refuge where promising young schoolgirls may come in close touch with home life and Christian living, while being taught some of the simple industries, has long been felt. Such a plan has been cherished by Miss M. E. Dissette, of Santa Fe, New Mexico, a former missionary among the Zunis, at present the Supervising Teacher of the Pueblo Schools. Through Miss Dissette's efforts a commodious house, surrounded with garden and orchard has been purchased, to which it is hoped in the near future to add adjoining property.

It is designed that here will be taught cleanliness; the art of plain cooking and housekeeping; simple hand spinning wheels and looms will be introduced, and the making of blankets, rugs and carpets taught by a person competent in the work; the inmates all combining in one large family a Christian home, thus providing the urgent need of the hour upon all reservations,—support to the returned students from the Government schools and strength to resist the evil influences of reservation life, and the better equipping them for all life's duties.

Aid has been tendered in support of this effort to a limited extent, and we feel confident the enterprise is deserving the fullest sympathy.

THE NAVAJOES.

Leaving the Santa Fe Pacific Railroad at Cañon Diablo, a ride of twenty-two miles brings us to the home of W. R. Johnston, missionary, on the banks of the Little Colorado River. Mr. Johnston, since his settlement among the Navajoes near Tuba City about three years since, has mastered the Indian language, and leaving other workers in that field, cast his lot with about fifty families of Navajoes located near the Little Colorado, the location giving promise of a better water supply than others in that section. The river is now dry for the most part, occasional pools appearing along the bed of the stream. For two years or more the rainfall in Arizona has been deficient, and this condition has rendered it imperative for the Navajoes to seek whatever section gave promise of sufficient moisture to mature their native corn and other crops.

Missionary Johnston is thoroughly practical and has the confidence of the Indians, and is in a position to be a great power for good among this people. Just now experiments are being made

by him to determine the most feasible plan to raise the water, which underlies the river bed, to the surface, so as to be available for irrigation. If this can be accomplished with slight expense, it will be practicable to support hundreds of persons by irrigation along the river. A windmill that can be constructed for about twenty-five dollars has been tried, but so far is not an assured success. The water is from four to six feet below the bed of the river, thus requiring slight power to raise the necessary height.

Missionary Johnston must be credited with arousing interest in the case of the Navajoes who were recently tried on the charge of murder, at Flagstaff, Arizona, the case being carefully watched at every stage by him, attending to the employment of special counsel to assist the U. S. District Attorney in the trial, and after fully guarding their interests advising the Navajoes to surrender, assuring the accused they would have a fair trial. It was during this trial that the brave Be-gwo-etten, seventy years of age, suffering from the wound of a bullet that passed through his body, rode one hundred and eighty miles on horseback to redeem a promise made to the officers that he would be at the trial when his case was called, presented himself on the appointed day to the court.

When we consider that Be-gwo-etten was indicted for murder, and had good reason to believe through experience that he would not be accorded a fair trial by a prejudiced jury, and if to be good is to be honest, we must conclude "that all good Indians are (not) dead Indians."

The encroachments of the whites upon Navajo interests, if not checked, will reduce the tribe to want in a very few years. The injustice attending the loss of sheep by being driven across the Little Colorado River by the officers of Coconino County, Arizona, three years since, has not been adjusted by the Government, and since that time the tribe has been deprived of this valuable winter grazing ground. The Mormons have settled upon their lands in Moencopi, and seem to have succeeded in securing for themselves the cream of the valley under irrigation. During the past winter an attempt was made to open the northwest portion of the reservation to mineral entry, a section that is prized by the Navajoes for winter pasture, they driving their flocks and herds from Tuba City, Togi Jay, and Pa-cush-i-bi-to, to secure this advantage. The politicians of Arizona are doing what they can to commit the Administration to the policy of restricting all the Navajoes within the limits of the reservation, thus increasing largely the population to be supported upon arid lands already found to be inadequate.

THE PIMAS.

Journeying to the Southwest I visited the Pimas, who, like the Navajoes, are industrious and self-supporting, but are now fast being reduced to pauperism through the avarice of the white settlers. It is said of the Pimas that they are not beggars, often going without food until pinched by hunger rather than ask alms.

The waters of the Gila have been diverted for the benefit of others, so that the Pimas have been unable to secure any for irrigating purposes during the present year, and but little during the year previous; their fields are dry, and devoid of vegetation. As the prior appropriators of the waters of the river they are entitled, under the law, to the quantity they have heretofore applied to beneficial use. Here we have a typical instance of the need of citizenship for the Indian. The Government, as guardian, has failed to enforce the rights of the Indians by enjoining subsequent appropriators of the waters of the Gila; a proceeding that would have been available to any individual as a citizen, but being in a state of tutelage the Pimas have no status in court to enforce their rights. Mr. Elwood Hadley, the present agent over the Pimas, owns land and water rights under the Florence Canal, and this canal has absorbed most, if not all, the water heretofore available for the Pimas; so we here find the anomalous condition of an Indian agent in control of wards whose interests are antagonistic to his own, with no immediate probability of recommendation from that source to secure *water by injunction*.

The school plant at the agency has been enlarged and improved, and it is claimed that under usual conditions these Indians are anxious to avail themselves of educational privileges. I was impressed with the appearance of gentleness that is characteristic of the tribe, who have an untarnished record of loyalty to the parent Government.

To the west of the Salt River Reservation are located about one hundred Pimas, on the Public Lands of the United States, who have been protected in their holdings for twenty-eight years, until the past summer, the officers of the Phoenix Land Office refusing to accept filings from any one upon their lands. These families of Pimas have the best water right in the Territory, and were prosperous and happy; but the scene is changed. Having made filings upon their lands the white man entered upon the Pima homes, and by threats and coercion succeeded in driving many of the families off their land, while others appealed to the Indian agent for protection. The agent has not espoused their cause; on the contrary, has advised them to give up their homes and remove to the reservation. The trespassing white men have torn down the Indian fences, cut domestic timber husbanded by them for years, and in many ways caused loss to the rightful owners, the Pimas.

I have appealed to the General Land Office in their behalf, and an officer from the Depredations Division of that Department has been directed to investigate the matter. An inspector has been sent through the recommendation of the Indian Office, and we feel that justice will in the future be accorded the Pimas; but what of their loss to date? No reparation will be made to them for the outrageous treatment they have received. If these Pimas had been recognized as citizens they would not have been subjected to such injustice. For more than fifty years it has been the policy of our Government to encourage the disintegration of tribal organizations and of reservations, and to this end inducements have been held out

to individual Indians to take up their residence separate and apart from their tribe, and become self-supporting. The policy is certainly commendable, and the Pimas, having done their part by accepting the tenders of the Government in good faith, should now be supported in their claim to the lands they have made valuable by a residence thereon of a generation.

Mr. E. M. WISTAR.—I am glad to have an opportunity to indorse the items of Mr. Brosius's report, because I happen to be in a position which gives me the opportunity of saying that I know his work to be of a very careful and judicious character, and of such value that our Government at Washington can call upon him with great expectation of help.

In regard to the Osages, I have twice crossed the Osage reservation, and have learned how greatly field matron work is needed. There is nothing that the Government could do that would aid the Indians on the Osage reservation more than to send God-fearing field matrons to them.

Speaking of the work for the Indians, I would like to recall what the President said at our opening meeting; that we are trying to turn the reservations into allotments, the tribes into families, the funds of the tribe into benefit for the individual, and while these things are going on we may have an opportunity of multiplying the number of field matrons. The only message that I feel I have for our meeting here is to help to hold up the hands of those working in these lines, and emphasize the need of mission work and field matron work.

Speaking of women and their relation to the men of their nation, I am reminded of a story told me by President W. E. Gates, of Euphrates College at Harpoot, Eastern Turkey. He was one day approaching the bank of a river when he saw the turban of a Turk appear who was being carried across the water. They reached the bank about the same time. The Turk had been carried over on his wife's shoulders. President Gates expostulated with him, and asked if he were not ashamed to be carried over on his wife's shoulders. The Turk waited for some time to consider the situation and then said, "Why, whose wife should carry me over?" This is relevant only as illustrating a contrast. I am profoundly impressed with the belief that there is no one thing that the religious organizations can do, or that the Government can do, that will equal the influence of God-fearing women among the Indians. Being in close correspondence with twenty missionaries in the Indian Territory and Oklahoma, and having monthly reports from them, I have learned that the greatest difficulty they have to contend with is the influence of bad white men, and sometimes the influence of Government officials against their work. We want the field matron who can rise above these conditions which are facing the Indians and the returned student, and who can help them in their struggles.

Rev. T. L. Riggs was asked to speak.

Mr. RIGGS.—I want first to express my thanks for the kindness and help granted to me three years ago by the friends here at Mohonk in enabling us to carry on the school that was very dear to me when we faced the possibility of having to discontinue it.

If I needed a text I would take it from Dr. Warner's speech this morning. No matter what you may do for the Indian, no matter how far you may advance his physical interests or train him, if you neglect to give him the gospel of Jesus Christ it is all for naught. That is the position I stand on to-day, to-morrow and always. I believe that there is no force like the glorious gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ for uplifting the Indian. The best sermon I ever heard preached before an Indian audience, or white either, was given in a Dakota tent that seated about seventy men in a circle, and the sermon was preached by W. H. Ward, who told them the simple story of Jesus Christ. It was the most effective story I ever heard, and I had the privilege of interpreting it.

When Mr. Smiley said that the Indian must work for what he gets, I said "Amen" to that word. It came right out; I could not help it. Our Indians are apt to be good preachers but poor workers. They hate to work with their hands. We do our missionary work in various ways, but some of the most effective missionary work that I have ever done has been with my hands. Some of the best missionary work Miss Lord did was to take care of her horses. She has done a great deal of true missionary work by the way in which she has done that, teaching the Indians how to care for animals. Miss Collins has done a great deal in teaching them to care for the sick. She has gone right into the life of the Indian by going into his home, and has helped him over hard places. Some of the best missionary work I ever did was on a hunting party. I slept with the Indians, I hunted with them, and I went through the life nearly of one of them. It seems to some as if it were a mistake, but the results of that winter have followed me all along, and I did more for the upbuilding of God's kingdom among the Indians that winter than I ever did in any other two winters.

Some of the best missionary work, I said, was in the work of my hands. A year ago last fall we built a little church. The Indians had raised the funds largely, about five hundred dollars, had hauled the material and selected the site, and I had chosen the carpenter. I understood that he was a man-of-all-work. I asked him whether he could lay stone well. He said no. We had the stone hammer, the trowel, the stone, the lime, the sand and the water, but he did nothing. I said, "Don't you know anything about it?" "No," he said, "I don't know a thing." Well, I didn't either. I had never broken stone nor laid it, but we put up the stone wall for the church. We skinned our knuckles and our shins. We broke every hammer, but we did the work, and it is a wall I am not ashamed of, not even here on Mr. Smiley's grounds. It was missionary work, and it will stay. I told the Indians that I wanted the church built in such a way that it would not be blown off from the foundations, and we built a wall two and a half feet

high, and they hauled and filled that space clear up to the top of the rock wall over the sills and clear into the floor joists with stone. How many cords of rock we put in I do not know, but the wind, I warrant, will not budge that church, and I think those people will worship all the better that it is there to stay.

I have heard expressions like this sometimes, "If the Government is doing so much for the Indians what is the use in our giving anything?" It is just the use of putting the individual life into contact with the Indian life, the life that needs it. The more Miss Collinses, Miss Lords and Miss Fletchers we can have the more will be the success in uplifting the Indian, and no amount of work at a distance, of pouring in dollars and dollars only, will ever amount to a row of pins in settling this question. It is the life, your life, my life, that must go into the work richly and strongly that will lead to the full result.

Rev. Egerton R. Young was the next speaker. The following is an abstract of his address.

THE INDIAN QUESTION IN CANADA.

BY REV. EGERTON R. YOUNG, TORONTO.

I am much obliged to Mr. Smiley for inviting me here, as I come from Canada, where we have no Indian question. We get along very nicely with our Indians there. I want to tell you of the big Indian camp meeting that we hold every year on an island in Georgian Bay. We had this year over a thousand Indians from six reservations. We meet in a beautiful grove, five or six hours journey from Toronto,—a city where 146,000 out of the 200,000 inhabitants go to church every Sunday; the largest record in the world for Sabbath keeping.

If you will attend that camp meeting you will take the boat at Collinwood, and if you send word to me I will meet you and take you to the meetings. As a rule I do not take much stock in camp-meeting figures, but as a result of this one we have 192 beautiful conversions, and twelve months' life have shown the genuineness of them.

The Indians are all civilized and wear the white man's garb. They live on farms and till their own land. They have plenty of milk, eggs, green corn, potatoes and other nice things.

We have no trouble about marriage laws in Canada. The law is the same for the Indian as for the white. If an Indian has two wives he is tried for bigamy. That question is settled. Our greatest difficulty is with the whiskey, the miserable saloons on the border. We make our churches total abstinence societies, and we all wear the blue ribbon.

My wife and I went out among the Indians of the Hudson Bay Company in 1868, and lived there twelve or fourteen years.

When we were at the last conference held in Winnipeg there were Indian delegates, and I was so glad to see among the names men who when we went out there were wild pagans, now magnificent Indian Christians, some of them devoted and eloquent preachers of the gospel of Jesus Christ. We found that the way to reach them was to go to them and live with them. You need not go down to their level, but the minister must show them by using his own hands that labor is not degrading. Once when we were at work with our Indians digging potatoes, a flock of wild geese flew overhead. Down went every shovel, and off went the Indians and were gone two weeks! And I went with them! And after the hunt I brought them back, and then we got in the rest of the potatoes.

I want to indorse all that has been said of the power and blessedness of the influence of godly, Christian, common-sense, practical women among the Indian tribes. I am delighted to be here and to hear all these various discussions. I am sure that God is blessing you, and that you have a mission to lift up the nations. And in closing let me ask you not to forget to come to our camp meeting the first week in September next year.

Mrs. Young then sang some hymns in the Cree language, and Mrs. Hall sang "My Ain Countree."

President GATES said that on the previous Saturday he had had an interview with President McKinley, who had expressed great interest in the affairs that were to come before the Conference. President McKinley had asked him to convey to the Conference the assurance of his high regard and his sympathies with the philanthropic purposes of the meeting.

Dr. Sheldon Jackson was announced as the next speaker.

THE ABORIGINES OF ALASKA.

BY DR. SHELDON JACKSON.

As I was leaving Washington, Dr. W. T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, requested me to express his great regret that he would not be able to accept the kind invitation to be present and take part in these deliberations; he looked upon it as a personal loss to himself.

The regular attendants at these delightful meetings will remember how often I have expressed the gratification I felt at representing an aboriginal population that would never be pushed by the white man, or dispossessed of their lands. Events have changed my ideas and my beliefs. When the telegraphic dispatch from Seattle, in July, 1897, went over the world telling of the rich gold fields of the Klondike, in a land so desolate that it was not supposed that even the love of gold would carry white people there,

the Indians land tenure became uncertain. It is now largely overrun and destroyed by the white race for the purposes of aboriginal life in Alaska.

More than that: the white men have brought saloons into every region of that great country, with all their attendant evils to a native people. In the native Christian churches it has been a great trial. Some, of whom we had great hopes, have gone to drunkards' graves, but I am glad to say that a large proportion—I suppose four fifths—of our native church members thus far have been able to withstand the strain of temptation; a temptation greater to them than it would be to white people under the same circumstances.

Then this last year we have had another great calamity, one proportionately more fatal than that of Galveston, but there have been no mass meetings in the churches and cities to help the destitute ones in Alaska who are without means this fall.

La grippe, combined with measles and pneumonia, is decimating the Eskimo of Alaska. At St. Lawrence Island thirty-six died in a month from a population of three hundred. A large number have died at Cape Prince of Wales, King Island, the Diomedes, Sinrock, Nome, Golovin Bay, St. Michael, and all along the coast from the Aleutian Islands to Point Hope, and probably Point Barrow, the most northern settlement of the continent, and along the Siberian Coast from Anadir to Cape Serdze Kamen, and probably hundreds of miles beyond.

At Indian Point, Siberia, and Port Clarence, Alaska, one half the population has died this season. The ravages of disease have been so swift and destructive that a panic seized the people, and they fled from their huts, leaving their dead to be cared for by the missionaries and government teachers, where there were any, or to go uncared for in their absence.

In many cases whole families have disappeared; in others the parents and some of the children have died, leaving young children helpless. At Teller reindeer station a dying Eskimo in his desperation shot and killed the shaman, who was himself sick and would probably have died if he had not been killed. A sick man at Nome River, on the death of his wife, shot himself, leaving two small children, who were taken in charge by the wife of a neighboring army officer.

A number of instances have been reported of helpless children, found by miners, starving in huts beside the dead bodies of their parents, and in one instance a babe was found at its dead mother's breast.

In the neighborhood of Government and mission stations such relief as is possible has been afforded, but this calamity is so great and widespread that the authorities have been compelled to take it in hand.

General Randall, commanding the Department of Alaska, has telegraphed the Secretary of War, Colonel Evans, Special Agent, and Capt. Francis Tuttle, R. C. S., commanding the cutter Bear, have

telegraphed the Secretary of the Treasury, and Governor Brady the Secretary of the Interior, on the situation. All the above communications unite in the recommendation that Capt. D. H. Jarvis be placed in charge of administering the relief.

As the exigencies were too great to await the delay of hearing from Washington, Colonel Evans loaded the cutter Bear with flour and other supplies, which is being left in central places on the Arctic Coast as far north as Point Barrow. Upon the return of the Bear from the Arctic she will distribute supplies at all the leading points on Bering Sea. As far as possible these supplies will be placed in charge of the Government teachers and missionaries, to be issued during the winter under the direction of Lieutenant Jarvis.

By this prompt action it is hoped during the coming winter to prevent the starvation of those left alive by the epidemic, as, during the fishing season, the sick were unable to lay in their usual winter's supply of fish. This supply of food will not be given out promiscuously, but labor, if necessary, will be created, so that the people will have to work for what they receive, the work being something that is necessary for the community.

We have four classes of aboriginal population in Alaska. Stretching from Labrador across the entire region of North America is a homogeneous population of Eskimos. When you get to the border of Alaska on the Arctic Ocean, joining Canada, you still find the Eskimo, and from that point to Point Barrow, the northernmost inhabited point on the continent. Southward to Bering Strait, and southeast to the Aleutian Islands, and on the North Pacific Coast to Mt. St. Elias the region is occupied by the Eskimo, the largest numerically of our native people.

In the central part of the country, occupying the Yukon valley and the valleys of the other mighty rivers that water that land, are the American Indians proper. In Southeastern Alaska, on the Pan Handle, are the ten tribes designated as the Thling-get-speaking people, and on the Aleutian Islands, stretching a thousand miles westward of the Hawaiian Islands, are the Aleuts. The latter were brought a hundred years ago under Russian civilization and religion, and everywhere in that section are churches of that order.

The Eskimo are heathen, with all the cruelties that attend heathenism in the South Sea Islands or elsewhere. And these are living under the Stars and Stripes! Two years ago a Swedish missionary, learning that I was going to Washington, wanted me to plead with the Secretary of the Interior to see if some force could not be exerted in his parish to prevent parents from destroying their newborn babes; infanticide being so prevalent that he felt it was necessary for the Government to interpose with its strong arm.

Last winter on St. Lawrence Island, a missionary who had just gone there, and who had not been there long enough to exert much influence, was invited to a native house to witness the destruction of the grandmother. He went, hoping that he could prevent the killing, but this he was unable to accomplish. He re-

mained, however, a witness, that he might be able to speak from personal experience. This woman was one of seven in that small village killed by their families during that winter. The old lady was dressed in her best, as if to celebrate her birthday. The children and grandchildren assembled, also dressed in their best, and when all the circle were present, the old lady took her seat in the center of the floor, adjusted the cord about her own neck, and her son, placing a stick between the cord and her neck, strangled her. That sort of thing is going on everywhere outside of the places where Christian churches are established. Polygamy prevails everywhere outside of Christian communities. Witchcraft prevails. This very winter, if I could give you the eye of Omniscience, so that you could see over five thousand miles, I could show you some mother ordering her newly born babe to be thrown out of the hut to be frozen to death, or torn in pieces by the dogs. I could show you strong sons murdering their own fathers and mothers because they are no longer able to work. You might see repeated the scene that occurred in one of the villages where a man was about removing his home from one village to another. His family consisted of his wife, a grown son and an invalid daughter. He loaded the sleigh with blankets and household effects, hitched up the dogs, and not being willing to be troubled with the invalid daughter, when they were all ready to start he went into the hut and drove his knife to the heart of this invalid daughter, and then they started on. You might see men, women and children tortured to death as witches. It occurred last year, it will occur this year, and it will occur every year until the Christian churches wake up and determine, God helping them, that there shall be such influence poured in there that these things shall be impossible.

Nevertheless, though we have this continuance of heathenism, there are many things to cheer the Christian and the citizen who look for the interests of the aboriginal tribes. In Southeastern Alaska, where the gospel has been preached for twenty years, God's Spirit has been poured out and there are seven hundred native communicants in the churches, some of the adult portion of whom had killed their infants, tortured their neighbors and friends, and broken every command in the decalogue, but are to-day clothed and in their right mind. O the wondrous grace of God, that can reach down to the lowest depths of degradation, and can help them up and give them the same joyous convictions that you have, and can enable them to join with you in singing the songs of Zion and trust in the same precious Saviour. What hath God wrought!

Where the Moravians are at work they have a thousand adherents, and they have native pastors and missionaries. There are whole villages that are Christian villages. At the ringing of the evening church bell you can see the entire population of those villages, except the sick, going into their great dirt house under ground, their church building, and having evening prayers, led by one of their own number if the white missionary cannot be with them.

On the Yukon the Protestant-Episcopal missionaries claim two thousand baptized members, counting the children with the adults. In the neighborhood of Cook's Inlet the Baptist women have a refuge and orphanage on Wood Island, and the Methodist women have a similar one at Unalaska, 622 miles west of Wood Island. If we are ever to have Christian homes among the Aleuts, or native teachers for them, they must come from these orphanages. They are the first fruit of the work for that special population that has been so long kept under the heathenism of the Russian-Greek Church as administered in Alaska.

In the neighborhood of the Nome mines there are two or three hundred communicants. And facing Asia, its mountains every day in sight from the mission station at Cape Prince of Wales, we have a strong church among the Eskimo, and, as among other tribes, a living prayer meeting. Brother Egerton R. Young wants us to go to the Indian camp meeting, and I have no doubt it is an advance on anything you have seen in the way of spiritual, soul-lifting prayer and communion with God, but I have no doubt you would see still better farther north. There are no such prayer meetings in the United States. I have been in all sections of the United States except Florida, but I have never seen such living prayer meetings as they have among those native Christians in Alaska.

Farther north, two hundred miles within the Arctic Circle, the Protestant Episcopal Church has a special field at Point Hope; and at Point Barrow the Presbyterians have a good church, and a Christian Endeavor Society of 114 members.

In addition to all this the reindeer are making progress. You may have heard that they are all dead, but we have some twenty herds of domestic reindeer which have mostly passed out of the hands of the Government into private hands, and that is just what the Government wanted. We loaned each missionary society a hundred head for five years. At the end of that time they returned a hundred head to the Government and kept the increase. The missionary societies let the young men who understand caring for them have herds in the same way (the two terms of five years overlapping), the young men keeping the increase, and these reindeer are helping to build the people up into a self-supporting condition. We have eighteen Eskimo men who have herds. They have mastered the situation and are on the high road to wealth, as considered among those people. There is no more starvation for the Eskimo, if the seal disappear and the fishing is bad, when they shall all have secured herds of reindeer. Our white men who went into the mines in 1899 would have starved but for the reindeer. A reindeer express was started from St. Michael, and carried provisions three or four hundred miles, and saved the lives of many in that terrible spring; and they carried in the only letters that those men at Golovin and Nome received from their firesides and homes and friends in the East. The reindeer are the hope of the country. They will carry in all the mail this winter that reaches Kotzebue Sound by

Government contract. The Reindeer could carry it all over that country from the Skaguay along that wonderful mail route of three thousand miles to Nome if we had enough reindeer. We have thirty-four hundred reindeer in private and Government herds. So you see they are not all dead by any means, but are very much alive, and doing far better than they did in Siberia, from which the original seven hundred were brought. Three thousand have been born on American soil, where there is fresh pasturage. In Siberia it has been eaten off very closely. There is pasturage in Alaska for nine million head. It is the animal provided by God for the Arctic country, and it is the hope of the future there. We cannot build up Christian churches among a native population who depend on hunting and fishing alone. We have got to give them something more stable, and nothing could be better than these reindeer herds.

A herd was bought in Lapland in 1898, trained to harness, to take food to the starving miners. Through a lot of red tape three hundred out of the five hundred and thirty-eight were starved right on the beach on first landing, with the most abundant pasturage sixty miles away. It was from that event that the paragraph was started which said that reindeers in Alaska were a failure.

When four hundred American sailors were caught in the ice at Point Barrow with only three months provision, and it would be fifteen months before any provisions could be sent to them, no power on earth could have carried help to them had it not been that the tame reindeer had been introduced. The attention of the President was called to the danger of the whalers, and at a Cabinet meeting held on the 8th of November it was decided to send a relief party at once, and the revenue cutter *Bear*, that had just returned from its usual summer arctic cruise, was ordered to make the necessary preparations and proceed as soon as possible to Bering Sea. It was the purpose that the *Bear* should proceed north until it reached the ice, and then land a party that should go to Point Barrow and take control of the whalers. As no practical plan could be devised to enable the relief party to take provisions with them, it was determined to borrow a herd of reindeer owned by the Eskimo at Cape Nome, and a second herd owned by the American Missionary Association at Bering Straits. These reindeer were to be taken by the relief expedition to Point Barrow, and, so far as needed, slaughtered for food. The trip being one of great hardship and danger, the Department called for volunteers to man the ship, and finally selected the following officers: Lieutenants Jarvis and Bertholf and Dr. Call. Lieutenant Jarvis, who had made eight trips into the Arctic Ocean and was acquainted with the native population along the whole coast, was placed in command.

On the 29th of November the *Bear*, bidding adieu to civilization, steamed out of the harbor of Port Townsend in a blinding snow-storm on its perilous voyage. After a rough passage Unalaska was reached, in a thick snowstorm, December 9th. The extra supplies for the whalers that would not be needed until the following summer were sent ashore. Taking on coal and water at Dutch

Harbor at 1.35 A. M. December 11th, the Bear headed north into Bering Sea, in a storm of hail, rain and snow, its objective point being Sledge Island, where it was hoped the overland party could be put ashore. On the morning of the 13th St. Lawrence Island was passed, but soon after the ship entered mush ice and a little later the floe ice, which was so rapidly solidifying under the influence of the severe cold that at 5 P. M., when within seventy-five miles of Sledge Island, fearing the vessel would become permanently fast in the ice, the effort to reach Sledge Island was given up and the vessel headed toward Nunivak Island, with a hope of being able to reach Cape Vancouver. This would increase the length of the overland journey eight hundred miles, but it seemed to be the only point where a landing could be made. Cape Vancouver came in sight on the morning of the 15th, but was surrounded with young ice as far as the eye could see from the crow's nest of the ship. After working slowly through the ice until the middle of the afternoon it was found that the village shown on the chart did not exist. It was rapidly growing dark, and just as the attempt was about to be given up for the day a village was dimly made out farther up the bay. On the morning of the 16th, the ship got under way and made an anchorage near the village of Tununok. The local trader, Alexis Kalenin, and a party of natives were soon on board. They informed Lieutenant Jarvis that they expected to start soon themselves for St. Michael, and would pilot his party. Accordingly arrangements were immediately made for landing the expedition and their supplies. This was accomplished with great difficulty, as the ice was running heavily between the ship and shore. Having landed the party the Bear returned to Dutch Harbor, Unalaska, for the winter.

Upon reaching the house of the trader it was decided not to start for St. Michael until the 18th, the intervening time being employed in getting everything ready. The start was made early on Saturday morning, the 18th, with four teams and Alexis for guide.

On the evening of the 20th they arrived at Kiyiligamute. At that point, two of the dog teams having given out, the party was divided, Lieutenant Jarvis and Dr. Call pressing ahead, while Lieutenant Bertholf and Alexis and Koltchoff were to wait until they could get fresh teams. Lieutenant Jarvis reached Andreafski on the 24th and St. Michael on the 30th. The second party left on the 22d and reached St. Michael on New Year's Day, two hours after Lieutenant Jarvis had left for the north. Before leaving, Lieutenant Jarvis left instructions for Lieutenant Bertholf to proceed to the head of Norton Sound and transport the provisions across to Kotzebue Sound, while he and Dr. Call went to Cape Nome and Cape Prince of Wales to procure the herds of reindeer at those places. At St. Michael Mr. Koltchoff was discharged, and soon after engaged as guide for Mate Tilton on his return to the States. Great difficulty was met in procuring a sufficient number of sled dogs to enable the party to reach the reindeer. After many hardships, on January 10th Lieutenant Jarvis reached the Government

herd en route between Port Clarence and Unalaklik. The next morning arrangements were completed, and the party started with reindeer teams from the Government herd for Tsuynok, where Antisarlook and his friends had a herd of domestic deer. After refreshments and rest, Lieutenant Jarvis commenced negotiating for the herd of reindeer at that point. The herd represented to the Eskimo the living of a whole village, and if the herd departed it might mean starvation to themselves before spring, so that there was much point as well as pathos in the answer of Antisarlook's wife when she said: "Tell Mr. Jarvis we are sorry for the people at Point Barrow, and we want to help them, but we hate to see our deer go, because we are poor and our people in the village are poor, and in the winter, when we cannot get seals, we kill a deer, and this helps us through the hard times. If we let our deer go, what are we to do? Antisarlook and I have not enough without them to live upon."

It seemed like reducing these people to starvation in order to save others, and in giving up their herd of deer for the sake of others it was like giving up their own lives; yet, after consultation among themselves, it was finally agreed to, and Antisarlook was employed to go with his herd. At this place were one hundred and thirty-eight deer, twenty-two belonging to the herders.

Having given Antisarlook's wife an order on neighboring stores for food supplies, and leaving Dr. Call to take charge of Antisarlook's herd and drive them up to the Teller Reindeer Station, Lieutenant Jarvis pushed forward to Cape Prince of Wales to get the second herd. While Dr. Call and his party were on their way to the Teller Station they encountered a blizzard so severe that the deer, blinded by the flying snow, turned and trampled over the drivers—however, without serious damage. They were compelled to retreat for three hours, when they found an old fishing hut and climbed in at the window. There they were held by the storm for three days, with only food sufficient for two days, and a long trip still before them.

On the 25th they made another start, and reached the station on the 27th, just as a fresh blizzard was commencing. Lieutenant Jarvis reached Cape Prince of Wales on the 24th of January. On delivering to Mr. Lopp his mail, and explaining to him the necessity and object of the expedition, he had no difficulty in securing the herd of 301 deer at that place, with the agreement that 432 deer should be returned to them by the Government the following season. It was also agreed that Mr. Lopp and his herders should accompany the expedition, in charge of the reindeer. Arrangements had been made, and it was proposed that Mrs. Lopp and the children should go to the Teller Reindeer Station, from 60 to 75 miles distant, to remain with the Rev. and Mrs. Brevig; but the discomforts of the trip were so great, and she had such entire confidence in the affection of the Eskimos, that she concluded to remain at home, being with her children the only English-speaking persons in a community of 500 Eskimos.

On the 29th of January Dr. Call and party left the Teller Station and crossed the mountains, where they expected to form a junction with Lieutenant Jarvis and the reindeer herd from Cape Prince of Wales. The weather was thick and unpleasant, the barometer sinking rapidly, but, being in need of haste, the party pressed on through the storm and the mountains as best they could. Passing over the mountain range they were met by a storm so severe that they had to go into camp, and no sooner was the tent erected and covered with sleds to hold down the canvas, than it was drifted over with snow so deep that the following day it took them two hours to dig their way out. In the meantime the deer were scattered by the storm, and it was noon of February 1st before they were able to gather the herd together again. In the afternoon of February 2d a junction was made with Lieutenant Jarvis and the herd. The following day a start was made with 435 reindeer, of which 18 were broken to harness and reserved for transportation purposes.

On February 6th Lieutenant Jarvis and Dr. Call pushed on ahead for Sineraget, a village on the coast, en route for Point Hope, leaving instructions for Mr. Lopp to follow with the herd and meet him at Pitmegea, just north of Cape Lisbon. The route lay along the northern part of Cape Prince of Wales peninsula, about fifteen miles from the coast, where deer moss was plentiful, to Cape Espenburg.

On the 12th of February, Lieutenant Jarvis and Dr. Call reached Cape Espenburg; and although the ice on Kotzebue Sound was broken and piled up in a manner to deter an effort to cross it, they concluded to make the attempt, and succeeded in crossing the sound to Cape Blossom, fifty miles away. Near Cape Blossom was the missionary station of the Friends, occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Samms and Miss Hunnicutt. Here Lieutenant Jarvis met Lieutenant Bertholf, who had crossed from Norton Sound with one thousand pounds of provisions, reaching the mission station on the 10th of February. After resting a few days Lieutenant Jarvis and Dr. Call left on the 15th for Point Hope, leaving Lieutenant Bertholf to await the arrival of Mr. Lopp and the herd, and then to follow northward.

On February 16th Mr. Lopp, with the deer, reached Cape Espenburg, and held a consultation with reference to the possibility of driving the deer and taking the sleds across the broken ice covering an arm of the Arctic Ocean from Cape Espenburg forty miles to Cape Krusenstern. After much hesitation it was decided to make the attempt. During the first day the reindeer made thirty miles; in many places the attendants had to cut a road over hummocks of broken ice. The second day food gave out for the drivers, and of course there was no moss for the deer on the ice. The reindeer, remembering that they had left fields of moss behind them, continually broke loose to return over the ice. This made it very difficult driving, and they were out the second day and all the second night, without food, before reaching land again at Cape Krusen-

stern. There, receiving a letter from Lieutenant Jarvis informing him that Lieutenant Bertholf with supplies was at Cape Blossom, Mr. Lopp, leaving the herd, went to meet Lieutenant Bertholf.

Loading the supplies on reindeer and dog teams, a start was made for the herd at Aneyok village, which was reached on the 19th. The deer having rested, a start was made on the 21st, following along the coast as far as the mouth of the Kevuleek River, where Mr. Lopp, with the deer, was to proceed inland, leaving Point Hope to the westward. Lieutenant Bertholf, taking a team, proceeded direct to Point Hope, reaching there on March 2d. Finding a considerable store of provisions at Point Hope, Lieutenant Jarvis instructed Lieutenant Bertholf to remain there and take charge of any whalers that might be sent down during the winter. Lieutenant Jarvis and Dr. Call, having made all necessary arrangements at Point Hope, left on March 4th for Point Barrow. Lieutenant Jarvis had instructed Mr. Lopp to meet him at Petmegia, just north of Cape Lisbon. When Lieutenant Jarvis reached the place of meeting, all that was visible above the snow was a wooden cross, with this inscription: "Letter between boards; arrived here March 7; look out for the train." Just below the board, stuck in the snow, was a second board, on which was written, "Deer meat here."

On the 13th of March they reached the camp vacated by the herd that morning, and on another cross found a note reading: "Will try to find better moss on the inside of the lagoon. Leave here March 13." During the 14th a storm of unusual severity raged, thermometer registering 40 degrees below zero. The same storm continued through the 15th, and was worse on the 16th. To add to the distress and danger of Lieutenant Jarvis, his dog teams had nothing to eat. About noon on the 17th a party of natives were discovered, who brought a note from Mr. Lopp stating that he had left there that morning, and soon after the herd was seen on the horizon, moving over the rolling white hills. Lieutenant Jarvis pushed his team ahead to overtake the deer ten miles away. Arrangements were made to meet Mr. Lopp at Icy Cape. Arriving there on the 22d in a fearful storm nothing was seen of the herd, which during the storm had passed within a mile of the camp. On the next day a board was found with the message: "Arrived here 1 P. M. Tuesday, March 22. Think we are passing Icy Cape. Find meat in the mouth of the cache. Think sledge deer will hold out. Find better moss on the inside of the lagoon." This was welcome news to Lieutenant Jarvis, for it meant that he could save his dog teams from starvation.

At noon on March 26th Lieutenant Jarvis, looking over the ice, exclaimed, "There is the first of the imprisoned fleet," as he caught sight of the tall mast of the Belvedere, twelve miles away.

Point Barrow was reached by Lieutenant Jarvis on March 29th, and the herd of reindeer arrived on the 30th, safe and sound.

Thus successfully ended a trip of 2,000 miles through the desolations of an arctic wilderness in midwinter, over an unknown region,

and among many wild tribes. The narrative of the trip is a story of bravery, good generalship, heroic endurance, and interpositions of Divine Providence.

It remains for a grateful country, that rewarded the heroes of Manila and Santiago with promotions, to see that Lieutenant Jarvis be not forgotten. Had not the events of the Cuban war distracted the attention of the nation, this wonderful trip of 2,000 miles overland, north of the Arctic Circle, in midwinter, would have filled the columns of the newspapers on this continent and in Europe. Occurring at a time when other events claimed the attention of the public, it is no less deserving of its reward. And when President McKinley sent in a special message to Congress asking that Lieutenant David H. Jarvis, of the Revenue Cutter Service, who engineered and made that marvelous trip of four months, should receive a vote of thanks and a medal, it was *pigeonholed*, and has never seen the light since.

VOICES.—Shame! shame!

Dr. JACKSON.—I want this Conference to still be interested in our native population in Alaska. We are passing through transition times. I saw 17,000 American people landing in Nome in one week last summer. We had 25,000 people go to that place last summer. Every ship on the Pacific Ocean not in the Philippine trade was sent to Alaska for people and with provisions. They are scattered everywhere. I want to commend all the people of Alaska to your prayers, and I hope that the churches will multiply the mission stations, and that there may be loving hearts to help up those people so well worth saving, and train them to be valuable American citizens.

President GATES.—We who come here to these meetings inevitably find ourselves, by our discussions, drawn to higher planes of thought and feeling; and nothing short of steady reverence for that Inner Power which is able to take hold of such savagery and transform, as it does, in a few months, such terrible scenes as Dr. Jackson has described,—nothing short of reverence for and loyalty to that Power, could bind us together as we are bound to one another in this Conference.

At the closing hour we all wish to give some expression to that sense of gratitude to our host and hostess which is the sincere feeling of us all; and our Business Committee have requested Dr. Dunning to be our spokesman in this closing part of our Conference programme.

Dr. E. A. DUNNING, Editor of the *Congregationalist*, Boston, Mass., offered the following resolutions, and moved their adoption in a brief speech.

The Lake Mohonk Indian Conference, coming to the close of its eighteenth annual session, expresses its grateful appreciation of the abounding courtesies of its host, Mr. Albert K. Smiley. He de-

vises each year new pleasures for our entertainment, and clothes familiar ones with fresh attractions.

Mr. Smiley has created and maintains here a free school of applied Christianity, skillfully selecting as its counselors men and women able to give information at first hand of peoples who have claims on us, as Christian citizens, of a free country coming to recognize more fully our obligations and opportunities for humanity.

He makes contagious his discerning sympathy with those who need our aid in developing self-reliant characters and Christian communities, and his appreciation of what they have to give us in exchange for and to promote the institutions of free government.

We miss the presence of Mrs. Smiley, whose kindness, always pervasive as an atmosphere, always unobtrusive, has done much to promote the unity of this Conference, and we wish and pray for her speedy restoration to full physical strength.

We rejoice that what we prize so highly in our friends Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley are not only individual, but are family traits; that Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley have also the same quiet, self-poised spirit of kindness which assures every guest of his welcome into this home, and that this spirit actuates all those employed in the house.

We, therefore, express our thanks to our hosts for their entertainment, for what they generously bestow on us of themselves, and for their aid in making effective our impulses and efforts to uplift to nobler characters the Indians and other races less developed than our own.

The resolutions were seconded in an address by Dr. Joseph Anderson, of Connecticut. The resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

Mr. SMILEY responded cordially, and assured the Conference that these meetings would be carried on in years to come, and that that house and mountain were to be places where the questions of the best way of lifting up one's fellow-men would be always considered. Mr. Smiley closed by moving a vote of thanks, which he put himself, to the President, Secretaries, Treasurer and Business Committee. Voted.

President GATES returned thanks for himself and his colleagues.

The Conference was closed, as usual, by the singing of the hymn "God be with us till we meet again," and the benediction.

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- YOUNG, MRS. E. R., Toronto, Can.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Lake Mohonk Conference

OF

FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN

1901

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
1902

PREFACE.

The nineteenth annual meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian was held, as usual, in the hospitable home of the generous hosts, Messrs. A. K. and Daniel Smiley, at Lake Mohonk, October 16-18, 1901. A large number attended the meeting, as, in addition to the personal guests of Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, there were many guests of the house present. As last year, so this year, much time was given to the consideration of other races besides the Indian.

The addresses and discussions are given practically in full, save the complimentary speeches, which are always heartily given and warmly applauded by the audience, but the printing of which is forbidden by the hosts of the occasion.

One copy of this Report at least is sent to every member of the Conference. If others are needed, they may be had by writing to Mr. Daniel Smiley, Lake Mohonk, Ulster County, New York.

I. C. B.

NEW YORK, N. Y., December, 1901.

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PLATFORM.

REPORT OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE.

The nineteenth annual session of the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference congratulates the country on the gratifying evidence of healthy progress and important results attendant upon efforts that have been put forth in recent years for the education and elevation of the Indian race, seen in a federal school system providing for the education of upward of 25,000 Indian children, and the allotment of over 6,500,000 acres of land to over 55,000 Indians, with a secure individual title, and in the possession by these Indians of all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizenship. We note with special satisfaction the action of the Department of the Interior, since our last meeting, in issuing regulations for licensing and solemnizing marriages of Indians, for keeping family records of all agencies, and for preventing polygamous marriages. There still remain evils to be corrected and work to be done. The frequent changes in the Indian service, involving both removals and appointments for purely political reasons, lead us to suggest to the President the propriety of framing and promulgating some rules prescribing such methods in nominating agents as will put an end to this abuse. The same pressure for patronage operates to delay or prevent the abolition of needless agencies. Congress, at its last session, acting on the recommendation of the Indian Commissioner, abolished three such agencies. There are at least half a score more which, in the judgment of experts, should be abolished as sinecures, which not only involve needless expense to the country, but also operate deleteriously upon emancipated Indians.

We recognize the administrative perplexities attending the allotting and leasing of lands: there are the aged and infirm, the feeble and incompetent, women and children; many who prefer other occupations than that of farming or grazing; others who, by renting their lands, may be able to pursue their education; all of whom, under a just system of leasing, would derive great advantage from holdings which would otherwise be valueless. But indiscriminate leasing, which strengthens the white man's hold on the Indian's land, and encourages lazy landlordism in the Indian, should be prevented, either by more stringent legislation, or by a careful scrutiny of all leasing recommended by agents in the field.

The tribal funds held in trust for Indians by the Government of the United States should be placed to the credit of individual Indians, who are entitled to share in them as rapidly as lists of such individuals in each tribe can be prepared and recorded. Chil-

dren born after the preparation of such lists should share in such funds only by inheritance, and not as members of a tribe; and, so far as possible, consistent with the spirit and the equitable intent of the special terms which created each such fund, these funds should thus be broken up into individual holdings, when provision shall have been made for certain educational uses for all the members of the tribe, and perhaps for payment of territorial, state and county taxes on allotted lands during all or part of the period of protected titles. The money which belongs to the Indian should be paid to the Indians as rapidly as they are pronounced fit to receive it, that by receiving and using, each his own money, Indian citizens may be educated to the use of money.

Improvements are doubtless required in our Indian schools. This Conference puts itself on record as believing in schools, both in the Indian neighborhoods and at a distance from them; and the proportion to be maintained between the two must be left to be determined from time to time by experience. The eventual result to be reached is the abolition of all distinctively Indian schools, and the incorporation of Indian pupils in the schools of the country.

The importance of the native Indian industries is such that the Government, and all teachers and guides of the Indian, should cooperate in the endeavor to revive them. To the Indian, they are valuable as a means of profitable occupation and natural expression; to the country, as specimens of a rare and indigenous art, many of them artistically excellent; some of them absolutely unique; all of them adapted to furnish congenial and remunerative employment at home, and to foster, in the Indian, self-respect, and in the white race, respect for the Indians.

The evil condition of Indian reservations in the State of New York has been a matter of frequent consideration. This Conference emphasizes the recommendation made in December, 1900, by a committee of five appointed by the then governor, Theo. Roosevelt, that these reservations be allotted in severalty; and it urges Congress to consider at an early day the practicability of enacting such legislation as will accomplish this result without further delay.

The experience of the past indicates the errors which we should avoid; the principles by which we should be guided; and the ends which we should seek in our relations with all dependent races under American sovereignty. Capacity for self-government in dependent and inexperienced races, is a result to be achieved by patient and persistent endeavor; it is not to be assumed that they already possess it. Meanwhile, the duty of administering government for the benefit of the governed involves the obligation of selecting all officials, not with regard to services which have been rendered to their party, but solely with regard to the services which they will render to the governed community. Loyalty to the American spirit requires us so to organize and administer government over dependent peoples, as will most speedily prepare them for self-government. All men under American sovereignty, whatever their race or religion, should

be treated as equals before the law; amenable to the same legal penalties for their offenses, and secured in the same legal protection for their rights. The principle recognized by all experts in social science, and abundantly confirmed by American experience, should prevent the Federal Government from granting any permanent franchises in any of our territories. Lands which have come, or shall come, into the possession of the United States, should be held in trust for the people of the territory, and, as far as practicable, should be disposed of to actual settlers in the spirit of the homestead laws. In all territories of the United States the Federal Government should see that public schools are provided under federal control, and, when necessary, at federal expense, for the education of all children of school age, until permanent governments are organized able to provide and maintain such schools. The Christian religion is the basis of Christian civilization; and the new opportunities opened before the American people, and the new responsibilities laid upon them, demand the co-operation of all the Christian churches in an endeavor to inculcate the principles, and impart the spirit, of the gospel of Christ. In brief, the object of action, whether governmental, philanthropic or religious, should be to secure to these dependent peoples just government, righteous laws, industrial opportunities, adequate education and a pure and free religion.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES, 1901.

President: MERRILL E. GATES, LL.D.

Secretaries: MRS. ISABEL C. BARROWS, MR. JOSHUA W. DAVIS, MRS.
GEORGE H. KNIGHT.

Treasurer: MR. FRANK WOOD, 352 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

Business Committee: DR. LYMAN ABBOTT, DR. ADDISON P. FOSTER, MR.
DANIEL SMILEY, MR. LUCIEN C. WARNER, MR. D. W. MCWILLIAMS,
MR. PHILIP C. GARRETT, MR. DARWIN R. JAMES, GEN. T. J. MORGAN.

Press Reporter: MR. W. H. McELROY.

Publication Committee: MRS. I. C. BARROWS, MR. JOSHUA W. DAVIS, MR.
FRANK WOOD.

THE NINETEENTH LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 16, 1901.

The Nineteenth Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian was called to order after morning prayers, which were conducted by Rev. Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler, at 10 A. M. Wednesday, October 16, 1901. The guests were welcomed by Mr. A. K. Smiley, the generous host of the occasion, in the following words:—

Ladies and Gentlemen: The time has arrived for the Nineteenth Annual Conference of the Friends of the Indian. I am not sure but we shall have to change that name. These friends are friends of other peoples besides the Indians. I cannot begin to tell you how much pleasure it gives me to welcome you here. To see a company of men and women, with earnest hearts and clear brains, coming together to discuss the elevation of different races of people, and the best way of doing it, is to me an intense delight. I believe all good causes can be best promoted by the friendly, earnest, open discussion of people holding different views, comparing notes, and then arriving at some conclusion. We have always had open and free discussion here, and at the end have come to some conclusion in which we could agree, owing to the fact that there were peace-makers as well as wise heads among us.

I have great hopes for the success of this Conference. There are here this morning just an even hundred invited guests, with about fifty yet to come. There are two hundred and thirty-one regular guests of the house also here,—an unusual number at this time of the year. I am afraid that we may have to put our Conference off later another year, because we do not like to turn away people who want to attend it.

It has been thought best that the Indian question should not monopolize the whole three days of the meeting. A great many matters which needed attention eighteen years ago have been settled now, so that the need of an Indian conference is not so strong as it was; but other questions have come up which are very important, such as Porto Rico, the Philippines and Hawaii, about which we ought to confer, and time will be given for that.

It is important that we have a good presiding officer, and I have always assumed the privilege of nominating one. We have had

one man who has served us admirably for some years, and I have no doubt that it will meet with your full approval when I again nominate as our presiding officer Dr. Merrill E. Gates, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

The motion was seconded, and Dr. Gates was unanimously elected.

Dr. Gates took the chair and called for further organization.

On motion of Mr. Philip C. Garrett the following Secretaries were elected in the order named: Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, Mr. Joshua W. Davis, Mrs. George H. Knight.

On motion of Mr. Charles F. Meserve, Mr. Frank Wood, of Boston, who, as was said, has served the Conference faithfully for eleven years in that capacity, was elected Treasurer.

On motion of Mr. James Talcott the following-named persons were elected a Business Committee: Dr. Lyman Abbott, Dr. Addison P. Foster, Mr. Daniel Smiley, Mr. Lucien C. Warner, Mr. D. W. McWilliams, Mr. Philip C. Garrett, Mr. Darwin R. James and Gen. T. J. Morgan.

On motion of Hon. W. W. Beardshear, Mr. William H. McElroy was elected press reporter.

On motion of Dr. H. B. Frissell the following Publication Committee was elected: Mrs. I. C. Barrows, Mr. Joshua W. Davis and Mr. Frank Wood.

The following address was delivered by Dr. Gates, the presiding officer.

THE NEXT STEPS TO BE TAKEN.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT MERRILL E. GATES, LL.D., OF
THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends of the Indians, and Members of the Mohonk Conference: Once more in response to the hospitable invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, we are met at Mohonk to take counsel together for the welfare of the Indians. The beauty of the autumn time renews itself no more unfailingly than does the gracious and hearty welcome of our host to his annual guests. The beauty of the autumn does not pall with added years; but all the glories of the autumn time are suggestive of fruit, and our Conferences here, beautiful as they are in their setting of natural scenery, and gracious and delightful as they are in their social intercourse and their ennobling friendships, do not exist primarily and chiefly for these social and æsthetic delights. The rich colors of autumn and its falling foliage bear witness to a period of life which has been used in producing fruit, and enriching other lives; and so it passes in serene beauty, its mission accomplished. And all our Conferences here, to those of us who have known them for almost a score of years now, are valued, and have become beautiful in memory,

not chiefly for the gracious charm which has marked our intercourse here, but by the fruitage of ennobling friendship in our united helpful effort to uplift and enrich the life of the less favored and belated races of our country.

PROGRESS ALREADY MADE.

Much has been accomplished in these eighteen years. In the autumn of 1884, when I was first present at a Mohonk Indian Conference, the only original Americans had no rights before the law. They were without citizenship, and they could not possibly become citizens. They had no homes. No way was open to them by which they might enter into the life of our people. There was no door of hope for the Indian. A severalty bill to give them homes, which had been drafted and urged by the Board of Indian Commissioners as early as 1870, did not become a law until 1886. There was no adequate system of Government schools; and the mission schools and contract schools of the different denominations reached but a small fraction of the Indian children of school age.

Now, about sixty thousand of the Indians have become citizens, under the Severalty Act. If we except the twenty thousand Navaho, there is almost enough of opportunity at Indian schools for all the Indian children of school age. The average of attendance at Indian schools is approximating that of the average schools for whites in our country. The number of Indians who are dependent upon rations is decreasing from year to year, and should be still more rapidly diminished. Wars between Indians and the United States Government are at an end, as we believe. And we dare to hope that there will not be much more even of bloody rioting on the part of Indians against the authorities. The regulations of the Civil Service have removed from the problem many of the evils connected with inexperience and incapacity on the part of teachers and employees in the service. There is no longer a "clean sweep" for partisan reasons after each general election. The service still suffers terribly from the appointment of incapable and worthless agents by local and political influence, and purely from partisan considerations. But we remember that in 1892 Theodore Roosevelt, then Civil Service Commissioner, and an interested participant in this Conference at Mohonk, said that the President of the United States, while he could not by his own act put Indian agents under the Civil Service Law, could, if he chose, put an end to many of the evils attaching to the present system of appointing agents, by declaring that he would not nominate as Indian agent any man whose fitness for the service had not been tested and approved by examination, or by some competent commission; and we have confidence that Theodore Roosevelt, as President of the United States, knowing the actual condition of affairs upon our Western Indian reservations by personal observation as no other President has ever known them, in some way which shall commend itself to his sound judgment and his high principles, as President will carry into effect the reforms which, as Commissioner, he saw were so much needed in order to secure well qualified

and effective men as Indian agents, and to keep in positions where their experience will be of service to the nation and the Indians, the agents who show themselves capable.

REGULATIONS TO PROTECT THE FAMILY.

During this last year decided progress has been made in more than one line of effort that looks toward the solution of the Indian problem. Those of you who were present at this Conference a year ago, remember how strongly your Chairman insisted at that time upon the crying need of regulations for the licensing and solemnizing of Indian marriages, and for the making and keeping of a permanent record, at every agency, of family relations, and of births and deaths, as well as of marriages. If any others felt, as your Chairman certainly felt (at the close of the session, in which the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had spoken to us in a way to command so fully the interest and the esteem of all who heard him make that address), that the Chairman of the Conference went to the extreme limit of the allowable in urging upon the Commissioner of Indian Affairs his personal responsibility for taking immediate action to carry into effect such a system of family records, we may say, in the circle of the Conference, that the friendly challenge to act at once was taken up most cordially by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; and before your Chairman and the Commissioner reached Washington, steps had been taken to prepare the necessary papers and blanks. The experienced head of a division in the Indian Bureau, Miss Cook, was named by Commissioner Jones to give especial attention to this matter. Members of the Conference will be gratified to know that the entire system of instructions, forms and regulations requiring the licensing and solemnizing of marriages between the Indians, forbidding polygamous marriages, providing for the immediate registration of all families at each Indian agency, and for a permanent record of all births, marriages and deaths, has gone into effect in the Indian service within the last two months. To Commissioner Jones (and to Miss Cook, of the Indian Bureau, to whose manifold duties the preparation and supervision of these forms were added), belongs the credit for immediate and effective action along this important line. The Secretary of the Interior has given his hearty approval to the plan.

We are anticipating with pleasure the presence of Commissioner Jones, to speak to us at a subsequent session of this Conference; and from him we shall hear in detail of the progress of the year in Indian affairs.

THE END OF "THE INDIAN SYSTEM" IS IN SIGHT.

Among the many matters connected with the Indian problem which interest us, and to which true friends of the Indian and lovers of their country must still give thought and steadfast effort, *one or two subjects are so centrally, so supremely important*, that I want to impress them especially upon your thought. I want to ask you, as leaders of public thought and shapers of public opinion, through

the press, the pulpit, and that ever-widening influence which belongs to the intelligent womanhood of our land, to *do all that lies in your power to stimulate thought, and to secure legislative and administrative action along these central lines.*

CONSERVATIVE INFLUENCE OF TRIBAL FUNDS.

You know the intensely conservative force of vested funds in maintaining an established order of things. Many who are eager and strenuous in their efforts to influence men toward new and wiser courses of action, seem to be struck with paralysis of awe when they contemplate millions of dollars which have been used in certain ways, and therefore, in the minds of many, always should be used in precisely the same way. When vast tracts of land and great sums of money are united in their force of inertia to perpetuate great abuses, all hope of change seems to die out of the hearts of many. The history of "mortmain," and its deadly conservative effect upon the life of certain European nations, is a notable case in point.

By the old system, in Indian affairs, our National Government palavered and treated with the so-called "tribal governments" of Indians. This evil, old system was based upon the idea of isolated reservation life for savages, while we pauperized them by feeding them rations in their laziness; and thus we cut off from civilization (not for the use of Indians, but merely as vacant "roaming ground," no longer hunting fields) vast realms of our territories, larger than states. Twenty years ago this system seemed solidly intrenched behind the conservative bulwarks of landed interests and great tribal funds.

The inertia and opposition to all reform which was inherent in the land system of the undivided reservation for the tribe, we have successfully attacked by the Severalty Act. Nearly sixty thousand homestead farms and holdings have been carved out of a small fraction of the reservations. And the land still held by the Government for Indian reservations is greater in extent than the area of all the New England States, New York, New Jersey, and half of Pennsylvania. But by recognizing the individual Indian (instead of the tribe) in his right to hold and use land, we are steadily making of Indians self-supporting and home-loving citizens; while we are at the same time doing away with many of the evils of the reservation, and opening vast tracts of land to settlement, and to the influence and example of American homes and civilized families.

TRIBAL FUNDS PREVENT PROGRESS.

The conservative influence of the vast tribal funds held in trust by the Government of the United States for Indians remains intact. Only those who watch attempted legislation and the efforts of claim agents for Indian tribes, can properly estimate the dead weight of inertia which often crush attempts at reform in methods

of dealing with the Indians, or the constant temptation to perversion of justice which the maintenance of these unused funds inevitably stimulates. The influence of these funds is always felt in favor of perpetuating the worst abuses of the reservation system, with its issue of rations to able-bodied idlers, its favored and too often exorbitant agency traders, its long perpetuated "annuity payments" in goods and in cash, its indefinitely prolonged period of helpless tutelage for Indian men and women who are not taught the proper use of money and property, by themselves using it, but become sadly familiar with its abuses by having it doled out to them in ways which render them still more helpless. When this Conference and other friends of the Indian unite in asking that agencies pronounced by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to be no longer needed, and worse than useless, be abolished, the selfish interests of the localities where money from the tribal funds has been spent, come to the front. Intense pressure is brought to bear upon Senators and members of Congress to continue the agency with all its evils. This is not the place to recount in detail the history, even of the last year, in respect to such recommendations. But here, as everywhere, the conservative force of these tribal funds in keeping "things as they are" and at their worst, in our Indian service, can hardly be overestimated. When Dickens satirized the delay—the "red tape," the deadly conservatism of "the circumlocution office"—in attacking the evils of chancery practice in England a generation ago, Americans used to feel thankful that in America such things were not possible. But those of us who at Washington watch the skill with which a system of "how not to do it" can be perpetuated by department methods, under the influence of the conservatism of great tribal funds, at times are tempted to feel that the worst enemy of reform for the Indians is the (sometimes unconscious) combination of well-meaning employees, who stand for doing things precisely as they have always been done, and shrewd intriguers,—Indian and white,—who wish tribal funds and Indian claims to be indefinitely perpetuated, that they may profit by the "system as it is."

(Here the speaker related incidents to illustrate his position.)

I ask you, then, how can the Indian take his place as an American citizen among American citizens, if the Government is to perpetuate indefinitely a system which holds him in tutelage (for his alleged interest), and administers vast tribal funds for him "as a ward." Let the Government, as guardian, prepare to "give a final accounting" of what it has done with these trust funds of its ward. As fast as they "come to years of discretion," let these so-called "wards" be intrusted with the management of their own property. And because the Indian tribe is neither a sound social group nor a political entity, let us cease to keep up the pretense that the Government can do good to Indians by dealing with the little groups of half-breeds, Indians and "squaw men" (I use the term with an apology, but purposely, to indicate the whites who for interested reasons marry Indian women), whose corrupt and selfish use of the funds which come into their hands has been proven in so many cases, and has brought "tribal councils" into contempt.

WHAT IS THE REMEDY? · BREAK UP TRIBAL FUNDS.

Let the Government recognize the individual Indian in his right to his divided share of the tribal fund, as the Government has already recognized the individual Indian in his right to his divided share of the tribal land. A law can be and should be devised (and such a law should be speedily enacted) by which a date should be fixed (for each tribe) after which no more children shall be born into such tribal relations as will give them the right to an undivided share in tribal funds. Let no Indian child born after that date have any share in tribal funds, except as he may inherit, under the laws of the State or Territory in which he resides, the right to a part of his father's or his mother's individual holding of a share of those funds.

The system of family records at agencies, for which the Board of Indian Commissioners has earnestly called for the last two years, within the last three months has been put into operation. Wherever the Government has sought to divide tribal funds in the past, *the first great difficulty has been to secure a trustworthy list of those who were entitled to a share in such division.* The system of family records at each agency, this year inaugurated by the Department, if faithfully carried out, will at once give a basis for such a complete list in the case of each tribe.

OUTLINE OF THE NEEDED LAW.

My idea of a general plan for breaking up tribal funds is something like this: Let a list of all those in a tribe who are entitled to a share in such a tribal fund, at a given date be prepared and filed; and let a general law provide that, on that date, the whole fund for that tribe (possibly with such reservations for educational and tax-paying purposes as may be wise and consistent with the equities of the spirit and intent that governed the treaty) be divided into individual holdings, and let each member of the tribe who is entitled, on that date, to a share in the fund, be credited with his divided and individual share. Let no children born after that date have any share, save as they inherit from their parents or older relatives, under the laws of the State or Territory in which they reside. Let these individual holdings stand to the credit of individual Indians upon the books of the agency, and upon the books of the Department and the Treasury. This means some increase in clerical force at Washington; but the expense in salaries for such an increase of clerical force for a short time, would be as nothing compared to the money that is annually wasted in "keeping the system as it is." Let authority be given by law to the Secretary of the Interior, upon recommendation of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to fix a date for each tribe at which these individual holdings shall be paid to the individual Indians in whose name they stand on the Treasury books. Such a date might be fixed for the entire tribe in numerous instances, and payments might be made to all immediately. The Indians of several tribes are now prepared to use well such payments. In the

case of other tribes it might be wiser to fix a date on which all Indians who can meet certain prescribed tests of intelligence, and so manifest a fitness to manage their own affairs, should be paid each his own individual share, while the other members of the tribe should receive each his own share as rapidly as he might be able to meet similar tests. In this way we should soon see "the beginning of the end" of that injurious system by which the United States Government holds and administers great sums of money for a peculiarly pampered, exceptionally favored body of native Americans! Of course, some Indians would at once waste the money they received. But added years of observation are bringing all friends of the Indian to the unanimous conviction that Indians cannot learn to swim successfully in the tides of civilization if they "never go near the water!" We are all settling into the conviction that *there is but one way for people to learn how to use property, and that is by using it.* The Government may deem it best to make some provision by which Indian holders of allotted lands may have at least a portion of the regular county, state and territorial taxes upon their lands paid for them during the period of protected title, so that there may no longer be a harsh division of interests between Indian settlers untaxed and the neighboring white settlers, who alone are now taxed for local government and local improvements which are of benefit to Indians and whites alike. Is there any wiser way to fit the Indian for citizenship than by intrusting to him (with such limitations as have been indicated above) his own money, to be used in his own way? When the few years needed to inaugurate such a system shall have passed, there will be comparatively few Indians under forty years of age who have not had some instruction in our schools. The process of education by contact with whites, melancholy as are some of its results, goes forward, and must go forward, and upon the whole does good. We are entirely convinced that the Government should break up tribal funds into individual holdings, and should bring the Indians as rapidly as possible under the civilizing influence of our American public schools, where Indian and white children can mingle, and of local government and good fellowship in neighborly interests. This *participation in our American life will fit Indians for citizenship* more rapidly and better than any other instrumentality which could be devised.

CHECK THE LEASING OF INDIAN LANDS; STOP RATIONS FOR THE IDLE.

Certain groups of Indians who ten years ago were working upon their own land, are now leasing their lands, securing enough yearly rental to supply them with the mere necessities of life, and not doing a stroke of work for the last few years. We are thus sending them back to barbarism, by allowing them to lease their lands. We had lifted them a little way by land and labor; we are letting them fall back again. From the issue of rations, from a share in "annuity payments," and from leasing their lands, they get enough to enable them to live in idleness. The necessity of working if one

would eat—the great fundamental discipline of civilized life—we deprive them of. While you seek to inculcate sound ideas as to the breaking up of tribal funds, will you not in these next months use all your influence to direct public thought to the danger and evils which attend that reckless leasing of Indian lands, allotted and unallotted, which enables Indians to live in squalid idleness? And will you not protest against the continuance of rations to able-bodied men who will not work?

CONNECT THE "HOMESTEAD" IDEA WITH THE ALLOTING OF LANDS IN SEVERALTY.

Is it not possible, as we approach the final solution of the Indian problem, to devise some plan by which the title of an Indian to his allotted land shall be made to a certain degree dependent upon occupancy and use, so that the principle of the Homestead Act, which gives land to the actual settler who wishes to use it, may be worked in with the principle of the Severalty Act? I have not yet attempted to think through the details of such a plan. Its suggestion was made to me since we came together for this Conference by one of the thoroughly educated young women who, from philanthropic motives, and from the experience gained in unselfish Christian service among the Indians, are thinking out results. I am sure that the idea deserves our careful attention.

INFORMATION CAN BE HAD FROM THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS.

Let me say to the friends of the Indians who are attending this Conference, that requests for our Annual Reports, or for such literature of information as we can place within your reach, if addressed to me, as Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1429 New York Avenue, Washington, D. C., will receive immediate attention. And our Board always welcomes suggestions and questions from those who are interested in that policy of educating, uplifting and Christianizing the Indian, and thus fitting him for intelligent American citizenship, which the Board of Indian Commissioners was thirty years ago created and commissioned to devise, shape and forward,—that "the Indian question" may cease to exist.

CONGRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT INTEND TO DO WHAT IS RIGHT.

In the purposes which we have at heart in this Conference, friends of the Indians should come to understand that the Government of the United States—in the Department and in Congress—is with us and not against us. I want to bear witness here to the steadily growing confidence with which those who seek justice for the Indian may expect to be received by the members of the House of Representatives and of the Senate of the United States. It is now more than seventeen years since I became a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners; and as Chairman of that Board for nine years, and its Secretary for the last two years, I have had occasion

to see something of every Congress which has convened since 1884. Sixteen or eighteen years ago it was difficult to find members of Congress in the Senate or in the House who would listen to suggestions with intelligence and friendly interest when justice, education and civilization for the Indian were the objects sought. Senator Dawes in the Senate and Mr. Darwin R. James, now Chairman of this Board, when a member of the House, were perhaps the most prominent and consistent friends of the Indian in the very small group who at that time could be counted upon to favor legislative efforts at justice and civilization for the Indians. There seemed to be comparatively few members of Congress who did not share the feeling expressed in the old and bitter gibe, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian!" Now there are few members of either House who share in that feeling, and a still smaller number who venture to express the feeling if they have it! Gradually, but steadily, a great change has come about in Congress. When the members of our Board appear before the House Committee, whose chairman is with us in this Conference to-day, we uniformly find him and his fellow-members of the committee quick to appreciate the rights and the needs of the Indian, and responsive to every appeal for justice. This is equally true of the Senate Committee. It is well for friends of the Indian to appreciate this changed attitude toward the matters which interest us here. Always there will be the pressure of many other interests to stand in the way of giving time to needed legislation for the Indians. And always there will be some selfishly interested men in Congress, and outside of Congress, who will seek in every possible way to obstruct legislation which, if secured, would put an end to the abuses by which they profit. But, in general, we have the right to feel that our Senators and Representatives in Congress intend to do the righteous thing. And I have no sympathy with those writers and teachers of morality, whether they are preachers, editors or college professors, who cannot speak of members of Congress or of men who are active in political life without an implied sneer. The teacher of morality is never truer to his high calling than when he insists upon high standards of honor and morality in the public life of our land, and recognizes these principles in the lives of public men who practice them!

THE INFLUENCE OF THIS CONFERENCE STEADILY GROWS.

There was a time in the early history of the Mohonk Conference when a little band of the tried and true, who had been pioneers in special work for the Indian, met here, and were drawn into such close relations with one another that, if death entered the circle during the year, all the members of this Conference felt the loss as a personal bereavement. It is a source of great encouragement to those of us who have longest shared in this work, that the number of those who, through the meetings of this annual Conference are deeply interested in the welfare of the Indians has come to be so large, that we feel the enthusiasm of numbers as well as the enthusiasm of a lofty purpose. Our circle has now grown to such pro-

portions that we do not venture even to name over in public the list of those who, from year to year, are called from our life of Christian service here into the larger life beyond. But high aims in life make firm friends; and the higher the aim the greater the number of aspiring souls who may be bound by it to one another, and to that grateful service of the God who loves us, which is possible only in the loving service of our fellow-men. To the fellowship of this high service, as your Chairman, as President of the Conference, I bid all a most cordial welcome. Those who are with us for the first time (at first disinterested spectators, but sure to become interested friends of the cause) are no less welcome than are the trusted friends who have so often taken counsel together here in the years that are past.

Gen. THOMAS J. MORGAN.—I received yesterday a brief statement of the tribute of Lone Wolf to President McKinley, which to me was very touching. Lone Wolf was one of the chiefs of the Kiowa Indians. He has professed Christianity, and united with a little local church. I would like to read this tribute. It was taken in shorthand as he spoke.

LONE WOLF'S TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT MCKINLEY.

Lone Wolf, Chief of the Kiowas, lives near the new town of Hobart, which sprang up in a day when the Kiowa reservation was opened to settlement in August. The following account of his remarks, as contained in the *Kansas City Star* of October 3d, is vouched for as substantially correct by one who heard him speak:—

“One of the unique incidents of the memorial services held at Hobart in honor of President McKinley was the address delivered by Lone Wolf. He had been invited to make a talk, but when he arrived at the place of meeting he called for an interpreter. None being present, Lone Wolf, who is Chief of the Kiowas, rose up from his seat and solemnly addressed the crowd. He spoke as follows, according to a stenographer's report of his address: ‘Mebbe so me not talk; mebbe so me not read; mebbe so me not make you understand when me talk. Me never go to school, but me not like I used to be. Mebbe so me better than me was. Me changed. Mebbe me pa was bad; he not know better. He not read. Mebbe so he not Christian, for he lived long ago and go on the warpath and kill.

“‘Mebbe last summer me go to Washington to see McKinley. McKinley he work; he work; he great father; he be fine man. Me shake hands with him and me proud. Me like him, the great father.’

“At this point Lone Wolf raised his hands in a gesture of sorrow, and with tears streaming down his cheeks, said: ‘Mebbe so McKinley dead; him gone; him no more walks; him no more speaks to

his red children; him dead.' With breaking voice he continued: 'Me not able to say what me mean. Me know. Mebbe people all over country, mebbe so white people and Indians feel heap bad, —Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches sorry.' With tears flooding down his cheeks he said: 'Me sorry; me heap sorry. That's all.' Notwithstanding his bad English and disjointed remarks, Lone Wolf made a wonderful impression on his audience."

The Chairman introduced the next speaker as a man of clear vision and great experience, "our beloved General Whittlesey."

Gen. E. WHITTLESEY.—I have no hesitation in saying that the Indian service is improving year by year. It is now administered by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior at Washington, honestly and faithfully; and in the field, though here and there a man creeps into office through political influence who is unfit for the place, yet the great majority of Indian agents, inspectors, teachers and matrons are honest, faithful and efficient; so that as we look back, some of us who have been watching Indian matters for twenty-five or thirty years, and see how order and system have been made to replace chaotic confusion, we feel that there is ground in the present state of affairs for optimism as we look toward the future.

One auspicious fact is the retention of our present excellent Commissioner of Indian Affairs in office. Some years ago we tried pretty hard to secure the retention of another good Commissioner of Indian Affairs, but political influence was too much for us. The present auspicious fact is due to the wisdom of that noble, much-loved President William McKinley. However much we mourn and shall continue to mourn his untimely death, yet another auspicious fact is that we have in the White House at Washington, as our Chief Magistrate, a man who has a large knowledge of Indian affairs, larger probably than that of any President who has preceded him, and who is fully committed to the principles of Civil Service Reform. We may feel sure that he will make no changes in the personnel of the service without cause, and that he will make no new appointments without having ascertained in some way the fitness for office of those whom he appoints.

I may mention another auspicious fact, and that is that A. K. Smiley still lives and that the Mohonk Conference still thrives. It certainly is no insignificant fact that a hundred and fifty or two hundred men and women gather here year after year at a considerable sacrifice of time, and sometimes of business interests, to discuss topics of interest concerning the education, the industries, the moral training of a race of our own people. These things afford ground for optimism as we look to the future. Above all, and far greater than all, is our assurance that God himself is with us; and with Him on our side it matters very little who or what is against us.

The CHAIRMAN.—We are to have now the pleasure of listening to one of those fearless women who, years ago, went beyond the verge

of civilization to dwell among warlike savages, where she has entrenched herself in the affections of the Indians, and has done more, perhaps, than any one woman we could name to lead the Sioux to Christian civilization,—Miss Mary C. Collins, of Standing Rock Agency, Fort Yates, North Dakota.

ADDRESS OF MISS MARY COLLINS.

It is always a great pleasure to come to Mohonk and stand before these friends, though I hardly know what to say, there are so many things I would like to have you know and understand. I want to speak from the standpoint of the Indian, letting you into the life of the Indian,—his home and thought and heart life. The Indian, like all other people, has his intellectual, his physical and his spiritual nature; and we must reach him in all points if we would make a full man of him. I should say, also, that all we can do for him intellectually and physically, although very important, is not enough; we must reach him spiritually, because we cannot separate the Indian from his religion. It is impossible. His daily, hourly life in the old times was religious, and the religious spirit comes up in everything that he does. If an Indian smokes, he is offering incense; it is part of his religion. He does not smoke to gratify his appetite. Wherever tobacco does not grow he uses the red willow bark or Kinnikinnick. They sit in a circle, and after lifting up the pipe to the Great Spirit, and then to the four winds, and making a prayer, they pass the pipe around the circle. So in the dances. All the dances are religious ceremonies. If I could only have the people understand, and have our agents understand, and the Government understand that dancing, to the Indians, is not play, I think I could make a great step forward in teaching the Indians to lay aside old customs. To the white man dancing is play, and to have the old-time Indian dances and Wild West Fourth of July to amuse the white people is a great thing in the West; and some of our best Indians are led into this through the prizes offered and the glory they get out of it from those who ought to work to stop these things. It is not play; it is religious worship, and an Indian cannot go into it for exhibition without doing violence to his conscience as a religious man; and no man can violate his conscience and not retrograde. Not only is dancing a part of their religion, but even the preparation for going after the game has its religious ceremony. So, also, when they start on the warpath. Everything they do they do with prayer. They are praying constantly. From childhood they are taught their dependence upon the Unseen, not the one Great Spirit as we understand it, but upon something which is unseen and unknown,—the Wakonda, the Great Unknown. We are so apt to speak of Indian gods as if they meant the great God. He worships everything under the sun, and the sun itself. He offers prayers to them, but he knows nothing of a God of Love. All the old gods were cruel and required sacrifices,

and brought all kinds of trouble to the Indian. They had never a god that brought blessing.* What was the maize dance? When the Indian went out, was it to offer thanksgiving for his corn? It was not that. All these prayers were raised to the various spirits that they should not destroy the corn crop, that they should not come with blighting winds and frosts to destroy and take away their life food from them. It was not a prayer to bring a blessing. It was a prayer to let them alone. When we come to the Indian tribe,—I speak of the Sioux,—we find them full of religion. Now can we train them to make them self-supporting men and leave out this most important part of their lives? It is impossible. We must bring to them a knowledge of the true God, a knowledge of Christ, a knowledge of how to live the true Christian life. If we remember that they are essentially religious, we readily meet a response from them. When you meet an Indian on that ground, he can understand what you are talking about. If you ask that his children be educated, he does not feel much interest in that. If you ask that they be taught a trade, he cannot understand what benefit it would be; but talk to him about the Great Spirit, about the inner life, about prayer; tell him that you have the word of God, that God is directing his people, that they are God's people, and he can meet you, and you will gain his confidence. The President in introducing me spoke of the devotion of the Indians to me. It is because I have come to them in this spirit. There is no Indian so poor or so low or so ignorant that he does not know something of the religious life; and knowing that I am a religious teacher, he can open his heart to me, and speaking his language, I can understand him and help him.

I was much interested in stopping at Buffalo. I made my way from the gate directly to the Indian show in the Midway, and I reached there just in time to see a chief from Pine Ridge introduced to the great throng as the greatest living chief of the Sioux nation. The audience was told that this man was the greatest warrior among the Sioux, that he had killed many people, and was considered by the President of the United States and by the generals of the army as one of the greatest generals of the day; that he had been on the warpath and followed up by our army, which was not able to overtake him, and had to call in assistance from another country before he was vanquished. Then an Indian whom I do not know made a speech to the people at the door, and the old man in his own tongue said: "My friends, we are brought here by your white people to play before you, and in the inside of this tent the play will be going on; and if you pay, you will see our people. You will see us ride on our horses. This is all I have to say." The interpreter said: "Now you will want to know what the old man said. He said that he wished he had been in this late war, that he would have annihilated all those enemies, and he also said that he was a great man among his own people, and that there was only one thing that he was not happy about, and that was that he had only eight wives, and there was another old red devil on the reservation that had nine."

(Cries of Shame! Shame!)

The PRESIDENT.—It is a shame, is it not, that such things should be tolerated. Was the so-called interpreter a Government official?

Miss COLLINS.—I do not know. I stood within six feet of him and heard the speech. The congress of Indians as I saw it was only a poor imitation of a Wild West Show with another name. I tell you this that you may understand how perfectly helpless these people are in the hands of their interpreters, and how important it is that you know your interpreters when you use them in Washington. I have frequently been in a great meeting when I have heard things said by the Indian which were translated by the interpreter to mean a very different thing. Our Indians are very often misrepresented in this way.

It is necessary for the good of these people that the missionary should keep out of all political questions on the reservation as far as possible; but when the missionary is a woman and speaks the language of the people, and is among three or four thousand Indians who know that they can go to her without an interpreter and tell her everything that is in their heart, she does sometimes get mixed up in the politics of the reservation, and it is necessary that she should make protests against things that are going on which she knows are a detriment to the Indians. I look forward to the time when the Indian shall own his own home, and the issue of rations shall be done away with. But I live neighbor to these people. I am right at their doors; I visit their houses every day and know them as you know your neighbors; and it is a very hard thing when an order comes to cut down rations, and we know that owing to drouth almost nothing has been raised to eat. How can it be done? What are they to eat? I know it is said that necessarily some must starve, but must it be dear old Grindstone, the faithful old chief who has served his people all his life, a Christian man, loyal to the Government, who for many years has cared for his old mother who is one hundred, and he himself seventy-nine? Must they go hungry and die, perhaps, because "some must suffer"? Could you pick out those who might starve? Very many are hungry to-day because the rations have been cut down so small that in places they barely sustain life. I know that you cannot make men out of people who are always fed; but are there not enough wise people to make the change come in such a way that it will not be felt so violently in its coming? Why should a Senatorial Committee come out from Washington and make a treaty with the Indians, and in ten years after we be told that the treaty is old fashioned; that they did the best they knew, but that things are different now?

President GATES.—In your opinion how could a measure be devised which should discriminate between those who really need help and those who do not?

PLAN FOR REDUCING INDIAN RATIONS.

Miss COLLINS.—After one year's notice, I would cut off all English-speaking mixed bloods, and all families of white men who have married Indians. At the same time I would also give notice that

in two years all English-speaking young men (and their families) who have been in school shall be cut off, and in one more year those coming out of school, etc. But have it understood that a man who has had his rations taken away should take his allotment of land for home at once, still holding his right in the grazing land. On Standing Rock the land should be allotted in homesteads, and let the grazing land be in common, as there is so little water that the reservation cannot support many cattle unless they are herded on the streams. To become self-supporting they must raise cattle.

The half-breeds are almost all English speaking, and have more influence with the agents than an Indian who cannot speak for himself. Most of them have some property. Then, not too rapidly, I would take it from others, but never without previous notice.

I would let the old people, those who will never be able to support themselves, and who have but little property, and who will live probably only a few years, have rations; and where rations are stopped and land taken, I would give cows to them to start a herd.

I want to leave the impression with you who believe in the Christian work that you *must see to it that the missionary work is carried on and supported*. Whatever the Government does, it cannot do this Christian work in the hearts of the people. If we would change a savage Indian into a citizen who shall be faithful to the Government, there must be those as guides who care for his soul life as well as his physical life. If we take away his old religion we must give him something in its place, for his religion is cruel; and he cannot become a good citizen, the best kind of a citizen, with his old ideas of religion, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

A CRISIS.

I would ask that the friends at Mohonk, the Indian Rights Association, and all who have gathered here as friends of the Indian, take more thought for our people. We have indeed reached a crisis; and between the Government's idea of treaty rights and the greed of Western cattle men, and the power of railroads, and weakness of Indian agents and their helplessness in the hands of State politicians, we were never before so much in need of strong, able friends to see that the Indian is not deprived of all the benefits which should come to him. Allot the lands as soon as possible; but in no case allow the lands to be rented to cattle men in bulk, lest we are in the condition of the State of Nevada, where the cattle men have all the water, and farmers have no chance to live.

Friends, if you are not alert now to prevent wrongs, you will have to be aroused sooner or later to a state of things that will make you see that the Indian problem has two sides. Do not let all of these great questions of the day in regard to our new possessions make you forget that our Indians are in this helpless condition, not of their own choice, but in obedience to the demands made by the Government through treaties. Then hold these treaties sacred until you can induce the Government honorably to get out of them the best way for both parties, just as if they were white people. I

trust that Congress will allow no juggling with words, but insist that, until lawfully abrogated, the treaties must be left.

Give the law, and liberty, and the religion of the meek and lowly Nazarene.

Miss Annie B. Scoville was introduced as the next speaker.

MISS ANNIE BEECHER SCOVILLE.—If there is an idol that the American people have, it is the school. What gold is to the miser, the schoolhouse is to the Yankee. If you don't believe it go out to Pine Ridge, where there are seven thousand Sioux on eight million acres of land incapable of supporting these people, and find planted over that stretch of territory thirty-two schoolhouses, standing there as a testimony to our belief in education. There is something whimsical in planting schoolhouses where no man can read, far from the highways, unneighbored by farms, and planted, not at the request of the Sioux, but because we believed it was good for them! It is a remedy for barbarism we think, and so we give the dose. Uncle Sam is like a man setting a charge of powder. The school is the slow match. He lights it and goes off whistling, sure that in time it will blow up the old life, and of its shattered pieces he will make good citizens. And there lies the danger. The danger is that he whistles over his task. It is easy to blow up the old life. It is easy to teach a child the three R's, and to put on him a civilized dress—though he may hide his clothes on the way home from school. It is easy to blow up the old life. But how if you have destroyed his old belief in the old father, such a father as Grindstone, who stands for the best, whether Indian or white? How is it if you take the child from the mother who can advise, and the daughter who can care for it, and if you say to the child, "See, education is all that you need"? And the child goes across from the schoolhouse to the Omaha dance house, which waits to teach its lessons. You say we must not take all amusement from these people, yet the Omaha lodge is an amusement that will not bear explanation; but for those who know what it was for the Hebrew to worship Baal, it will be easy to understand how that Omaha appeals to the flesh and this world, and robs those children of righteousness and the training that has been given them. Do not misunderstand me; this dance is not the worship of the old Indian. We have broken the life which demanded the exertion, the self-sacrifice, the long prayer and vigil which made the man. We have left nothing but a game which appeals to all that is low in life, and then we say that that is their social life. The children go to our schools, but all summer long, on every other Friday and Saturday, they go down to that Omaha. And when the mother says that is not a good thing to do they reply, "You don't know as much as I do: I can read." So, unchaperoned and unguarded, they go into that life, and the Indian camp is really less moral because of the work we have done in it. That sounds terrible for our schools, and yet I believe in the schools and in all that they can do; but we must not leave everything to them, and forget that though religion without education may breed

superstition, yet it is not so dangerous as education without religion, which makes of the barbarian an atheist. These boys and girls who are allowed to go on with these dances do not believe in them. If they had any religious significance to them it would be different; but we have wiped away by our work all that stood for strength, and now we are in danger of leaving these young people without a God; without an ideal to lift them up. However broadly you educate, unless you have given ideals to the people, unless you have put soul into the body, you might better leave it untrained. You do not want an educated savage. And the man who has no God is a man who is a danger to us, whether a modern socialist or a wild Indian.

Miss Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, was next introduced.

MISS ESTELLE REEL.—The work for the past year has been generally encouraging. I spend much of my time in the field,—about nine months each year,—and have just returned from Oregon and Washington. I find it much easier to go out and correct evils than to write about them. In Washington the Indians are nearly all citizens, and the time has arrived when they should be released from tutelage. I found Indian citizens riding into town in vehicles better than my old buckboard, and wearing better clothes than I. I call to mind one Indian whose income from lease money is \$800 annually, his land renting for \$10 per acre. These Indians speak good English, and I think need no further assistance from the Government in educational matters.

My heart goes out to the Indians of Arizona. They are not like the Indians of Oregon, many of whom are rich; nor those of Washington. They are greatly in need of assistance, and we are asking Congress to appropriate money for irrigating the arid lands of this region. If this request is granted, they will soon become not only self-supporting, but well to do.

Affairs in the Indian Territory are somewhat discouraging, owing to the fact that the Indians are so ready to lease their lands. An Indian woman who owned land near a school wished to obtain a position in the Government service, but I endeavored to make her see that it would be much more profitable for her to raise chickens, and sell eggs, butter and milk. A white woman in the same neighborhood sold \$60 worth per month, and I convinced her that it was better to remain at home and rear her children than to go into the Indian service at \$50 per month.

The missionaries are doing a noble work in uplifting and Christianizing the Indians, and the Indian Bureau greatly appreciates their efforts; but we cannot get many people to dedicate their lives to it as Miss Collins has. I want also to thank Mrs. Doubleday and the Woman's Association for their ever-ready sympathy and the great assistance they have been to me in my work.

Gen. T. J. Morgan was the next speaker.

THE RELATION OF THE GOVERNMENT TO ITS DEPENDENT CLASSES.

BY GEN. THOMAS J. MORGAN.

I am asked to say something on the general question of the relation of the Government to the education of its dependent classes, as it has been decided that the Conference should broaden its scope of discussion and include, not simply the education of the Indian, but the work of education as carried on by the Government for those that have been recently thrown under its watch-care, having particular reference to Porto Rico and the Philippines.

At this time we are forced back to the consideration of first principles, and I beg your indulgence for the brief time that I shall speak, while I state what I believe we are all agreed upon; and first, the great position that this republic holds in the history of freedom. It is a unique position, having no parallel in history. There have been republics; there have been free peoples; there have been governments in which there has been an attempt to embody the idea of popular liberty, but there never has been just such an experiment of free government, "a government of the people, for the people and by the people," as that which is being exemplified in our own country. We are attempting to substitute the power of the people for the power of the individual; the reign of law for the reign of force; the idea of the public weal as the object of government, instead of the idea of personal privilege or family prestige. We have met with much success in the launching and developing of this ideal republic upon our continent, but the extent of the territory is such that it militates against this success. Stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, three thousand miles, with all the diversity that necessarily attends it, the territory that the republic now occupies is such as to invite disintegration rather than to encourage the hope for unity. And then the diversity of our peoples! We have representatives of all the nations on earth and all the spoken languages. Men come to us with all of the traditional antipathies and race prejudices that have made wars the theme of history for the centuries that are past. The German and the French, the Italian, the Swede, the Russian and the Turk, all these and many others are represented here. The census bulletin shows that one third of our population of seventy-six million is either foreign born or born of foreign parentage. To take a nation so constituted and weld it into one; to make people of so many diverse interests one people in sentiment, thought and purpose, so that they may recognize that they are parts of a whole, with common interests and a common aim, is a stupendous task in human history. But we have made great progress in the achievement of our ideal: the republic endures after more than a century; one language pervades the whole nation, and the welding process goes on—little by little, day by day. We have had a marvelous illustration within the last few weeks that the heart of the nation, under a great national calamity, beats as one heart, that we mourn alike as brothers lamenting the loss of our common father.

Now the great thought that underlies this experiment of free government is that the people, who are the sources of power, who are the repositories of the ballot, the people must be competent for government. They are themselves the rulers. Their votes elect the President, Vice President, governors, mayors, and all those who temporarily exercise rule over them. It is they who decide the great policies of the Government. I tremble sometimes when I think of what an experiment it is to call upon the masses of the people of the United States and ask them to sit in judgment upon these great questions of public policy: questions of "protection," of "free trade;" questions of the "gold standard" or the "silver standard" or "bimetallism;" questions complex and difficult, that tax the wisdom and scholarship of the profoundest statesmen and economists. These great questions that lie at the foundation of our national life we submit to the masses of the people, asking them to decide them by their votes. And upon these votes hang the destiny of the nation and all the issues of our national life itself. Manifestly, if these great powers are to be exercised by this mass of voters in such a way as to conserve, promote and perpetuate our national institutions, they must be men of intelligence, a statement I need not discuss here. When we go to a man and ask him to deposit his ballot which is to decide whether the nation shall commit itself to the gold or the silver standard, to the great principle of protection, or the theory of free trade; when we appeal to him to decide by ballot whether we shall adopt the Philippines as part of our national life, or the Porto Rico people as our fellow-citizens, we commit to him mighty problems, and certainly have a right to expect that he shall have at least ordinary intelligence, that he shall know how to think and weigh arguments, and be able to decide in accordance with reason these great questions that are submitted to him.

And then we have a right to expect that these voters shall be men who are actuated by high motives, by a sense of justice, a sense of right; that they seek not partisan ends or personal advantage, but that their votes help to decide each question as it arises in accordance with the great principles of justice, equity and patriotism.

Let me dwell on patriotism for a moment. When the miner in the silver mines of Colorado is asked to express an opinion on the monetary system of the country he is asked to lift himself from his environment, from personal entanglements and practice, and to decide with reference to the welfare of the nation. It is a hard request. So when we ask the devoted churchman to pass upon some great question like the separation of church and state, he must put himself outside of his own creed; lay aside his personal predilections and the interests of his particular denomination. He must lift himself above all that and pass upon it as a great principle of government that affects not only the welfare of the nation, but that of other peoples of the earth. That is true patriotism which concerns itself with matters as related to the public weal and the prosperity of the nation as a whole. Local environment and personal opinion and prejudice are not to be considered.

We have made progress in preparing our people for this great experiment, and we have made it largely by the way of our public school system. I do not believe that education stands alone as the great factor that fashions a people, but it is one of the mighty forces. I have not time to discuss the influence of religion and law, but confine myself in what I have to say to the thought that the public school is not a mere fetich, not an idol, but a tremendous factor for good in the accomplishment of the specific end that we have in view,—that of preparing people for freedom. We have accomplished a great deal in the different States by our public schools; we are spending millions on millions of dollars, and are slowly perfecting a school system which ranges from the kindergarten up to the normal school, the university, the technological school, and they are all gradually bringing about the elevation of the average standard of intelligence among the people. Men are able to read, able to think, able to weigh arguments, able to consult libraries, able to prepare articles for the press, able to converse intelligently with their neighbors, and to go to the polls and in some degree express the result of their thought and study of the great economic questions by their votes.

The Government has undertaken to supplement this work of the States by establishing and maintaining a great school for the training of army officers at West Point and for naval officers at Annapolis. It has entered upon a broad scheme of intelligent, comprehensive culture for the Indians; and has learned many lessons in the last twenty-five years in the work that it has attempted to do for these people. But there are many things that have been left undone. There is to-day in the Indian Territory a population of probably two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand, whose children are growing up in absolute ignorance. There are no public schools of any kind. They are neglected while the Government—shall I say?—sits idly by. I will not say that, lest it reflect on the Government; but it sees that great mass of boys and girls growing up in ignorance, and not being fitted for the exercise and responsibility of citizenship. The same thing is true to a large degree in other Territories. The public school in Oklahoma is not sufficient for the needs of the people; it is not adequate in Arizona nor in New Mexico, and we have suffered a loss that the nation will regret for half a century because we did not have an adequate public school system in the Territory of Utah while it was under the control of the United States. We have in the South millions of men incapable of voting intelligently, because they are not educated according to the standard that we require for citizenship in the North; and the Government having given to that great mass the vote and made them citizens, it was in honor bound to see to it that they should be prepared for the exercise of the suffrage. But the Government neglected that great work.

Well, we are now face to face with these new questions of education in Porto Rico, and for the eight or ten millions brought under the flag in the Philippine Islands; and what I want to say is this: That I believe it to be the duty of the Government in this

hour of supreme opportunity to extend the system of education for the Indians, that has slowly grown to its present admirable proportions, to these other dependent peoples, who must look to the national Government for this training in citizenship which cannot be provided for them from any other source.

The United States has taken its place as one of the great powers of the earth, and has pledged itself by its history to give to the world an illustration of the new form of freedom embodied in law. The United States has the wealth that God has seen proper to put at its disposal, and more, apparently, than we know how to use properly. It is within the power of the present generation of statesmen at Washington to grapple with this problem in such a way, and to adopt such methods of education, as shall apply not simply to the Indian, not merely to Porto Rico and the Philippines, but to all those who have a right to look to the general Government for that guidance, training, culture, that shall fit them for the performance of their duties and the enjoyment of their privileges as members of this mighty republic of free men. Shall we do it? The Government alone has the power and the money, the experience and the wisdom, to do it. Is there anything comparable with it? Is the building of a new navy comparable with the establishment of a school system for those dependent on the national Government for their preparation for citizenship? Is the enlargement of our army comparable with it? Is the erection of public buildings, the laying out of parks, the dredging of rivers and lakes, comparable to it? Let me urge you to second the legislation of Congress in this direction, for there is no subject that can come before that body, neither the Isthmian canal, the Pacific cable, or anything else, that is of such vital importance as this question of providing an adequate system of education for those dependent on the Government for aid, and who must grow up in ignorance and unfitted for citizenship unless the Government lends a hand.

I am a good deal of an optimist. I cannot read the history of this country without a thrill of joy. I cannot recall the great men from Washington to Lincoln and McKinley that God has raised up and put in high places, without feeling that he is guiding us. I cannot survey the past without a profound conviction that it is a prophecy of a future rich beyond imagination; and yet we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that we have not yet attained complete success, that we have much, very much, to accomplish; that the work of education is as yet but begun. We know that we have destroyed slavery, have abolished the lottery, have done away with dueling, have made bull fighting impossible, have well-nigh driven from the country prize fighting, and there is a slowly rising level of public sentiment on all the great moral questions that affect our national life. And yet we know that the spirit of anarchy finds a home and a lodgment among us, and men declare openly that they are anarchists. We know that there is a spirit of lynching that has found its way even into the pulpit, so that here and there a minister has dared to intimate that the man who shot the President should have been at once lynched. We know, too, that such a spirit threatens the very

foundations of the Government. We know that recently in the great city of the West, where an enthusiast announced that he was Elijah returned for judgment, three thousand men and women cheered him to the echo. We know that there are superstitions that indicate a low level of public intelligence, and confess with shame that there is corruption in high places. But dare I mention Tammany, in New York, without mentioning a sister city?

We know that the foundations, the very existence of our institutions, are imperiled by the spirit that is abroad in the land, which needs correction by the public school and high moral teaching. You say I am growing pessimistic. But nations have perished. Where is Greece, who gave to the world its philosophy, its poetry and its art? Where is ancient Rome, that gave the world ideas of organization and of law? Where are those old nations of the far East whose names have been famous? To-day they have disappeared from the earth, and are but the precursors of our own nation on the road to ruin, unless we recognize the perils that beset us and set ourselves to work to correct and remove them.

And now that we are undertaking this broader work of training men for citizenship in the West Indies, in the Pacific and in the far isles of the Philippines, we need to have borne in upon us as never before that the work of the schoolhouse, the work of the teacher, of training men and women in intelligence, morals and in patriotism devolves upon the nation, and has assumed new proportions and new significance. I have wondered whether our people, so rich and so greedy of wealth; so prosperous and so mad in the pursuit of the dollar; so inflated with a sense of their power; so eager for a larger navy and a larger army; so anxious for new opportunities to win glory for men and prestige for the republic—whether our people will bring themselves to consider and master the fundamental questions of the preparation of men for citizenship by that training which the nation alone can give.

Dr. Abbott has said that it seemed to him that the one great thought that ought to be pressed upon the nation and ourselves, at this time, was this: What have we learned from our work as educators among the Indians that shall be of service to us in Porto Rico, the Philippines and other lands? The nation, by reason of the experience of more than a hundred years in the line of popular education, and in experience in conducting its schools for the Indians, has learned lessons that will be of untold use in providing education for the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos. We ought to go into the Philippine Islands with a system of education which is the outgrowth of the best thought of the day; there should be no experimenting, nor should we begin there as we did here a hundred years ago. The schools for them, as well as for our children in the Indian Territory, should be modeled on those of Massachusetts, if you will, or any others which competent people shall think best. We have done away with narrow, provincial schools for the Indians and have adopted a system, managed throughout from Washington, which utilizes the best methods found in the public schools, and why should we not put a similar system into operation for all the peoples for whom we are responsible?

We have learned that the matter of education will not take care of itself. If we had left the Indians to organize their own education it would have taken a hundred or five hundred years to reach such success as is now established. We know that the ideal of education in Porto Rico is two or three hundred years behind the times, and that the ideal of education in the Philippines is equally crude. We must carry to these people our ideas, based on our own experience and history, as well as upon the profoundest thought of our best educators, and must put them into practical operation ourselves. It must not be left to them.

We have learned that it is possible to accomplish very much for people as hopeless as some of the Indian tribes seemed to be twenty-five years ago; that a system of education will produce the same results among them under the same circumstances as it produces elsewhere. Some time ago a distinguished Senator said to me: "You cannot educate an Indian. Every dollar you give for Indian education is thrown away." An Assistant Secretary of the Interior said to me: "You are a fool; you cannot educate the Indian; it is a waste of time to try; but if the Senators from Kansas want a school for its patronage, for God's sake let them have it." We have got far beyond that. Indians can be educated. Multitudes have been educated. It is the same with an Englishman, a Scotchman, an Irishman, an American, or any other man made in the image of God. Let us go with high hope in taking hold of this matter. To the people of Japan, of China, of Hawaii, of the Philippines, let us go with the idea that the common school system, adapted to their necessities and managed with skill and intelligence, will do for them what the school system of Massachusetts has done for the people of Massachusetts.

But in preparing this system do not let us forget that after provision has been made for the education of the masses, so that every boy and girl shall have a chance, that it is the education of the few, in a broad and all-round way, that is to do the great work for them. That which has made America what it is to-day has not been the public common schools alone. It has been Harvard, Brown, Yale, Amherst and Princeton and other colleges and universities that have filled our halls of Congress, our judicial benches and other important places with men of breadth, culture and power. I believe thoroughly in the common schools, but I do not believe in belittling education for ourselves, for the Indians, or for the Filipinos. We should make provision for all schools, for industrial education, for the high school, the college and the university. To the few among the Indians and other peoples who are destined for leadership the opportunity for the highest education should be given.

Gen. JAMES GRANT WILSON.—Two men in this broad land of ours have won the noble title of the Apostle to the Indians. It was first worn by Rev. John Elliott in the seventeenth century. The other was well known to this Conference and well loved, Henry B. Whipple. This morning I received from Mrs. Whipple a letter in which she gave me some touching details of her noble husband's

last hours and of his funeral, which more than two hundred Chippewa Indians came to attend four days after his death, some coming more than a hundred miles to look once more on the beautiful face of their ever-faithful friend, to whom they gave the appropriate title of "Straight Tongue." That was the name by which Henry B. Whipple was known throughout all the Indian tribes of his diocese in Minnesota. Mrs. Whipple says the most heart-rending and pathetic letters continue to come to her from Indians all over the country. May I read this one from the Chippewa Indians?

A TRIBUTE FROM INDIANS TO BISHOP WHIPPLE.

A tribute to Bishop Whipple by the Rev. J. J. Enmegahbowh (full-blooded Chippewa), ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Whipple in the early part of his Episcopate:—

"I write the language of my sorrowful heart. I cannot say much at this time—my heart is too heavy. When I heard that our bishop had died, I said, 'No, this cannot be;' I did not think our bishop *could* die. But in another hour a second messenger entered my house to assure me that the loved bishop had died truly. I and my wife wept aloud in our lonely room, and then for hours spoke not to one another.

"The Indians began to come from all directions, and to ask with startled faces what it meant. I said, 'My friends, the best friend our people ever had in this world,—the great warrior, the great bishop, the great loving man, has fallen.' The grief was terrible to see. They could not believe it. Some went away with bitter weeping; others stole to their homes stunned to silence.

"I went to Faribault for the last time with my sorrowing people. I said to them: 'This time we go to Faribault with feelings unlike any that we have ever had. Before, we have gone with bounding step and happy hearts. We have known that we were to look on the face of our loving bishop, the friend of our lives. It was our joy to see the face of the man who loved and sympathized with my people. Before, we have been going to get inspiration, courage, counsel. We have gone away full of hope and courage, blessing our bishop and with our hearts ready to go on as he had bidden us.'

"Our bishop was all LOVE. He preached always, from the beginning, LOVE! LOVE! 'My children, love the Great Spirit. Love one another. Love all other tribes.' His one great aim has been to unite us by close connection in Christian fellowship.

"He is no more here to give us these lessons. His loving face is hidden from us. His voice is silenced. Silenced do I say? Yes, and no. His voice shall sound, and be forever ringing in our ears. Yes; and it shall be ringing, as long as his red children live, throughout the Indian country.

"More than forty years ago, when I went with him through the forests, he carried his blanket, his robe case and other things, and many times the Indians said: 'We must not let him do this. He will kill himself. He cannot work in this way and live.' But he would smile—oh, how we loved that smile and every step he took

—and say: ‘Oh, this is nothing! This does not tire me;’ and his voice filled us with hope and courage.

“Our beloved bishop has stood for over forty years and defended the defenceless. He has spoken and written for the rights of his red children, and that when no man gave much thought to the forlorn outcast of the world. He alone the first bishop who entered into the Chippewa heathen land. To-day throughout the Chippewa country tears are blinding the eyes; hearts are heavily-loaded with sorrow, and are looking upward, crying, ‘My father! my father!’ like Elisha of old when his friend was taken away from him. In a loud voice he cried, ‘My father! my father!’ The double portion of Elijah’s spirit was given him. May the double portion of our departed bishop’s love be given us! His has been a long battle for us. His Indian work has been blessed in the conversion of many. He has built churches and has ordained many Indian deacons who are doing their work faithfully. How truly can he say in the language of St. Paul, ‘I have fought a good fight; I have kept the faith.’

“But we, what are we to do? What courage can we take away? We are lost children. Our hearts are lead. I bid you farewell.”

Mr. A. K. SMILEY.—It is not our custom to hold memorials of the dead in this Conference, but I think that Bishop Whipple should be an exception. He was one of the rarest men this country ever produced, most picturesque in appearance, as well as straightforward and noble in character.

On motion it was voted that the Business Committee should arrange for a suitable memorial minute in honor of Bishop Whipple.

Adjourned at 12.30.

Second Session.

Wednesday Night, October 16, 1901.

After the singing of some Scotch songs by Mrs. Hector Hall, the Conference was called to order at eight o'clock by the Chair. Mrs. F. N. Doubleday was introduced.

INDIAN INDUSTRIES.

Mrs. F. N. DOUBLEDAY, New York.—Let us begin where I left off last year when I had been speaking to this Conference about basket-making and other Indian industries. Before I had reached the door Commissioner Jones came forward, and wanted to know what could be done to preserve them; how there could be co-operation through Washington. Miss Reel has been trying to get basketry introduced into Government schools, and in two of the larger ones it is now practiced. The following story throws some light on the slow progress made elsewhere. A graduate of Columbia had been highly recommended by his professors for industrial training, and Miss Reel would gladly engage him; but when he found the salary for teaching Indians is only \$600 a year, as there are more positions for from \$900 to \$2,000 in Eastern cities than Columbia can supply, the Indians are not likely to secure the best industrial teachers. There has been a beautiful spirit of co-operation in this work. A letter went from the Indian Office to the field matrons, urging them, as they went about among the teepees and wickiups, to do what they could to stimulate the old industries, and to prevent the women from using Germantown wool and aniline dyes, and to keep their work up to the old artistic standards. One matron writes that in six months the women on her reservation will have given up aniline altogether. It is already unpopular among the Indians, but unfortunately not among tourists. Most encouraging reports come in from various directions. People are becoming interested along different lines in the Indians' work—artistic, scientific, philanthropic, commercial, patriotic. A letter came to me from the president of a chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution, in which she said: "We women have been glorifying our ancestresses, which is well, but it occurs to me that possibly we might serve our day and generation in as patriotic a way as they served theirs, if we could help the Indian industries." There are many ways in which help might be given. The Sunshine Society, with its hundred thousand members, has signified its interest promptly and practically. It has been sending help of a material kind through field matrons. Church fairs and women's clubs have ordered Indian goods. Various shops in the larger cities are opening Indian de-

partments. There are Indian stores in different parts of the country. An already large demand for Indian wares is increasing, and this increased interest is evident by the unusual number of articles relating to them which have appeared in periodicals and newspapers within this last year. Collections of baskets have been made by museums before, but apparently the collecting of Indian curios and handiwork by individuals is as much of a fad now as collecting old furniture or blue china. The ethnological interest in Indian arts and crafts has always been great among learned men, for the symbols that are embodied in the Indian handicrafts have a positive scientific value. The Indians had no literature, no architecture, no painting; they practiced none of the fine arts as we understand them, but all the aspirations of the tribe, all the spiritual and artistic inspirations of the people, went into the handicrafts of the women. They were the conservers and interpreters of the thought of their tribe, and that is being more generally recognized. The museums are now taking from their dry-as-dust corners the beautiful old baskets, rugs, weapons, canoes and other things, and giving popular lectures on them. In New York the American Museum of Natural History has given a series of lectures on Indian basketry alone, which attracted crowds of people. It was surprising how many turned out to hear about Indian baskets and the curious, interesting symbols on them.

Miss Collins spoke in an admirable way on the abolition of rations. It seems to me it would be an excellent thing to take some of the money now apportioned for rations to teach the people how to do without them, to give them industries by which they could feed themselves. Where seventeen women can earn \$1,100 by bead-work, as has been done this last year in one place, it seems as if from the basket-making, which has a much wider range of usefulness, a great deal more money could be earned in a congenial industry.

There is opportunity for Indian industry in many other ways. For instance, the sugar-beet men in Colorado are very anxious to get Indian laborers, because intensive farming of small plots by means of irrigation the Indians learned from the Spaniards and can do well. An agent has been employed to go to Arizona to bring young Indians from the arid desert into the sugar-beet land of plenty. The general testimony is that they are the most satisfactory labor yet introduced.

The Indian Industries League has helped the industrial work of Mohonk Lodge, which had its origin here, and so has the Women's National Indian Association. Some of you will remember how Mrs. Roe made an appeal to this Conference two years ago for the work in Oklahoma, which she and her husband straightway undertook. They opened the lodge, and took two returned students to live with them. They have been carrying on a magnificent work. Not only are they doing missionary work of a high order, but they are looking after both souls and bodies of the people. The bead-work industry of the Arapahoe and Cheyenne women has been carefully fostered. Mohonk Lodge has sent some beautiful work here.

Mr. and Mrs. Roe have adapted the Indian work to white people's needs, but retained the old symbolism and artistic value. Funds are needed to carry on their work, which is important, not only in Oklahoma, but as a source of information and inspiration to friends of the Indians in many distant places. The sum of \$650 would pay a teacher's salary and living expenses. The Roes are so much rushed with developing the industrial side of their work, that they must have another helper. I hope the incredibly small sum of money needed to advance their work will not be lacking this year.

Mrs. Candace Wheeler, of New York, who had charge of the Women's Exhibit at the World's Fair at Chicago, in 1893, was introduced as perhaps the foremost authority in this country as to what is worth perpetuating in Indian art.

DISTINCTIVE ELEMENTS IN INDIAN ART INDUSTRIES.

Mrs. CANDACE WHEELER, New York City.—There is a very general idea that Indian industries have small trade value, and, perhaps, less artistic value. It happens that my attention has been drawn to both sides of this question. The trade value is not only considerable now, but in proportion as we recognize the art of these industries, we shall find that it will increase until it will be a very important factor in the support and education of the Indian. The art which they have applied to their industries is, in many cases, absolutely unique. In two or three directions I think you will all recognize it. Perhaps the Navaho blanket is as good an illustration as I can give, and that, you know, from a technical point of view, is *the best weaving that has ever been done in the world*. It is the only weaving we know which will withstand the elements entirely. It will repel water, it will keep people warm in the coldest weather, and it will hold its color under all circumstances. The best of those blankets will bring from \$125 to \$150 in open market; and we can hardly find another variety of weaving, except Gobelin tapestry, which has as much trade value. The art value in them is less than we find in articles which are not so materially useful.

I think the next instance would be in the Indian canoe. I do not know how familiar you may be with the Indian canoe from an art point of view. Last year I was on Puget Sound, and saw some of the old canoes which had been in use fifty or sixty years, carved out of redwood, one hundred feet long, the borders stained in indelible colors in beautiful old Greek designs. No one knows how the Indian came to employ Greek designs, but there they are, the whole as symmetrical as an Etruscan vase, and almost deserving to be put under glass as specimens of absolute symmetry of form. These are scarcely made now even for the Indian's own use, and I wondered why all the manufacture of canoes—and it is a great fad among sporting men—why that should all go to the white man instead of to the original maker of canoes? Why cannot the Indian find employment in this direction and be encouraged? Why cannot capital be used to set them up in making canoes, which should be as much of a fad as the best racing horses or the automobile?

There is another thing I am familiar with in a small way. The Indians use a material in embroidery which might find its place in modern art, and that is embroidery upon leather and birch bark with porcupine quills. Now the porcupine quill is rather an unusual material. It is exceedingly decorative used as the Indians use it. It makes an embroidery that is absolutely indestructible. It would be beautiful used for altar cloths, for belts, for pockets, for almost any embroidery that is used for wear. It is not only in these directions that Indian art should be encouraged, but there are others. The Indian manipulation of leather, the dressing of leather, is as fine in its way as the celebrated Cordovan leather. These things belong to this people. They are absolutely theirs. It encourages in them the æsthetic, almost, I might say, the religious part of their nature, for I fully believe in the gospel of work with art. Art work seems to me to lift any people, to preserve them from barbarism; and I have felt for a long time, and am glad to have this opportunity of saying, that if more attention were paid to what the Indian has done and what he can do, the Indian would be very much better off to-day, and we as a people would be much richer, both in art and revenue.

Hon. Darwin R. James was introduced as one who could speak from past personal observation of the Philippines.

THE WORK IN THE PHILIPPINES.

BY HON. DARWIN R. JAMES.

I have been asked to give some facts concerning the Philippines because I was once in those islands, and because during many years of my business career I was interested as a merchant and an importer of merchandise from that country. When there I was informed that the number of islands, large and small, comprised in this important group was nearly three thousand; possibly there may not be so many, for I have seen statements recently which put the number at two thousand, but whether the number be more or less it is an exceedingly interesting part of the world to visit, and its possession is opening to our nation questions which are quite new to us, and which must be settled for better or worse. Very few realize what a wonderful part of the world it is in its physical aspects, and of what great value in a commercial way to the nation which controls its trade.

Beautiful to look upon, with a soil of great fertility, and capable of producing immense crops of everything which grows in the torrid zone, it has never been developed in the four hundred years of Spanish rule. What success our American people will have in such a climate remains to be shown, but I see no reason why they cannot adapt themselves to the circumstances which surround them, and make a success of developing the vast resources of the islands.

The irrepressible Chinese are there in large numbers, and, as in other Eastern lands, are the workers to be depended upon. They have been there for centuries, although two or three times there have been uprisings against them, when thousands have been slaughtered in attempts to drive them from the islands, but they are still there; others came in place of those who perished, and the man with the "pig-tail" travels over the country doing the work or buying the products of native work, which he consigns to the Chinese merchant at a coast city. During many years the United States has had extensive business relations with the Philippines. In the beautiful harbor of Manila there were more American flags floating at the masthead than those of any other nation, when I was there twenty-five years or more ago. The merchant princes of Boston (for this city originally had the trade) and New York brought from those islands valuable cargoes of sugar, hemp, indigo and other products for which this rapidly growing country furnished a market. So much for the material side of the question. Upon arrival at Manila I made inquiry as to the customs investigation of travelers' luggage, and was informed that "pistols and Bibles were the only things not allowed entrance." As the house boat of the American firm with whom my firm transacted business came for me and put me ashore, regardless of customs officials, my belongings were not overhauled. It may be remarked in passing that the influence of this American firm was very great with the Spanish governing authorities, and it is an interesting commentary upon how things were done in those mis-governed islands.

The variety of nationalities met was very great, and afforded an interesting field for study to the ethnologist. There were gentle, refined and educated Spanish and Filipinos to be seen, but the great mass of the people were ignorant, degraded and priest-ridden, or perhaps pagan, addicted to gambling, cock-fighting and other sins. Religious fiestas occurred with great frequency, two or three a week at certain seasons of the year, in which the benighted people seemed to take intense delight. It was Spanish-American civilization in its lowest and intensest form. After the declaration of war with Spain in April, 1898, the order was issued from the Navy Department to Commodore Dewey, who was on the coast of China with his fleet, to proceed at once to Manila and destroy the Spanish fleet. As I read the order in a public journal, I was overwhelmed with a sense of its tremendous importance; of its great import to our nation, which for a hundred years had closely followed the teachings of the immortal Washington as outlined in his "Farewell Address." We were now cutting loose from our moorings, and launching out into new and unexplored fields. To me it seemed a crisis in our affairs as a nation; we were striking for the control of the trade of the Pacific Ocean, and yet in the mind of the average citizen, who was imbued with the humanitarian purpose of helping the oppressed Cuban at our door, no such purpose had been thought of. With many another, I had no longing for territorial acquisition, and most thoroughly regretted the war; yet, in all fairness, I can say that I fully believe that a Higher Power than our Government guided in

the matter, loading upon us new and unthought-of responsibilities, which this nation is bound to work out, and they are being worked out.

Not all of our citizens are in sympathy with the positions taken by the lamented McKinley, but to me his course has seemed the logical one, and in working it out he has sent to the Philippines, following close behind the military and naval forces, noble and intelligent statesmen, who are performing their part in preparing the inhabitants for self-government.

It is a mighty problem, worthy the great republic, and may require a longer time than some people think. It is an eminently appropriate theme for consideration by such an intelligent body of citizens as are assembled in this Conference. There are those, however, who point the finger of scorn at us, reminding us of the sad failure made during the two hundred and seventy-five years of our history upon this continent in civilizing and Christianizing the Red Man. This is discouraging; but I prefer to believe that we have learned something, and that no such wretched blunders will be made in the nation's efforts in behalf of the inhabitants of the newly acquired insular possessions.

Certainly there need be no such mistakes if we, the people, intelligently comprehend the question and resolutely undertake the task of settling it. Doubtless you have noticed in the public journals, within a few days, the fact of the landing at Manila of six hundred school-teachers, mostly women, young ladies, gathered from various parts of the country, who have gone there under the superintendence of Commissioner Atkinson to instruct in public schools, which the Government is opening as rapidly as possible. For a moment, pause and think of such an act and what it means to the Philippines in particular, and as an object lesson to the world. It is a marvelous act, and I am thankful because I am a citizen of such a Government. There are many transactions which we do not approve, but the intentions and purposes of the nation as a whole are for truth and righteousness. It cannot be expected that all the teachers who may be sent to those islands will make a success of their work; and from a Honolulu paper, which has come within my notice within a day or two, I learn that a few are dissatisfied and will not remain; but the mass of them will enter upon their work with genuine American pluck and will surmount the difficulties which will present themselves. Turn an army of such into those islands and sustain them in a proper manner, and they will work a revolution. These teachers, in an important sense, are missionaries! But in addition to their work, the Christian churches of our land are opening up religious work at several salient points, planting churches and establishing schools.

The Presbyterian body (with which I am connected) is developing work very rapidly, and other denominations are doing the same. You doubtless have noticed from the public prints, within a day or two, that at the great Convocation of the Episcopal Church, now in session at San Francisco, a bishop has been consecrated and set apart for this field of labor. One delightful feature of the mission-

any effort being put forth there by some of the denominations is the spirit of comity which prevails, and a proposition is being discussed and adopted to ignore denominational lines in the organization of native Protestant churches. The representatives of the Presbyterian Church who are working there are active in this movement, and, what is more, the efforts to that end have been approved in advance by the church at home. The representatives of that body, in their annual Assembly at St. Louis in May, 1900, approved the principle without a dissenting vote.

I take pleasure in mentioning it, as I consider that the effects of disinterested, undenominational religious work in the Philippines will be very helpful in the great moral uplift to go forward there. As to the subject of intemperance and the increased use of intoxicants, after our soldiers and sailors landed and other Americans flocked there, I can say that in Manila matters have much improved during the last year. Beyond all doubt, the condition of affairs was heart-sickening to every lover of his country. It weighed heavily upon the mind of Mr. McKinley, as I found in an interview had with him, at his request, rather more than a year ago. He watched the official reports which came from Manila with great care, and pointed out to me the decrease in the drinking saloons and the native vino shops with much satisfaction. The number of saloons of the American type, which had increased from half a score to several hundred in a few months after the American entry to that city, had been rapidly lessening after the issuance of the military order in January, 1900, which order increased the license to a thousand dollars or more on a certain class of saloons, with lesser rate for wines and beers, and a nominal rate for the vino shops. In June, 1900, less than six months after the issuance of the order, the published official report showed that the saloons had been reduced from 318 to 153, and the native vino shops from 4,000 to about 400. This same military order of January, 1900, permitted no licenses to be granted in certain plazas and important streets. Whatever may be said of the character of the Filipino or the Mestiza of those islands, they are not addicted to habits of intoxication. Later reports from Manila show still larger reductions in the licensed saloons of the American type and a better condition, as the ordinance is very thoroughly enforced.

Rev. Edward Abbott, D.D., was introduced as the next speaker.

REV. EDWARD ABBOTT, D.D., Cambridge, Mass.—I am afraid that I owe the honor of the invitation to speak to-night to an impression that is not well founded, and to an expectation which will be disappointed. It is true that two years ago Mrs. Abbott and I, in completing the circuit of the globe, and in visiting India, Ceylon, Australia and New Zealand, also had the privilege of visiting Manila, China and Japan. I should not like to join issue with the distinguished speaker who has preceded me, in regard to the rights and wrongs of the situation in the Philippines. I do not propose to discuss what has been, but only to speak of what must be. For

better or for worse, the United States has planted its foot upon the Philippines, and the question of the Philippines is linked for a long time to come—unless unforeseen complications occur—with our attitude toward China and Japan. Those nations are not so remote from the question of our duty as American citizens to the North American Indian as might be supposed. When, this morning, a North American Indian, a member of this Conference, in his blue military suit, passed through this hall, and I saw his erect and manly bearing, I could not help saying to Mrs. Abbott, "If that Indian boy had on a white linen suit he would pass for a Filipino." The great ethnological questions have not been decided yet which account for the presence of the North American Indian on this continent. Anyone who has seen the North American Indian, the Filipino and the Japanese side by side can hardly fail to be impressed with the community of visage and physique, and the outward expression of the mental and moral nature. If those three types of modern life have not at some past point of the world's history sprung from some common root, then all signs fail. I do not speak of the man with the kinky hair, the Malay, the imported Chinaman, or the mingled strains that have sprung up in three centuries of foreign intrusion and possession, but of the native. He is another Japanese. He is not so far up hill on the ascent toward civilization, but he is on the same pathway, and I believe he has started from the same ethnological region.

The mission of the American people to the Filipino is, in my humble judgment, identical with that of the American people to the Japanese. It is not on so broad a scale; it is not characterized by so much intensity, but it is a problem of much the same character.

I suppose that for our purpose this evening it may be permitted me to class these three interesting Eastern nationalities together, the Filipino, the Japanese and the Chinese. It is very difficult for us in America to realize the physical elements and conditions of these three great national prospects that greet us as we turn our eyes across the Pacific. Take, for example, the territory of Ireland, increase it by one half and surround it with 3,000 islands, large and small,—for I believe the gentleman is right,—many of them comparatively insignificant, some no larger than the little lake upon whose hospitable shores we are gathered; that gives you a bird's-eye view of the Philippines. It is a picturesque country, with a sunny, beautiful landscape, populated by ten or twelve million people. Now take California, cut off from its extremity territory equal to Maryland, swing it out into the Pacific, anchor it from the northeast to the southwest, and people it with half the population of the United States, and you have Japan. Then take the whole of the territory of the United States, add to it a territory equal to Mexico, and empty into it the population of the United States once, twice, three times, four times, five times, and you have China. Those are the three lands and peoples to whom we turn our eyes to-night. I speak with deference to the gentleman who has preceded me, who has had long commercial relations with the lands of the East, but I believe that it is the universal testimony of those who have had

such personal and commercial relations that the Chinaman's is far and away the superior type of manhood, intellectually and morally. I do not mean the Chinese laundryman. He is not a typical Chinaman any more than a mountaineer of Tennessee or Kentucky, in his illiteracy and degradation, is a typical American. The Chinese laundryman is a Cantonese. The mercantile Chinaman is a man of character. It is not too much to say that his culture, his methods of business, his probity, his integrity, his sense of truthfulness, are a pattern to every Christian nation on the face of the globe.

Mr. JAMES.—That is true.

Dr. ABBOTT.—I thank you, sir, for your testimony to the truth of what I have said. The Japanese is not the Chinaman's peer in these respects. The Japanese is the Frenchman of the East, the Chinaman is the Englishman. The one is solid, the other flighty; the one is a fixed star, the other a comet, a meteor; one is mercurial, the other granitic. You can make a Christian out of a Japanese today, but what he will be to-morrow you cannot tell. It may take twenty years to make a Chinaman into a Christian, but when he is once made he will stay. It is difficult for us to realize the fundamental contrasts in types of character, organization, political life and social aspect which exist between these two peoples, the Japanese and the Chinese. In their geographical contiguity there is a day or two's sail between them, so to speak, and yet there is absolutely not one characteristic held in common by those two peoples, saving the single exception of the written character in which they express their thought. The one only link that holds these two great peoples of the East together is their written character, and even that link is grudgingly conceded. Though you may know the character, you do not know the nature of the conversation hidden in it. China has no national consciousness; Japan has developed one of the noblest examples of national consciousness that the world has witnessed. China has no government; Japan has a government, admirably organized. There are no public schools worthy of the name in China; the streets of Japan are as full, on a bright morning, of boys and girls in uniform going to school with their bags of books under their arms, as are our American cities. The police department, the electric system, elevators, sleeping cars, dining cars, are as thoroughly organized as here. The post office has an almost ampler method of delivery than we have here. There are medical schools, hospitals, universities. It is wonderful, the way in which Japan has leaped to conclusions, though the slower process in China is not unlikely to result in a higher type of Christian civilization.

It seems to me that the Philippines present a situation not widely different from the situation presented by Japan; that the Filipinos are to be dealt with in much the same spirit and methods, with much the same results and probably the same dangers and difficulties as the Japanese. There is confusion of thought with regard to the Filipinos. There is a too common idea that they are barbarians and savages. Doubtless in some parts they are, but the educated Filipino is distinctly a man and a brother, intelligent, gentlemanly, refined and a perfect pattern of neatness. There are no more neatly

dressed men and women on the streets of New York than are to be seen among the native population in the streets of Manila.

Mr. JAMES.—You are quite right.

Dr. ABBOTT.—It is true that the Filipino does go about the streets with his fighting cock on his arm, but prize fights have not yet been banished from the United States of America; it is true that he is an inveterate gambler, but I doubt if there is more gambling among the Filipinos than among Anglo-Saxons and Americans, though it may be under another name. It does one good to leave his own city and state and country, and go beyond the seas, and to see how much that he boasts of at home is more than duplicated abroad, and how many weak places in his own national character and his own national life come into view on the other side of the world.

There are few or no saloons in Japan in the American sense of the word. There is little or no drinking and drunkenness in Japan in the American sense of the word. The only drunken persons whom we saw on that voyage round the world, with the exception of one Hindu in Calcutta, were Englishmen and Americans, and those were a disgrace to the names they bore.

The two industries that most impressed me in the city of Manila were the native manufacture of tobacco into cigarettes and cigars, and the sale of imported American whisky and "the beer that made Milwaukee famous." It was with a sense of humiliation that two American travelers spent ten days, in the spring of 1899, in the city of Manila, and witnessed the excesses in the direction of intemperance to be traced directly to the importation of American intoxicating liquors. I fear that when the accounts of the great day are brought up for settlement, and Christian America asks credit for her splendid missionary organizations, her enormous missionary contributions, and the devoted lives of her men and women that were laid down from one generation to another for the conversion and civilization of what we call the heathen, we shall find a much larger count on the other side in the vices and villainies and unnamable atrocities which have gone with what is known as "Western civilization" into the lands and islands on the other side of the world.

One aspect of this subject has not been touched upon which I think should be taken into account in any view that we spread before ourselves of the possibilities of the future owing to the opening of channels of influence in the East, and that is the probable hastening of the end of the long chapter of vice and bloodshed and flameless cruelty which belongs to the experience of the helpless populations of the Pacific islands at the hands of men-of-war's men, crews of merchantmen, and traders of England and France and America in the last hundred years of exploration, colonization and trade. Some of the darkest chapters which have defamed and disgraced humanity, have been written in these out-of-the-way lands and among those poor and helpless people, whose wrongs have reached only the ears of God. But with the new movement which the new century makes possible and probable, it does seem as if the shocking stories

which for years and years, in the opinion of those who have known the facts, have been too frightful to narrate, were now going to come to an end; and as if the enlarging and broadening power of the United States, linked with the power of England and the better sentiment of Europe, would be likely to police the Pacific and check in some measure the disorders and atrocities which have characterized the spread of Western peoples over the islands of the Eastern seas.

In conclusion, I must say that I am not so sanguine as the gentleman who preceded me with regard to the lines upon which strictly Christian work will be conducted in the Philippines any more than in China and Japan. I do not believe that at present that work can be successfully prosecuted upon the ideal undenominational line. It can be so started, but in my judgment it will not so continue. For the present I think we shall fight more effectively under our separate flags and in our separate organizations and by our separate methods. I may be wrong. I join in the enthusiasm of the ideal; I doubt its immediate practicability. The Triennial Convention of the church of which it is my privilege to be a minister has just appointed to the Episcopate in the Philippines and Porto Rico two men whose characters, attainments and records justify the amplest confidence in the wisdom, the efficiency, the Christlike spirit, and the measure of success which will stamp their administration. I refer to Rev. C. H. Brent, of Boston, bishop-elect of the Philippines, and Rev. W. C. Brown, of the Brazil Mission, bishop-elect of Porto Rico. Strangers as they must be to many of you, I would like to bespeak for them, in the difficult work to which they have been assigned, fraternal sympathy, a Christian interest, and the hearty co-operation and devout prayers of all who love our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. I can truthfully say that the appointment of those two men to these two important departments of new work, opened to the American Christian public by the events of the last few years, augurs the happiest results so far as the authority and influence of the body known as the Episcopal Church can go in surrounding these people with Christian influences, and leading them on and up to a higher plane of Christian civilization.

Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D., was invited to follow his brother.

THE DUTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D.

Every nation has its duty given to it by God as has every individual. The duty of this nation seems to me clearly to be indicated by its extraordinary history. This Anglo-Saxon people—for although the Anglo-Saxons are a minority in the United States, yet the United States is an Anglo-Saxon nation—had long centuries of education before it migrated to this country, and it came here endowed with a Christian faith. Not only had the Puritans this faith, but the Dutch

in New York, the Quakers in Pennsylvania, the Roman Catholics in Maryland, the Cavaliers in Virginia, the Huguenots in the Carolinas, all brought their Christian faith with them. And they found here a people who in all the elements of civilization, in all the elements of Christian culture and character, were their inferiors. They had hardly got a lodgment on these shores before there was brought over to them—certainly not by the wish of the great majority, but against the protest of many—a stream of migration from Africa; and another great inferior race was landed on their shores. This migration had hardly stopped when another migration began; there flocked hither from Europe the poor, the ignorant, the degraded, the superstitious,—a third inferior race. And we had not got through with our Indian, our Negro, or our immigrant problems when, whether by Providence or by our own design it is not my purpose now to inquire, the Porto Rican, the Philippine and the Hawaiian were added to our problem; and they are all one problem. That problem is this: What is the duty of a Christian, educated people, inheriting from a long ancestry a Christian faith and a Christian blood, what is their duty when they are set down under the same flag, within the same territory, side by side with the Indian, the African, the Mormon, the Spanish-American and the Malay? That is the question. And I am not going to answer it. But I am going to try to indicate what are some of the questions which this involves and some answers for your consideration. All that I shall attempt will be to formulate in words your own unspoken aspirations, your own desires, for this nation. I will be brief.

In the first place, so long as we govern an inferior people we must govern them in their interest, not in ours. How long this shall continue, when we can stop governing and can leave them entirely to their own government, when we can invite them to help govern us, are questions the answers to which I do not know, and upon which we are divided. I think my friend Dr. Ward is ready to invite them to govern us at once, and some think they will never be able to govern themselves at all. I stand between the two. I am generally a moderate. But so long as we exercise any function of government, it must be for their benefit and not for ours. That is the first principle of all justice,—Government is for the benefit of the governed. This is what we mean by civil service reform. It is not that by any device of man you can secure saints in office by examination any more than you can secure scholars in colleges, or perfect men even in the ministry. That is not what civil service reform examinations mean. The fundamental meaning is, that men ought to be put into office for the service they can render to the people to whom they are to minister, and every time we hear a man saying by word, as one man has said in New York, and by acts which speak louder than any words, as one man has in Philadelphia, "I am in politics for what I can make out of it," there ought to be a flame of indignation from the people of every party, and of no party, so hot that after the cremation there would not be ashes enough left to gather up for a vase on the family mantelpiece.

Second: If this people is to be the rightly governed, it must be

governed not only for the benefit of the people, but it must also be for the purpose of making those people at the earliest possible moment self-governing. As the wise father governs his child so that as far as possible the child can learn to govern himself; as the wise teacher administers discipline in his schoolroom so that there shall be no need of discipline, so the true statesman organizes government so that at the earliest possible moment the necessity for government shall cease and the government shall be from within, not from without. But if there is not any governing power from within, then it is better to govern from without. Every man in America ought to be taught the difference between a wild beast and the President of the United States, and if he does not know it and draws his pistol upon the President, it shows that he has no power of self-government, and must be controlled from without. We cannot assume that men are wise and leave them ungoverned; but we must give them opportunity to prove their righteousness and their wisdom. We must give to these men laws.

Third: It is a fundamental principle of justice that there be the same penalties visited on the same crimes and administered by the same processes; that there shall be the same protection and the same rights secured by the same guaranties for every man, whether black or white or yellow, whether for the South or the North, the Yankee or the Filipino, the Indian or the Negro. We are beginning to learn that an Indian is entitled to be protected and punished like any other man. For my part, fully recognizing the shame and dishonor which every American must feel in the evils which American commerce has sometimes carried, and to which my brother has alluded, and whose allusion I heartily indorse, yet with the desire to look at the bright side, I rejoice that American justice is represented in the land of the Filipinos by such a man as Judge Taft. I think it is a great thing that we have selected one of our own judges, and sent him out to that archipelago to organize systems of justice for a people that never knew what the word meant in all the times that are past.

Fourth, is the land question. We solved it as regards the Indians by buying their lands from them, putting them on some of their own lands, or by sending them to other lands; sometimes sending them away from these lands again, and repeating the process from time to time until there is not much land problem left, because there is not much land. In another form the land problem is going to confront us in the Philippines. There are great tracts of unoccupied land, great regions, some fertile, perhaps the best in Luzon, in the hands of a great religious corporation, which will not be willing to use it for the greatest prosperity and advantage of the people of the islands. What are we to do with the land problem there? It seems to me that the recommendation which has come from the Taft Commission is the one which this country ought to carry out. We ought to ascertain how much of the land of the island really belongs to the friars. Is it theirs or not? I think it is safe to assume that we cannot undertake to do what Henry VIII did,—take the land away by any process of confiscation. We shall respect rights and

we shall enforce rights. When we have found out these rights we should purchase that land on the same principle on which land is taken from you or me for a railroad for instance,—purchase it by proper, legitimate, legal proceedings, and take possession of it in the name of the United States. We have treated the Indian in one way and the immigrant in another. We have said to the foreign immigrant, If you will come and take possession of one hundred and sixty acres of land, and fertilize and keep it and produce things on it, you may have it. We have a homestead law that will give the land to any man who dwells on it. I should like to see it the law that no land in the Philippines should be sold to any concern for ten years except to purchasers who comply with the homestead act, and occupy the land themselves. I want to see land preserved for the Filipinos until there is an opportunity for them to show what power of self-development they possess. Civilization in our time depends on franchises, and on this subject, with our experience in the past, we should have entirely adequate light. It may now be taken as a well-settled principle among the students of economics that no franchise ought to be granted that lasts over a generation. If that principle was adopted in Porto Rico and the Philippines no franchises would be granted for over fifty years, and that would give time for these people to develop power to take advantage of the franchises themselves, when the time of adequate self-development has arrived.

Fifth: Underlying all provisions of government, of law and of land is provision for education. It is now well settled that the State provides for the education of its citizens. In every democratic community this is the principle. As soon as England gets rid of feudalism she establishes the Board School system; as soon as France frees herself from the empire she establishes free schools; so, too, does Italy. In our own South there was not a free school until after slavery was abolished. It was then planted, and has grown with astonishing rapidity, so that now the free school exists throughout the United States. The first comers ought not to be required to establish schools. Certainly, they ought not to be left to do it alone. The schools in every Territory of the United States ought to be provided under government authority and control, and, in so far as necessary, at government expense, for the education of every school child. If we had adopted that principle fifty years ago, I venture to say that we should not be confronting any serious Mormon problem to-day.

Sixth: It has been pointed out here that the Indian is an intensely religious person. Mr. James has pointed out that the Filipino is an intensely religious person. If it seems inconsistent to you that he should have three religious festivals a week and walk with a gamecock under his arm, it is not more strange than some of the things done in orthodox circles in our own country. They are intensely religious persons, and the Christian church, to which most of us belong, ought to go to those people with the simple message with which Paul went to the intensely religious people of Athens: "I see that you are very religious. The God you do not know I have come to proclaim to you." Whether we shall go as Congregation-

alists, Baptists, Methodists; whether my brother shall go with his rubric and I shall go with my extemporaneous prayer, is a matter of detail. I do not care much provided that he and I go, provided that the Presbyterian, the Methodist, the Baptist, go, not to preach Presbyterianism or Methodism or Baptism, the old theology or the new theology, but to show to a people who are profoundly religious, and are worshipping a God they do not know, who God really is. If we do believe, as most of us profoundly do, that Jesus Christ is God manifest in the flesh, that we have knowledge as to the real character of God, which no unchristian people primarily possesses, we should give to them that which is the best.

Government then for the benefit of the governed; designed, adapted and administered to make the people self-governing; equal laws for all the same; land so held and so sold that it can be kept for the people, and not pass into the possession of a few favorite individuals; schools provided at public expense for all the children; religion as simple and as profound as the religion of the four Gospels in our New Testament,—this is what we Anglo-Saxon people owe to the Indian, the Negro, the foreign immigrant, the Porto Rican, the Hawaiian and the Filipino.

There are some who are very sorry that we ever put our foot on Philippine soil. I am very glad we have gotten our arms around the Philippine people. I am glad because I count it a new occasion for congratulation when my God gives to me a new duty, and the harder it is and the more tremendous the responsibility, the more with trembling I rejoice, thanking him that he counts me worthy to take such a burden and enter upon such a path. I thank Him who, I believe, has called the American people to this splendid mission, and laid upon this American people this splendid responsibility.

Adjourned at 9.45 P. M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 17.

After morning prayers, conducted by the Rev. James M. Bruce, the Conference was called to order by the President, Dr. Merrill E. Gates, who introduced Mr. Philip C. Garrett, of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Special Commission named by Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, when Governor of New York, to investigate the condition of the New York Indians.

THE RELATION OF THE NEW YORK INDIANS TO THE UNITED STATES.

BY PHILIP C. GARRETT.

The beautiful State of New York, among other picturesque objects, is decorated by a lot of old-time Indian reservations, scattered across and through the length and breadth of the State from Long Island, in the southeast, to the St. Lawrence River, where the St. Regis Indians are, through the lake valleys in the center to almost within sight of Niagara; and to Lake Erie and along the beautiful valley of the Allegheny, in the southwest. Those who have attended these sessions will remember that years ago the condition of these reservations was a source of interest and discussion. Bishop Huntington first brought it to the attention of the Conference. He had found at his door, south of Syracuse, the Onondaga reservation, one of the most backward of them all, still maintaining barbarous rites of worship. He was much scandalized by the condition of things there and the injury it caused to the surrounding country. Judge Draper, then superintendent of schools of the State of New York, made a powerful address here against them. From that time to this, the topic has claimed more or less attention, and the reservation system has received the condemnation of intelligent people throughout the State and country. The Indians insist on retaining pagan worship, about half of them being pagans with their old rites. Some of these are regarded as objectionable by those who know most about them. These reservations are like scars on the beautiful territory of this State. They are *imperia in imperio*; they are foreign countries in the midst of the State of New York. They ought to be removed.

Last year, while Mr. Roosevelt was still Governor of New York, a citizen wrote to him, calling attention to these reservations and asking him to consider what should be done with them. His nomination as Vice President followed in June, and I suspect that he forgot all about it during his six-hundred-speech stumping tour. I hap-

pened to be attending the first meeting of the State Conference of Charities and Correction at Albany last November, and I spoke to Mr. Roosevelt about the matter. He invited me to an interview in the Executive Chamber and showed that he was deeply interested in the subject, although he confessed that he had naturally lost sight of it for a time. That led to the appointment of a commission to investigate the whole subject. He selected a commission of five, four of whom were citizens of New York, and I felt honored and complimented, being outside of the State, to be appointed as the fifth. The other members were Bishop Walker, Mr. Darwin R. James, President of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Mr. Daniel Smiley and Hon. Oscar Straus, at that time minister to Turkey. We had a very short time to get the report in to the Governor, and it was rather brief and, perhaps, superficial. We were unable to obtain information about the legislation of the State of New York and other matters desirable, and which would require more time than the committee had at its disposal before the term of the Governor should expire. However, they did make their report, which will be found bound with the report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for last year. They reviewed the state of things and made some recommendations, stating that they had found on the reservation somewhat barbarous conditions not at all in keeping with the civilization of so great and old a State. Their main recommendation was that everything relating to the legislation for the New York Indians should be relegated to the United States. That was a principal point of discussion, whether the United States or the State of New York should deal with them. It was our conclusion that the United States should take charge of the matter and that proper legislation should be sought at the next session of Congress, extending the provisions of the Dawes Bill to the Indians of New York, who were specifically left out of its application.

The commission also discussed the subject of the leasing of Indian lands, to deal with which may require a Congressional Commission. I think the report was made December 20th. The consequence was that Mr. Roosevelt, whose gubernatorial term was to end December 31st, himself being about to assume the duties of the Vice President of the United States, having other matters to attend to, really did not have an opportunity, as Governor of New York, to give the subject much attention. It was our hope that, being in Washington, he would be able to further this legislation, and I trust that may prove to be the case yet. In his still higher exaltation to the Presidency of the United States, he will be able to further such legislation, and his study of this subject, albeit somewhat limited hitherto, will lead him to see that the same line of treatment is now needed for the Indians of the whole country; that is, the destruction of all reservations, and the conversion of the Indians into citizens, and their absorption as members of the entire body politic of the United States. That is what we now want. In my estimation the Indians are all nearly ready for citizenship. I believe the great majority might safely be made citizens. Of course there are backward tribes, but I believe that even in those cases

there would be less suffering from their conversion into citizens, and the destruction of the present old and complex system, than from the great expense to the people of the United States by the retention of that system. It would cause less injury to the country than we suffer all the time from a lot of rowdy, lazy, loafing white people in the Western country. If it were not for the patronage system, I think the Indians would have made much further preparation for citizenship. Patronage is the curse of the United States. You cannot get a reservation abolished, because some member of Congress wishes to hold on to it for those to whom he owes his position in Congress. This is the principal source of the retardation of the Indians in their progress toward citizenship. The Church may well add to her prayers, "From the evils of patronage, good Lord, deliver us; from the despotism of agencies, deliver us, good Lord."

The agent is an absolute autocrat on his reservation. The progress of the Indian toward civilization is blocked by the agency. Why can we not get rid of them? Toward that we should bend our energies. This question of the New York Indians is only a trifling illustration of the need of that. The reservation system is a hindrance to the advance of civilization. It is preposterous in a State like this. The Indians have made scarcely any progress in a hundred years, and yet some of them are as well prepared for citizenship as many of the farmers around them.

With Dr. Gates I enjoyed a visit to the reservations this last summer, and we were much interested to observe that among the best of the Indians there was manifest preparation for citizenship, almost equal to that of the white people about them. We visited a number of houses of farmers where the evidences of intelligence, of education and taste for art were manifest. Some of them had pianos in their parlors, and their conversation indicated that they had been to schools and colleges, and it really seemed absurd to think of them on any theory as savages, and as though these reservations must be kept up.

I am inclined to believe that we have reached a time when we ought to look forward to the entire abolition of the Indian system at an early day. We want an emancipation proclamation, which at a stroke can set free the Indian peoples, and let them be self-dependent and subject to all the penalties, privileges and immunities of the laws of the United States. I think we should do all we can to bring that about.

CONTINUING THE "INDIAN SYSTEM" INDEFINITELY WILL DO MORE HARM THAN WOULD FOLLOW ITS IMMEDIATE ABOLITION.

The PRESIDENT.—Each added week of attention to this subject convinces me that if the entire Indian Bureau could be speedily done away with we should risk vastly less than I used to think we should. I believe that we should risk less than we risk by perpetuating the present system, if within the next five years the whole Indian system could be swept away! I doubt if there is a tribe now

in any State or Territory in the Union which, within the next five years, could not be put under the operation of the laws of the State and Territory and the local administration of the counties where they now live, and have land allotted them, with better results upon the whole than will follow if they are left as they now are! We must certainly face the problem.

May I add a word about New York? I visited not only the Cataraugus and Allegheny reservations, but also the Tonawandas and the Onondagas last summer. While on this trip I was interested in looking up a little mission church, where a missionary whom I knew in my boyhood had earlier preached to the Indians sixty years ago and more. Fully three generations ago there was a little Presbyterian church for Indians in that neighborhood. But you can still find pagan customs there. You will find there many Indians as well qualified to manage their own property as are the members of this Conference. Still they are herded together there as Indians, and paganism is perpetuated in the heart of the Empire State! Let in the law! Establish homesteads and homes! Allot land, and make self-respecting citizens of these people, too long "coddled" by a special system!

Beside the gospel, we need law. We need to make these men worth something to the State, and to themselves as individual citizens. They need to manage their own property, and to learn to take their places as American citizens. Let the end come soon!

ADDRESS OF MR. A. K. SMILEY.

I think Mr. Garrett has struck the right chord—the great danger from a continuance of the reservations. The men in office in Washington, in the Indian Bureau, and in the Indian agencies want this system to be perpetual, and the politicians want it so that they can distribute positions for political work, for there are many offices to fill. We are going to have a tremendous struggle to get rid of the Indian reservation and of the Indian Bureau. We recommended last year that ten or more agencies should be given up, but we got rid of only three. I had a letter from Mr. Murray, who says the question has come up in Oklahoma. If an Indian has taken up land in severalty he has become a United States citizen, and can vote or do anything that any other citizen can do; yet in Oklahoma the agent takes those Indians and manages them as in the old times. He takes charge of their property, leases their land, prevents them from going off the reservation; they are not allowed to vote, and they are treated exactly as in old times, so that the Indians are worse off than before. That ought not to be. These Indians lease their land and go off and live in a tent, putting their children into boarding schools, and live themselves like savages. Such Indians should be thrown into deep water and left to swim. I wish the moneys that the Indians got from the sales of land could be lost this year, every penny, and let them work or starve, those who have able bodies. This pampering of Indians is an error. I am more and more con-

vinced of it. You can never civilize the Indians until they work for their own living. Colonel Pratt is right. The more I see the more I believe this. The tendency of benevolent people is to give them land. How many of our poor white people have land and homes? Why should they be treated in a different way? A man who can earn \$1.25 a day and will not do anything but smoke and drink and gamble, and lean against the fence in summer, then when winter comes let him starve; he deserves it. You will never make the Indian worth anything so long as you pamper and feed him. I don't believe in their renting their land. It ought to be stopped. Then there is the question of land for which there is no title. Out of eight hundred allotments to the Pawnees, over three hundred are now vacant. The United States must find some way of disposing of that land. I repeat that I believe in throwing the Indian into deep water and letting him swim.

The CHAIRMAN.—When you see this state of mind produced on this man of peace, you can imagine how deep the evils must be.

Mr. SMILEY.—If we had such women as Miss Collins, with her kind heart and good sense, all over the land, we should have little difficulty. The trouble is, we have to deal with politicians.

The subject of Hawaii was then taken up, and Rev. Dr. Twombly was asked to speak.

THE NATIVE HAWAIIAN OF YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY.

BY REV. ALEXANDER S. TWOMBLY, NEWTON, MASS.

The dreamy, sunlit haze of legend and romance that surrounds the Hawaiian native of yesterday makes the description of him as he was in actual life a melancholy task. Why not allow him to lie under the waving fronds of the palm in indolent reverie, with aromatic odors in the air, and the surf gently rippling on the shore? Why drag him into the light of modern investigation, thus leaving one the less type on earth of a barbarian race, happy in its ignorance, and innocent of contact with contaminating civilization?

The islands, in all their fascinating beauty of semi-tropical verdure and variegated landscape, still suggest the domain of a favored race. Mysterious caverns, spouting caves, beetling crags, verdant slopes and snow-capped mountains inspire the imagination to people this isolated realm with a race undisturbed by care, cruelty or fear. Why then change the picture of this "Paradise of the Pacific" into an abode of indecorous pagans, and the roaming place of chiefs and tribes, unpleasant in their nudity, to the modern mind?

The answer is, We turn our searchlight back into the past and upon the present condition of these islanders because they have come under the authority of our Republic and are an integral part of our nation, and because grave problems confront us in relation

to their welfare and our own. To aid in solving these problems we must discard romance, and consider what the Hawaiians have been and what they now are. Hard, dry facts alone can enable us to see clearly by what action and legislation the United States Government can make this "Gem of the Tropics" sparkle in the new light of republican liberty.

What, then, was the native Hawaiian of yesterday? It is conceded that the early Hawaiians were better than any other Polynesian race in intelligence and the rude arts. They had astronomical knowledge, traditions of Noah and a supreme being. Antiquarians affirm that they are not to be classed as "savages," and that when the first migration came from the South Sea Islands to Hawaii they brought with them the possibilities of greatness as a nation. The second migration, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, increased those possibilities, and gave the islanders two hundred and fifty years of peace and prosperity. This was Hawaii's golden age. Relics of this age are extant in architectural and traditional tokens.

But when the next five centuries left the group in complete isolation from the outer world, the inhabitants lapsed into a state of degeneracy; war became chronic; sexual promiscuity was a general custom; the "organized instinct of morality" was greatly impaired; habit created an inferior code; the chiefs became despotic, and the priests invented a more cruel ritual, making the "tabu," which was at first a merciful provision, the nucleus of a most oppressive system.

When Captain Cook discovered the islands, in 1778, a stupefying intoxicant was in daily use; women gave away their infants, or buried them alive, to avoid the trouble of rearing them. Food was not abundant for the three hundred thousand or more inhabitants, on the islands of which the area is no larger than that of Massachusetts, and of which but a small portion was under cultivation. There were no four-footed animals except dogs, hogs and mice, unless lizards may be placed in that class. There were fowl, but flesh was eaten mainly by the chiefs and priests. Fishes were plentiful; *poi*, a root mashed and fermented, was the national food. Cereals were unknown, and women were forbidden, on pain of death by the tabu, to eat pork, turtles, certain kinds of fish, bananas and cocoanuts.

However, the inherent vitality of the race had thus far persisted in retarding any very rapid progress in physical deterioration. There was as yet no "morbid deviation from the original type, which made the Hawaiians as a race incapable of fulfilling their functions in the world." But the racial organism was debilitated in spite of remarkable individual exceptions. The population had begun to decrease in numbers. Progress in the rude arts was checked, and the course of the nation slowly tended downward.

War kept the national physique up to a fair standard, although it diminished the numbers of the male population and drained off the best blood. A single battle, called the Battle of the Sand Hills, on the island of Maui in 1776, was the most fatal blow the islands ever received in the loss of their high chiefs. The land never recovered from the effects of that sanguinary fight.

Yet the games, surf swimming and the natural cheerfulness of the natives preserved them in comparative cleanliness and strength. The chiefs lived on the best the land afforded, and were tall and stalwart. Their women were inclined to obesity, but when young were fair and well proportioned. The climate, which induced idleness, was favorable to health. Semi-nudity secured many physical advantages, and was not very detrimental to what we call morality. Nature provided cures in spite of native doctors. Leprosy was unknown. The Hawaiians were never guilty of cannibalism, or anything approaching that hideous custom.

There were traditional social customs in respect to marriage; even consanguineous union, by some strange exception to the accepted physiological law, was not so harmful as might be supposed. There were ties of natural affection, and humane kindness asserted itself, having always been a prominent trait of the Hawaiians.

Hospitality was universal and was often carried to extremes. The chief's exercise of authority was paternal as well as despotic. The priests were not given to cruelty. Prisoners of war and infirm natives were preferred as sacrifices to the gods, and the victims were seldom tortured. Places of refuge were provided for the vanquished. Praying to death was an influence over the mind, not the body; a sort of reversal of the modern mind cure.

Thus the Hawaiians, at the close of the eighteenth century, presented some marked contrasts. A mirthful people, they had a most sombre religion. They loved flowers, but worshiped hideous idols. Poetic in temperament, and delighting in their bards, they had no written language. Kindly, they propitiated their gods by bloody sacrifices. Holding women under strict tabu, their customs concerning kinship and inheritance were generally in favor of the female lineage. Docile and amiable, they delighted in warfare. Their weapons were rude but effective. They ate little meat and yet were strong.

Taking, then, into consideration the inherited ability and vitality of the Hawaiian race, it may be affirmed with a measure of confidence that, notwithstanding the tendency to a decline, they still possessed at the period of their discovery by Captain Cook the possibility of recuperation and progress which, under favorable auspices, might have given them a permanent foothold among the races and nations that survive and flourish in the great world of modern times.

If the white men who influenced their destiny between the years 1778 and 1820 had all been like Vancouver or John Young, the sovereignty of the group, as achieved by Kamehameha I in 1795, might have been moulded into a solidarity productive of rapid strides in national and social progress.

But from the date of Captain Cook's arrival to the coming of the American missionaries, a most debasing influence dominated their lives. The white man fastened on them an ineradicable curse. There have never been snakes on the islands, but the most venomous serpents would have been a merciful visitation in comparison with the vipers in human form that for more than thirty years poisoned their bodies and contaminated their minds.

Captain Cook himself impoverished the natives by his demands, and despoiled them of such virtue as they had, leaving behind him a strong hatred of the white man. Then followed men like Captain Metcalf, who, in revenge for the killing of a sailor, collected hundreds of the natives, ostensibly for purposes of friendly trade, and strewed the channel with their dead bodies.

A trade in sandalwood, which sprung up with China, laid intolerable burdens on the kanakas, and reduced them almost to the condition of slaves. Depraved white men remained on the islands; the few good commanders called at the ports, advised and departed; the resident whites, with few exceptions, broke down the ancient restraints of native customs and made the people restless and reckless. Gambling and rum ruined both chiefs and the common natives. The development of their worst, instead of the survival of their best traits, was immediately perceptible.

With the chiefs it was an era of inter-island strife and intrigue. Kaméhaméha I, the shrewdest and greatest native that modern Hawaii has produced, saw the danger and did his best to stem the tide. Isaac Davis, mate of a ship, and John Young, an intelligent sailor, being left on the islands, exerted themselves in favor of good order; but the distillation of the *kí* plant continued; large quantities of rum were imported, and chiefs and kanakas alike drank to excess.

The abolition of idolatry and the destruction of the temples followed almost immediately the death of the great king, in 1819; yet this radical departure from the old religion, with the overthrow of the tabu system, only left the people in superstitious skepticism and freedom from restraint. The most active agent in this change was the queen regent, who, coming into absolute authority, desired to free herself from the irksome limitations of the tabu.

In 1820 the American missionaries arrived. They came a generation too late. If they had preceded the flood of evil influences with which the bad whites had inundated the group, it is possible that they might have won the king, and persuaded him to withstand in a greater degree the vicious stimulation which swept over the islands. Even at their later coming, had their views respecting the education of heathen been those of Gen. S. C. Armstrong, of Hampton Institute, himself the son of a Hawaiian missionary; had they established, as he expresses it, "a routine of industrious habit," and been "more plastic in their conception of the true methods in dealing with this primitive and inferior people," they might have toughened the fibre and prolonged the life of the race. But "it seems doubtful," says the author of *The Making of Hawaii*, "whether they or any others (at the period of their arrival) would have had any profound or permanent effect."

The religious training given to the natives by these devoted American men and women produced a remarkable change in many respects, both among the chiefs and the people. The queen regent, Kaahumanu, truly converted to Christianity in 1825, seconded the new instruction. She had around her a fine array of chiefs, many of whom became genuine converts. She herself had been won by the patient gentleness of the unselfish missionaries, who were with her during a dangerous illness.

Other rulers, like Kaméhaméha III, desired mainly the valuable aid of the missionaries in such matters as resistance to encroachments of foreigners and the making of laws for the better government of the people. She encouraged the Christian workers in a higher spirit; all that was possible to do in religious instruction by the small band of pious teachers was done. But what could be achieved with a people in the condition of the Hawaiians at that time?

They were already enfeebled in their physical stamina; they were debilitated in mind by despotic government and generations of mental vacuity and their superstition persisted in its influence. With no ethical perspective, the primitive cult being abandoned, is it strange that, after half a century of Christian instruction, a female member of the church was very much surprised that she should be excommunicated for adultery, while a male communicant was only suspended for theft? Is it to be wondered at, that a race under these conditions should be unable to comprehend the need or the claims upon them of the rigid morality which the missionaries tried to inculcate?

Another impediment in the way of the religious instruction of the native was the lack of a medium in language for the expression of the lofty precepts and doctrines of Christianity. The letters of the Hawaiian alphabet are but twelve. The number of words in the language is a little short of sixteen thousand, and the foreign words introduced, mostly biblical, are one hundred and seventy-five. There are no words to express many shades of meaning common and plain to Americans. The average Hawaiian never had a strong desire to adopt the speech of civilization. To-day very many of the older natives, even members of the last legislature, do not speak or write the English language. The present generation of youths is compelled to learn it in the schools; but this is a modern innovation. Such being the case, how can it be supposed that the lofty ideas, aspirations, hopes, and especially the doctrines of Protestant or Catholic Christianity would be received and firmly held?

The people, therefore, while the missionaries were doing their best to instruct them, grew up with very little comprehension of the higher moral, social and religious standards of their teachers. The native children, under recent training, are able to learn spelling, geography, algebra and mathematical solutions; seldom, however, do they readily acquire any higher branches. It seems difficult to raise the intellectual grade among them. They have only lately been taught the history, literature, poetry or art of the wide world. The Hawaiians love flowers, as all primitive peoples do, for their color rather than for their delicate forms. They have been made passive and unheroic by a long period of peace.

The wonderful religious revivals of 1838 and 1839 had some remarkable results. "Over five thousand were admitted to the Protestant churches in 1839, and ten thousand the next year. Christianity became the national religion." "But," says Prof. W. D. Alexander, "the ancient beliefs of the people, though greatly modified by the changed conditions of the country, still continued to exert a powerful influence over their lives. There have always been

those who have clung to the faith of their fathers, and who, in secret, have kept up the worship of their ancestral gods. From time to time the outward manifestations of heathen worship have cropped out. Especially from the year 1863, when Kaméhaméha V began his reign, up to the death of Kalakaua in 1890 has this tendency been more apparent."

Some individuals among the Hawaiians have apprehended the truths of Christianity in a remarkable degree. One example was the queen regent. Another, Kapiolani, daughter of a great chief of Hilo. She at one time was intemperate and dissolute, but afterwards became an example of virtue and refinement to all her countrywomen. In order to break the spell of the fire goddess, Pele, she descended into the great crater of the volcano and defied the false deity, saying: "Jehovah is my God."

As an offset to such exceptional cases, by no means confined to the higher class of natives, was the action of Princess Ruth, a surviving sister of the third and fourth Kaméhaméhas. She was a proud old chiefess, who thought too little of the whites to attempt to acquire their language. On one occasion the village of Hilo was threatened by a broad stream of lava from Mauna Loa. It had reached within a mile or two of the village, when this woman declared: "I will save the fish ponds of Hilo. Pele will not refuse to listen to the prayer of a Kaméhaméha." The next day she stood facing the moving flow. Erecting an altar, she made offerings and supplications to the goddess. The stream ceased to move, and to-day its glistening front stands like a wall around Hilo.

This was as late as 1882, and no wonder that many natives renewed their faith in their discarded deities.

A most unfortunate move on the part of the American missionaries was when the American Board of Missions, in 1863, withdrew its paternal care and, in a degree, its financial support from the native churches. Native pastors were substituted for the missionaries, some of whom remained on the islands without the old authority and influence. As a natural result, the churches, left to themselves in large measure, relapsed into comparative indifference and surrendered to some of the old forms of superstition. The influence of the court, added to the example of vicious foreigners, was on the side of irreligion, and the original native churches have by degrees diminished in the number of members and in zeal.

At the present time, while four fifths of the natives are able to read and write, the census of 1896, giving a total of 31,019 pure natives, reports 12,842 as nominally Protestant, 8,427 Roman Catholics, and 4,368 Mormons. The actual native membership in the Protestant churches to-day is 4,642. The Sunday schools of these churches contain 588 natives, old and young.

The reasons for this religious decline may be summed up as follows:—

1. The death of many of the older missionaries, to whom the natives looked up as to fathers and chiefs.
2. The withdrawal of the American Board of Missions.
3. The decay and disappearance of the old royal family, which in the main favored the missionaries.

4. The encouragement of heathen practices by the last two sovereigns, who were opposed to the leadership in church and state of the so-called "Missionary party," now a political rather than a religious designation.

5. The new generation, ignorant of the older missionaries, readily lost the earlier strict standards; intoxication increased; vast quantities of liquor were imported under King Kalakaua; heathenish practices and the *kahunas* (medicine men) were licensed, and resorted to without hindrance.

6. Descendants of the missionaries and other white men, with Anglo-Saxon energy in various pursuits, grew richer and the natives poorer, thus widening the breach between the two classes, while designing white men led the natives to believe that the "Missionary party," in spite of its efforts to improve the condition of the natives, was wholly selfish and careless of any interests but its own.

7. Lastly, when Kalakaua, in 1887, was forced by the whites to accept a revised constitutional limit to his authority, and when, in 1893, Queen Liliuokalani attempted to obtain absolute power, the Royalist party became avowedly hostile to the "Missionary party," and the natives in large numbers left the churches, religion and politics being connected in their minds with the watchword "Hawaii for the Hawaiians." Therefore, when, in 1900, the United States Congress consigned legislation in Hawaii to the weak and incensed natives, their first thought was to destroy the power and override the policy of the detested whites.

The readiness of the kanakas to be beguiled by smooth-tongued leaders, and the results which followed the election (as will be seen further on in this paper), have proved that the average Hawaiian of to-day has no true conception of self-government, and no capacity for the exercise of the duties of American citizenship.

The line of chiefs legitimately descended from the great Kamehameha had aspirations and abilities which promised much for the establishment of a nation on a permanent and prosperous foundation. The early missionaries deserve great honor for their desire and effort to cultivate the desire for Hawaiian nationality and independence. In those days it was a struggle of a Liliputian kingdom against all the nations of the world. In the teeth of hostile foreign officials, with naval forces at their command, and often inspired by the basest motives, the little monarchy, after many surrenders, outrages, threats and blows, held its ground; it had given rights to the common people; enacted laws and a constitution; made treaties with great powers, until, the great chiefs having died, the natives forgot, under evil advisers, that but for their friends, the missionaries, they would long ago have lost all semblance of a nation. They even turned against these tried helpers, and made it necessary in self-defense for the best element among the whites to assume the sole management of affairs of state.

It was with reluctance that many leading Americans relinquished the idea of a monarchy under native rulers, and turned to the doubtful experiment of annexation as the only salvation of the land.

It is not claimed that the American descendants of missionaries,

and holding their traditions, have not been apt at a bargain and ready to seize an opportunity; but it has never been proved that they acquired wealth or power by the oppression of the natives, or by any underhanded dealings by which the natives have been defrauded of their rights. The assessed valuations of the islands show an increase of wealth in ten years (1892-1901) from thirty-three to one hundred and twenty-one millions of dollars, and of this large real and personal property from two thirds to three quarters are owned by the whites, many of whom are children of the early Christian teachers, and born on the islands.

The natives have been urged to acquire freeholds without cost. In 1860 much desirable land was sold to them. The missionaries made strenuous efforts to have the common people secure homes of their own, and in course of time 11,000 natives have become proprietors of land. But to-day the native owns far less than he might own, because of indolence and improvidence. He is careless even of his rights in property. He allows the land to slip easily out of his hands. Too lazy to work the soil, he mortgages his holding in order to build a house, which soon, with the land, is lost.

It is a sign of the tendency to degenerate when men care little for the possession of land. In 1896 full-blood natives owned in severalty only six per cent of the soil of the islands. Since 1884 President Dole has actively promoted the acquisition by natives of small holdings, and the legislature of 1895 passed an admirable land act in their favor. But not much advantage has been taken by the kanakas of these privileges.

The result is, that gradually real property in large acreage has come into the possession of great corporations. This has been fatal to the natives, so far as their agricultural progress is concerned. Their chance is lost forever. Even as laborers on plantations they are a failure. Their unreliable services have not been wanted by the planters. Asiatics have supplanted them because of their negligence. As the Chinese have displaced them in the industries, so have the Chinese and Japanese taken their place in agricultural pursuits. In 1899 there were 1,329 Hawaiians, 25,644 Japanese and 5,979 Chinese at work on the plantations.

A race like this, whose aboriginal soil is held by others, cannot have strong and persistent national aspirations. The justice or injustice of this possession by the whites may be an open question, but the fact remains that capacity and conditions for citizenship, as Americans understand it, do not exist among the native Hawaiians of to-day. The hope of the race as regards true citizenship exists, if anywhere, at the present time, in the few thousands of half natives (8,485, census of 1896) who inherit what is left of the ancestral stamina reinforced by foreign stock.

This does not imply that there are no examples among the full-blood natives of a higher grade of qualities than their heathen ancestors possessed. It does not imply that some Hawaiians have not given evidence of the good qualities of the best original specimens of their race. It does mean, however, that the average native, in the midst of a civilization of the best modern type, is not taking the

position which might properly be expected of him. Whatever the causes, he has not advanced proportionally with his environment. On the other hand, he has deteriorated during the last half century, in comparison with the advance of the white people among whom he has lived.

Perhaps degeneracy is too strong a word for the situation. The Hawaiian of to-day is far in advance, in many respects, of his pagan ancestry. In a degree he is a civilized man. In many ways he is an attractive specimen. He is clothed; he attends church in considerable numbers; he generally lives in a frame house; he enjoys, to a certain extent, the diet and some of the amenities of modern life; he reads, writes and has a pleasing address. But he is not at all what he might be with his advantages.

He knows far less than he might know by the aid of schools, open to him for more than two generations. He is apparently indifferent to the larger educational privileges offered to him. There is much to encourage effort to raise individuals to a higher level, but very little hope of arousing the race to accept and act upon a new view of life, with its social and civil responsibilities.

The work among the children of this generation is along the lines of general and industrial training, but the large expenditure of money and labor in educational work must look for its main returns to other than the pupils of pure Hawaiian parentage. Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop, a cultivated, Christian woman, the last of the Kaméhaméha line, bequeathed more than a million dollars to educate the offspring of her race, yet from this large sum the increasing half-caste children will reap the richest harvest. Of the 15,490 youths enrolled in the 189 public and private schools, only 5,043 are Hawaiians and 2,721 part Hawaiians, and it is stated that "the most interesting and successful students in the 143 public schools are the children of Chinese and Hawaiian parents."

In all conditions of citizenship, therefore, it must be conceded that in no respect are the native Hawaiians holding their own or making progress. The kanaka is contented with the arrest of his physical, mental and moral development. The queen, in 1893, could not arouse sufficient zeal in her own behalf to make her cause a probable success. To be sure, she was personally unpopular with the mass of her own race, but the majority were indifferent and ignorant in governmental matters, although the cry, "Hawaii for the Hawaiians," had some little talismanic effect. In the insurrection that followed, in 1895, the natives joined only in small numbers, and some of these were coerced, or stimulated by drink, to take part in the feeble hostile demonstrations.

It required an unusual amount of urging to bring out the native vote in favor of the native and half-white candidates in the recent election of 1900, although the demagogues who harangued the kanakas took every advantage of the native repugnance to the "Missionary party," and promised impossible rewards, suited to the ignorance of the average voter.

Add, then, to these religious, intellectual and political conditions of the native the continued numerical decrease of that class of the

population, and to what can we look for his improvement? No patriotic spirit, even when enlightened, is worth much, unless mental energy, combined with physical sturdiness, is prepared to confirm the national compact by sacrifices and force. The Hawaiian native of to-day is the last person to stand up at any cost to himself, either to suffer or to fight for the consolidation of his race into an efficient or permanent state. The idea itself is too abstract for his comprehension. He is as ignorant of the fundamental ideas of American liberty as a child.

The natives congregated in numbers at the polling booths in Honolulu, at the election in November, 1900. Hundreds stood in a zigzag line under the algeroba and palm trees, but the names of the candidates, familiar enough as spoken, seemed strange on the printed slip. The formidable appearance of the paper impressed the native tremendously and he averaged from three to twenty minutes in marking his ballot. One white-haired native wore an ancient, bell-crowned hat, a survival of the old régime; he was plentifully bedecked with flowers in true native style, and he puzzled and perspired well over the marking of his ballot.

These things are only incidents, but the grotesque gives way to the pathetic as one realizes that this picturesque, amiable race will soon appear no more, either at the polls or in the cities and villages of Hawaii. The decline in native population is no recent matter. The census of 1832 gave, in round numbers, 130,000 natives; that of 1836, 108,500; 1850, 84,000; 1897, 35,000, not including half-whites. There is no recuperative power in the native such as most white races possess. Advance in civilization enables the Anglo-Saxon to overcome even hereditary tendency to disease. Hawaiians die when the white man lives. The latter exercises a measure of self-control for selfish ends. The former shows little or no self-control for any ends.

To sum up, the native Hawaiian of to-day is an anomaly in civilization. He cannot understand its significance or adjust himself to its requirements. Citizenship is only a condition to him, not an inspiration. The half-caste has not the same obstacles to contend with, and assimilates in greater degree with modern progress. But for the native proper, it seems almost a dead lift to try to raise him up to the level of the present age. He adds little or nothing to the common wealth. He represents a heavy burden on the State, which could get on better without him.

His present status lacks even a dramatic interest, because of the inertia of the native actors on the stage of events. The revolutionary days of 1893 in Honolulu had no tragic background and no bloodshed. The native neither fights his destiny nor his enemies. These happy people laugh and sing. They deck themselves with flowers, without a thought of the future, and not much more for the present hour. It is not fatalism, but a want of mental and physical energy.

Such, then, are the thirty thousand natives, invested by the Congress of the United States with a political power which no other Polynesian race has ever possessed, and which their own kings

denied them. They are a partially developed, hopelessly inferior majority of voters in the new territory; * a majority at present controlled by the idea that the overthrow of the monarchy and the annexation of Hawaii to the United States were outrages perpetrated upon the natives by white people of Hawaii, aided and abetted by the Republican party of the States.

There is not a representative or senatorial district on the islands in which the native Hawaiian voters are not in the majority; in most of the districts they now outnumber the whites three or five to one. There are a few leaders among the part Hawaiians deserving of great respect, and a few full-blood natives have made creditable records in legislative offices. Also in both classes of Hawaiians there are some who believe that leadership in State affairs may be safely left in the hands of their white friends, who have in days past used their power moderately and for the welfare of the aboriginal race.

Many sons of these whites have been and now are in our colleges and schools; most of them have returned or expect to return to Hawaii. They may find it difficult, under the changed conditions, to acquire the positions which their fathers have nobly filled, but they will strive manfully to maintain American ideas in the government of their native land, which they fondly love.

To them, at present, the outlook is not reassuring. The natives still call the ex-queen "mother," and she addressed them during the election days as "my children," and bade them "stand firm, my people."

So far as the elections of 1900 forecast the future, they show that the extension of the suffrage, contrary to the recommendation of the commissioners, instead of helping the native, leaves him helpless in the hands of demagogues and politicians and elevates designing adventurers to places of power.

The elections also resulted in filling the Hawaiian legislature with a large proportion of native senators and representatives, ignorant not only of parliamentary usages, but also of the fundamental ideas of a free government. Many of them do not write or speak English.

It is a menace to any State when the majority of electors are children in thought and volition. Manhood suffrage implies manhood, not merely the coming of age. When we classify the males of twenty-one years of age and over belonging to the race of the native Hawaiian of to-day, we find a few educated young men who are clerks in government offices; a good number of policemen in the city of Honolulu; quite an array of drivers of "expresses," as the hacks are called; many sailors and stevedores, as the native loves to work on or near the water; a multitude of natives who fish and hunt wild cattle and goats, and some who have small shops or work at trades.

* The census of 1900 gives the population of Hawaii as 154,000; Chinese, 27,000; 62,000 Japanese, or 89,000 Asiatics. (Between 1898 and 1900, 40,000 "contract laborers" were imported from Japan.) The census of 1896 gives 31,019 native and 8,485 part Hawaiians; Americans, 2,266; Hawaiian-born foreigners, 13,733.

On the plantations less than fourteen hundred, as we have said, are employed. Of the lepers on the island of Molokai, all but fifty of the nine hundred are native Hawaiians; only fifteen are whites, and there are thirty Chinese. The Hawaiians in the leper settlement have their proportion of voters, and it has been proposed by members of the recent legislature that the local government be placed in their hands.

Probably one half of the remainder of natives outside these classes work just enough to get food for each day for themselves and families. When out of supplies, they often plant themselves on less needy neighbors or relatives, according to the old custom of Hawaiians. Great numbers are seen lounging about as one travels over the islands. They are generally chatting together, and as horses are abundant, they ride around aimlessly, for the Hawaiian, male and female, loves to be on horseback. A few are teachers or preachers, and some of the best of them, trained in a theological school supported by the American Board of Missions, have been sent as missionaries to Micronesia, and do good work in the South Sea Islands.

The question, then, is, will the suffrage, without more than a nominal restriction, benefit the native, or on the contrary hamper legislation in his behalf, and retard the general progress of the islands?

There are grave problems confronting legislators concerning Hawaii. There is the greatest necessity of cautious and wise legislation in and for the new territory. Honolulu, with a rapidly increasing population, needs the fostering care of the best government by men of original American stock and tried ability, aided by American statesmanship in the Congress of the United States. There are immense industrial and corporate interests located in all parts of the group; internal improvements are needed, calling for economical expenditure of revenue; the labor question is one that cannot be settled on a sound basis by the United States without the aid of the planters themselves, who at present have little representation in the legislation and management of the territory.

The great questions of prohibition and license must be attended to, and very speedily. The natives are prone to drink to excess, and many drunken foreigners are found in the ports. The social evil needs delicate handling, and the leper settlement, which many of the natives regard with distrust and dislike, must be permanently continued. The political status of the overwhelming foreign population and the laws concerning immigration demand immediate attention. These are only the beginning of the list of problems which will tax the ingenuity of the wisest minds, and which cannot be left for their solution to adventurers, carpet-baggers, or, least of all, to the native Hawaiian majority of voters.

Our republic cannot afford to repeat in Hawaii the experience of the Southern people during the reconstruction period and the recent "Undoing of Reconstruction." The significant lessons taught by enfranchising the negro and by subsequent events ought to make those responsible for our future policy in Hawaii open-minded and

cautious, lest the same grave errors trouble for many years to come the brown as well as the white population of the group.

Shall, then, the dream of the future brightness of this "Gem of the Pacific" be allowed to vanish, leaving gloom and helplessness like a dark pall to rest over these distracted isles? It must not be said of our enlightened land that it postponed the wise consideration of the Hawaiian native's welfare till none survived to enjoy the blessing of true liberty under the restraints of righteous law.

The breezes of the past have wafted words of cheer from our American shores to the islands when threatened with ruin by foreign invaders. The trade winds have convoyed our warships to protect the native monarchs from ruthless aggression. Seabirds have migrated from our great continent, as harbingers of happier days for these distressed dwellers in mid-ocean, and the clear waters of Hawaii have reflected the bright colors of our protecting flag, giving promise of security and peace.

Shall, then, the care and guardianship they have always needed be now withheld from these wards of the republic because of a false sentiment, or of ignorance concerning the islanders and their true well-being? If so, then the expansion of our territory beyond the sea will prove to be a curse to the races we gather in from the oceans of the West, and the annexation of Hawaii will be little less than a crime.

Mr. Daniel Smiley was invited to speak concerning Hawaii.

MR. DANIEL SMILEY.—I shall be glad to say a few words in regard to some of the problems which we are called upon to meet in Hawaii, and which will be of importance in showing us what we shall meet in other possessions where we must decide what is to be done. Perhaps we shall not be able to influence very much what is to be done in Hawaii, but we are quite certain that the same influences which have been brought to bear in those islands will have the same results in other possessions. There will come up the same question of possession of land, the same question of contract labor, the same Chinese question, the same Japanese question, the same question of holding lands in large bodies, that we witness in Hawaii, for it is impossible in a tropical country to expect the same conditions which we have here at home. The demands of agriculture make it necessary that the land should be in extremely large holdings, from ten to twenty thousand acres. In Hawaii, for instance, practically no other crop than sugar is raised. Everything that is eaten, all sorts of fruits and other things which that country could produce in enormous quantities, is brought from elsewhere, and everything has given way to sugar. That renders it necessary to have large holdings in land. This will very likely happen in Porto Rico and the Philippines. It means a large amount of labor. The question is where to obtain that labor, and we shall soon see that it is not an easy question to settle. The question of Chinese labor in Hawaii gives us a different idea from what we have had in this country. The quality of the Chinese who are going to those islands

is very different from what it is in this country. We have considered the Japanese here very desirable citizens. I am sorry to say that in Hawaii they are not always such desirable people as we find them here, and the time may come when that class which we now see in Hawaii may come here. I might say a great deal about the beautiful climate and wonderful scenery which delighted me on my visit there, but the main thing which seems to me necessary to be considered in this Conference is the lesson which we can learn from the islands there, and how to apply it to those other islands in which we shall soon come into immediate contact with the people.

Rev. Douglas P. Birnie was next introduced.

THE QUESTION OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

BY REV. DOUGLAS P. BIRNIE, OF RYE, N. Y.

Many of us thought when annexation was accomplished that the Hawaiian question was answered. As a matter of fact, it is merely put in a new form, and as Mr. Smiley has indicated it is important not only in itself, but in connection with the larger problem of the Philippines. It is our first point of contact with the Orient, and it is essential that we give an intelligent and a righteous answer to this question. This morning I wish to give you a picture of what has been accomplished in the Hawaiian Islands in the last year; then to state three general principles, and by these principles measure the temper and quality of the changes that have taken place.

What has been the change in the population? Dr. Twombly has given the figures. More than half the people are Asiatics. The Hawaiian is a small factor, yet a great factor when you realize that into his hands the United States has put the power to control the political situation. A year ago only five languages were spoken on the street, now the Porto Rican has added the Spanish. There has been no change in the Chinese population. No more have been allowed to come into the islands. I agree cordially with Mr. Smiley when he says that they are the best laborers in the population. The introduction to-day of five or ten thousand Chinese of the better class would be a great blessing. They are home lovers and good citizens. They marry the Hawaiian women, and the children of such unions are the finest children in the islands. They are best adapted to climatic and economic conditions. The Japanese are not increasing in numbers, as their government has forbidden further emigration. They are a source of trouble to-day. Restless and discontented, they are a disturbing element. The number of Portuguese is about the same as it has been. Porto Ricans and Negroes have recently been brought into the islands as laborers, and the racial question is more complex and diversified than ever before.

What of the changes that have been accomplished politically? We have made a territory. A governor has been appointed, and suffrage has been put into the hands of the people; but into whose

hands? Do not deceive yourselves. Those in Congress who voted for that measure believed that they were acting in harmony with Republican ideals. In a population of one hundred and fifty thousand, they have put the control into the hands of an ignorant minority, into the hands of the Hawaiian, on the ground of mere sentiment,—into the hands of a people whom we all love, but a people who are racially children, and utterly incompetent to wield wisely and well the power which the United States has given to them. A very few of the Chinese are allowed to vote. There are more Japanese males in the islands than those of all other races put together, yet they have no vote. Is this democracy? The political power is in the hands of an unintelligent minority. What is the result? Constant trouble and turmoil. There has been quarreling and wrangling and dissatisfaction on all sides. Investors from the United States are holding back, waiting to see the outcome.

What has been the change ethically? I regret to say that there has been a decline. I do not believe that the standards of morality, temperance and purity are as high as they were a year ago. With annexation came a crowd of speculators—men from all quarters of the States, expecting to make money in a hurry and leave; men who left the Ten Commandments behind. Vice has increased, saloons have multiplied, and trouble has ensued. Governor Dole is a man of pure purpose and spotless integrity. His task has been a difficult one. Under the existing laws, I do not believe that any man in his position can bring peace and order and righteousness out of the present turmoil.

A year ago I stated three principles which should be observed in dealing with the Hawaiian Islands. May I apply these standards to events of the last twelve months?

The first general principle was that there must be no haste. God's movements are slow and sure, but we Americans are in a hurry. We take out our watches and expect to elevate a race by a time-table. When the islands came into our possession we proceeded to make these Hawaiians intelligent American citizens by Act of Congress, and the thing hasn't been done. If we had acted with more deliberation and intelligence, the result would have been better. In the Philippines to-day the progress will be slower yet; but here in America there are men who would say to Governor Taft, "Why is not something definite accomplished?" The thing cannot be hurried. Mistakes in Hawaii have been due to the fact that we have not kept pace with our Heavenly Father. We have been in too much of a hurry to place power where people were not competent to handle it. The second general principle is this: If we are to share the plan and effort of Providence in elevating the children of earth, we must at least take time and patience to find out what God has already done for those children. We must not assume that the boys are all of age. We must understand what the Hawaiian is. We must know something of the ethical standard of the Chinaman. We must know what the Japanese can do, and what he has done. We must devise some plan by which we can utilize and harmonize them all. We must be able to work

intelligently with them. We sometimes send out as leaders good men and true in a sort of haphazard fashion. I knew a splendidly educated man of much ability who offered himself as a missionary. They asked him where he wanted to go, and he replied, with fine spirit, that he was ready to go anywhere; and they put him "anywhere." It was charming, but not very intelligent. It reminds me of a young Englishman whom I met on an Atlantic steamer, who said he was going to America to take up farming. I asked him what sort of farming, whether he was interested in raising grapes in California, or oranges in Florida, or wheat in the Northwest, or cattle on the ranches in the Southwest. He said he hadn't looked into that very carefully. "Well," I said, "what sort of farming are you going to take up?" "Oh," he said, "I think I shall go onto an agricultural farm." If we have made a mistake in dealing with the Hawaiians, and have placed the ballot in the hands of those not wise enough to use it, we ought to have the courage of our conviction and take it away. Give it only to men who are competent.

A third principle is the reflex influence of race contact. When you bring the Anglo-Saxon into touch with the Oriental the question usually is, What will America do for the East? There is another question, What is the East going to do with America? Each affects the other. There is opportunity in meeting these races for cruelty, oppression and abuse. They are down, and there is a chance to push them further down and fill pockets with gold; and there is also a chance to lift them higher toward God. The touch of the Anglo-Saxon has been a blessing and a curse.

A word about the "Missionary party." This is a political term, and signifies nothing religiously. It was the annexation party. Many of the descendants of the missionaries are members of it, and many who have no connection with the religious life of the islands. The carpetbaggers, in the time of the republic, joined the "Missionary party." Those who land now with all their possessions in a hand satchel unite themselves with the anti-missionary forces. They cry to the natives: "Down with the missionaries! they have stolen your land and robbed you. Place me in power and I will lead you to prosperity; will put you back where you were in the old days." There is an opportunity now for an unscrupulous demagogue to do a wicked thing, and we have made it possible by putting the ballot into the hands of an unintelligent minority.

Now what of the future? If the American people will learn to possess their souls in patience; if we are willing to believe with all our hearts that there is a strong and wise God over all, and that he has laid this burden on our shoulders; if we are willing to wait and work,—the burden can be lifted and the work can be done. It must be done. If we are willing, as Dr. Abbott has suggested in regard to the Filipinos, not only to put our foot upon the land of Hawaii, but to put our arm of love round about the people,—willing to study intelligently and earnestly and carefully the material that God has put into our hands; and if, when we have made a blunder, we acknowledge it and seek to do the right thing,—then we can work with

God, and lift his children higher and higher in the days that are to come. We need not only to watch over the people whom God has put into our care, but to watch over our own hearts and lives. We need to send our strongest, cleanest and best men, inspired by faith in God, to those islands, and then this country can be a blessing and never a curse to those beautiful islands in the far-away Pacific.

Two verses of "America" were sung at the close of the address. He was followed by Rev. H. B. Frissell, D.D.

Rev. H. B. FRISSELL, D.D.—I think the wisdom of Mr. Smiley in opening this Conference to the consideration of the needs of other peoples beside the Indian is evidenced by this morning's session. Certainly what has occurred in Hawaii ought to help us in our dealing with the Negro and Indian races of our own land. My illustrious predecessor, General Armstrong, gained this thought through long years of experience, and the wisdom of his method of education was due very largely to the fact that he knew this Hawaiian child race, and understood the needs of similar races. I am glad of the last word that was spoken, that we cannot do these things all at once. We speak of the Hawaiians as a nation born in a day. They were, in a sense. They were easily converted to Christianity, but we must realize that the civilization of a race is a long, long process. One of the most difficult things which we have to deal with in trying to civilize a race is the condition of our own people. We need to be a great deal more civilized than we are. A little Indian girl was once asked by a Hampton visitor, "Are you civilized?" "No," said she; "are you?" And it is very questionable which had the most civilization. With all these undeveloped races we feel that we have not got to fight against their barbarism so much as against the barbarism of the Anglo-Saxon.

A great deal has been said here in regard to the matter of religion. I feel that not too much has been said. I believe that the awful crime that has lately been committed in this country has emphasized the fact as never before that our religion has got to go into every part of our life. We have fought in this country for the separation of Church and State, and, I believe, rightly. We must understand, however, that there is to be no separation between religion and State; that religion has got to go into every part of the State, into all our life. I believe that to-day our Government Indian schools ought to have more of the religious life. I am sure this is the feeling of our Superintendent, Miss Reel. I believe, from my observations at the Conference in Detroit, that that is the feeling of almost all the superintendents. Religion ought to go into our common schools, too. When Mr. Sherman's Indian Committee came to Hampton, one of the committee said to me when he left, "I like Hampton because there is so much religion here." We are most of us Protestants, but I do think that we teach the religion of Christ just so far as possible. We at Hampton, with our undenominational church, are trying to show what can be done along the line of Christian undenominational teaching.

Gen. JOHN EATON.—What will you do in the Government schools with that constitutional clause that forbids Congress to appropriate money for the establishment of any religion?

Dr. FRISSELL.—We are not establishing a religion. Religion comes in as part of our life there; we are not establishing it; we are trying to live it out.

General EATON.—It was on that ground that they tried to exclude Hampton from receiving Government aid, on account of that clause in the Constitution.

Dr. FRISSELL.—Senator Pettigrew did try to fight it, but we have conquered. We have said that it was right that an undenominational school should have help from the Government, and I believe the principle is right. Senator Pettigrew has brought up year after year what we have done at Hampton in our Sunday-school work, and in our missionary work, and we have been glad to say, "Yes, we have done it all, and more than you have said, but we are undenominational, and it is right that we should have the help of the United States in our Christian work for the Indians."

I am sure that we were all grateful for the word said to us last night by our illustrious friend, General Morgan. I think that the system of Indian schools that he established is of great advantage to us. These schools have much to do with every-day life. General Morgan said that all this educational work ought to be adapted to the people for whom it is carried on. He did not mean to say that the Massachusetts High School ought to go to Porto Rico or the Philippines or even to the Indians. We have got to study these various races, and meet their individual needs. We have got to teach them how to live, how to get out of the old ways into the new.

I am very glad of the words spoken by the ladies in regard to native industries. Each of these races has something to bring to us,—something in art, something in religion, something in life, and something in native industry. One other thought. If we are going to encourage these native arts we must have more freedom. The man in the store at the agency has control of everything. We want to open up these industries on all the reservations. A little while ago even the Government found that it could not get hold of certain baskets because they were all in the hands of a single man. We want freedom to buy and to sell. We must have more freedom for the Indian that he may be more of a man.

The following letter from Hon. Henry L. Dawes, who was unable to attend the Conference, was read by Dr. Foster:—

PITTSFIELD, MASS., Oct. 15, 1901.

MY DEAR MR. SMILEY: I had anticipated much pleasure in meeting at another of your delightful Conferences co-workers in the cause, and in renewing most valuable friendships there formed; but an unexpected delay in business connected with the Indian Territory compels me to remain at home. I cannot, however, keep out of mind the range of discussion and the importance of questions likely to come before that body for discussion. Since I cannot listen, I

venture to put on paper briefly some few words expressive of my views of what has been and what is yet to be done before the work shall be complete.

In the first place, permit me to congratulate the Conference upon the most gratifying evidence, coming from all quarters, of healthy progress and important results attendant upon efforts that have been put forth in recent years for the care of the Indian race in our midst. Results are the best test of wisdom in all effort. A retrospect of less than twenty-five years covers the entire period since the work in which you are engaged, of making a self-supporting citizenship of the Indian race in this country, was begun. And history nowhere records more gratifying results. It was in 1877 that the nation took from its own money in the Treasury the first dollar and applied it in aid of this work for Indian education. It was but \$20,000, but it was a beginning; and every year results have stimulated an increase of the amount, till last year there was appropriated for the support of Indian schools \$3,184,250. That first appropriation of \$20,000, with the help of benevolent contributions and the interest on a few Indian funds that could not be otherwise used, maintained 48 small boarding schools, 102 day schools, with 3,398 scholars all told. There were a year ago 148 well-equipped boarding schools and 295 day schools engaged in the education of 25,202 Indian children, with an average attendance of 20,522. This does not include those outside institutions of Carlisle, Hampton, Haskell, Genoa and others like them, which send forth yearly large numbers of young men and women fully equipped to take their places and discharge the duties incumbent on the average citizen. This, in a total Indian population of less than a quarter of a million all told, approximates very nearly to the school facilities in the newly organized Western States.

Statistics also make it plain that seventy-six per cent of the pupils who yearly leave these schools to take upon themselves the duties of practical life do, in the language of the present broad-minded and devoted Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "go forth equipped for the part of good average men and women, capable of dealing with the ordinary problems, and of taking their place in the great body politic of the country."

The next step was the Severalty Act. Up to 1887, less than fifteen years ago, there was not an Indian on a reservation who owned the hut he lived in or a foot of the land over which he had raised a tepee for a night's shelter. That Act, made possible by aid of these Conferences, has called into being a home and a farm of 160 acres for each of 55,457 allotted Indians, aggregating 6,708,628 acres of farms. Each farm is set apart to its Indian owner, with a title warranted to him by the United States, and which he cannot part with, if he would, for twenty-five years. These thus become so many home centers, where all the forces of future character and influence must take root and bring forth the first fruits of civilized life. Before the passage of that Act not an Indian on a reservation had any defined legal status among his fellow-men. He was in law an incompetent ward of the nation, incapable of making a binding

contract, to whom the very courts open to you and me were closed; and he could neither maintain nor defend any right secured by the Constitution to us. He had no voice in the making of the laws he was bound to obey, or in the choice of those who were to enforce upon him their penalties. There is no human being so helpless and at the mercy of irresponsible selfishness as such a ward under a guardian no one can call to account for his stewardship. Instead, under this law each one of those fifty-five thousand allottees stands up among his fellow-citizens clothed with all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizenship of which you and I boast and are proud. Each one of them walks to the polls side by side with the proudest of us, and to him are open, equally with the haughtiest millionaire, every court of justice in the land. Every door of opportunity in all the pursuits of active life is as wide open to him as to every other citizen of the United States.

Thus much of the past, if there were nothing more to record, is sufficient for encouragement and continuance with renewed zeal in the still unfinished work. But that indirect influence upon the Indian still on the reservation, undisturbed as all were before the work you are engaged in was begun, has been no less marked and is no less hopeful. I cannot now do more than allude to the changes which have come over Indian life on the reservations themselves, traceable directly to the policy your Conferences have done so much to promote. We no longer hear of bloody Indian wars, of the slaughter of warring clans, or the scalping of women and children fleeing from burning wigwams. The pioneer can now go forth to trade with the red man as safely as he does with his white neighbor, and return at night to his defenseless home with less apprehension of peril to those within than when scouts and sentinels mounted guard over it. The Indian no longer doubts and distrusts. It is dawning upon him that he is made for something, and he is beginning to care for the morrow. He is daily growing more and more sure that the hand held out to him is for his guidance and help, and not for betrayal and spoliation.

There can be no more striking proof of this great change than the touching tribute to a life consecrated to the elevation of their race by forty Sioux Indians and sixty Chippewas journeying on foot a hundred miles, that they might walk beside the bier and sing hymns of praise in their own language over the grave of the late Bishop Whipple, whom they had trusted, and who had trusted them. It was a tribute to a noble life work worth more than all the pomp and display of a royal funeral.

But you will not assemble to contemplate the rich legacy of the past alone. The work is not yet finished, and new demands upon zeal and energy confront you to which what has been already gained will incite to still more untiring effort. Mistakes of the past are to be corrected, and new needs developed by its experiences are to be provided for. As tribal organizations are dissolving into individuality, tribal funds now amounting to many millions in the Treasury must be used. Great care should be taken that these funds be devoted to those needs of that higher civilization for which tribal

organizations are being exchanged, and which call for new expenditures hitherto unknown. These should, as far as possible, be in lieu of local taxes for these necessities, from which all allottees are exempt for the first twenty-five years. Any distribution of such funds per capita would be worse than waste. Allottees should not be permitted to barter away all the educational and preparatory teaching for self-supporting citizenship, derived from occupancy alone, for a mere mess of pottage in the form of a lease to a white man. The process of leasing now so alarmingly prevalent is sure, if persisted in, to work the ruin of the lessor, turning him back in the end to that barbarism from which his only sure rescue is the preparatory school of personal occupancy.

Another question involved in the allotment system not contemplated in the beginning has grown in importance till its solution has become imperative; and that is the disposition of the lands fit only for grazing, now occupied in large quantities by the Indians, not as yet allotted. These lands are unfitted for small holdings for ordinary farming purposes, but are a great source of profit to large herders of cattle, who have heretofore rented them in large areas from the Indians for small rentals, usually effected through agents, who make more than the Indians by the transaction. Much of this has, unfortunately, been already allotted, to the great injury of the allottee, unable as he is to utilize it except by sub-rental, leaving him without other means of support,—a citizen of the United States whose contracts are as binding as those of any other citizen, but who knows no more how to make a contract than a puling infant. Independent individual ownership and occupancy of such lands, so as to be a school of preparation for an independent life, makes some change in the allotment system necessary to save the land and the allottee alike from ruin. I am sure that it will not escape your attention.

A situation for immediate and honorable employment for those who go out yearly from those institutions which are doing so much to fit the Indians under their care for their part in the multiplied activities of actual life is another great need of that work. It will do much to protect them from the taunts and jeers of those they have left behind, from discouragement sure to come of waiting for employment, and temptation to return to the companionship they have left. Every day that witnesses increasing numbers of the unemployed, calls louder on the friends of the Indian to take care of their apprentices in the ways of civilization.

I would gladly dwell at more length upon the work of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory, in which I am more especially engaged of late. It will suffice to say that work is progressing satisfactorily along the lines I had the opportunity to present at your last meeting, though very slowly, in consequence of new and complicated questions arising there, as among the other tribes. The most difficult of all these proves to be the discovery of natural oil and gas in different parts of the Territory. The conditions of land there make altogether different methods of allotment necessary from those on the reservations.

There unoccupied and unimproved lands of comparatively equal value, by a list of Indian names furnished at the agency, were to be allotted, a given number of acres to each one. The Indian Territory, however, has been occupied for seventy-five years by a people considerably advanced in civilization when they came there. They have taken in since three hundred thousand white residents. Almost all business enterprises common to civilization have been carried on there. Towns and railroads have been built, and coal and other minerals discovered, disadjusting and destroying relative values till there are scarcely two acres of equal value side by side. To allot equally among the Indian owners to whom it belonged—to one as much as to any other, the same number of acres to each—had to be displaced by equality of value. The commission has been compelled, therefore, to acquaint itself with the value of every acre, so that the allotment to each when it is done, whether it be ten acres or fifty, would be worth as much as that of any other. That work, covering an area as large as the whole State of Indiana, was drawing to a close when, during the past year, oil and natural gas were discovered in different parts, overthrowing all relative values and appraisements yet made. Ten acres in one place are deemed worth a thousand in another. The law does not provide for the allotment of an oil well. Other parts of the work are approximating a close, and the people are fast adjusting themselves to the new order of things awaiting them.

There is, however, here, as well as on the reservations, much to be done in clearing away entanglements and pitfalls from the way leading to the goal of self-supporting citizenship, now opening so auspiciously to the race.

But that work will not be complete till self-respecting manhood shall stand guard over and modest womanhood adorn every Indian home in the land.

Truly yours,

H. L. DAWES.

Mr. A. K. SMILEY.—I should like to have the Secretary send a letter to Senator Dawes, expressing our hearty approval of this fine paper.

Mr. GARRETT.—I move that the paper be referred to the Business Committee, that it may be used in connection with the platform.

It was voted that the thanks and appreciation of the Conference should be sent to Senator Dawes for his paper, and that the paper should be referred to the Business Committee. It was also moved that a letter of sympathy with Senator Dawes in the loss of his wife, and deploring his absence, should be sent to him by the Secretary.

Hon. William Dudley Foulke was then introduced as the next speaker.

INDIAN AGENTS AND THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

BY HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE.

I cannot conceive of any time more favorable for effective work than the present. There is now at the head of the Indian Bureau a man whom you know well, and in whom you have confidence. There is at the head of the Interior Department a man whom I know to be conscientiously desirous of doing his duty, whether to his own advantage or disadvantage, in regard to the red man as well as the white; and there is at the head of our Government—the chief Executive of the United States—a man who has appeared at previous Conferences, and shown his interest in the Indians; a man whose name stands as the synonym for civic righteousness. So this is the time for work.

The spoils system has been the lion in the way. I had occasion not long ago to look over the list of changes of Indian agents made during the past three or four administrations, and I found that in Mr. Cleveland's first administration, among sixty agents, all were changed but two; in Mr. Harrison's administration there were seventy-six changes, and only eight were suffered to remain; during Mr. Cleveland's second term there were eighty-one changes, and only four were suffered to remain; in Mr. McKinley's first administration, among fifty-eight agencies, there were seventy-nine changes, only nine being suffered to remain, and only one reappointed. That would indicate that Indian agents were a pretty bad set of men to require so many changes, and many of them have been bad men, but once in a while a good man was turned out to make way for a bad man.

The reason is, that under the spoils system of distributing offices the fitness of the man for the place is hardly considered. The thing that is considered is the number of votes his influence can secure for the Senator or member of Congress who secures his appointment. That is a very bad system. Mr. Garrett spoke of the desirability of doing away with Indian agents, but you cannot do away with them now. No law for that purpose would pass, for the reason that members of Congress desire to keep the patronage, and would vote against a law for abolishing agencies.

These numerous changes of agents have an evil effect upon the Indians. If the Indians are to respect the Government, they should have men representing the Government permanently, who are worthy of their respect. Moreover, any schemes for the amelioration of the condition of the Indian are certain to come to naught if the agent who plans them is dismissed before they can be carried out. You cannot do any good thing while the spoils system remains. There are bad agents now who perhaps will be removed, but other bad agents may take their places. It is the system that is wrong.

How, then, shall we get a better system? I would not apply to Congress, because I do not think we would get the result we desire. Congress is the bulwark of the spoils system. But the President of

the United States does not desire patronage. I think I can say that the Secretary of the Interior does not care for patronage. Such men are above it. It is through their instrumentality that the reform must take place. How can it be done? The Constitution provides that Indian agents are to be nominated by the President of the United States, and confirmed by the Senate. You cannot escape that. But the President has the right, in conjunction with the Civil Service Commission, to provide rules for his own guidance, and to say that he will nominate no man unless that man has proved his qualifications for the office by prescribed tests. If the President will adopt rules of this description, it will practically eliminate patronage appointments. If the office were a consulship, he could provide that a candidate should be appointed only after a competitive examination, showing that he understood the duties of the place better than any of his competitors; but the office of Indian agent is one where the qualifications are different. An agent should have tact and business capacity,—qualities which cannot so well be shown by competitive examinations. They can be shown, however, by long experience in the service; and it seems to me that if the rules adopted should provide that Indian agents could only be appointed by promotion from superintendents of schools, and from the higher grades of the classified service, or detailed from the army, it would exclude all others, and patronage would be extinct. Senators could no longer recommend their henchmen, because they are not in those places. We might not always get the best men, but we would get men of experience whose positions were a guaranty of good character. But even if we did not get any better men than at present, still, if we could destroy patronage, and thus eliminate the motive which Congressmen have for opposing good legislation, we would do a great deal. I have reason to think this may be accomplished. I had a conversation last week with the President regarding the importance of applying civil service reform principles to the appointment of Indian agents. I am not authorized to speak for him, but I am sure his mind is not inhospitable to a plan something like that suggested.

I remember that once out in Indiana a man and his wife were crossing a rapid stream. They had a strong horse and a little horse. They were in danger of floating down the river, and the man was whipping the small horse, but his wife cried, "John, whip the strong horse." He did so, and they got safely over the stream. The thing for the friends of the Indian to do is to whip the strong horse,—to establish the merit system and destroy the spoils system. If you can do that, a good deal of the work for the Indian will have been done.

Miss Collins was invited to speak.

Miss MARY COLLINS.—The question of leasing lands has come to us at Standing Rock Agency. We had a council of our Indians to consider the question. A great cattle company wanted to hire the land, and the Indians, without a single exception, voted against

it, and their speeches were very interesting and strong. They said: "If we begin renting our lands, and depending on the income which we shall receive in this way, then we begin to pauperize our young men. We old ones have had to live off the Government, but we do not want our young men to do that." The vote was unanimous. The Indians were sent back to their homes; but we received word that there was to be another council, because the thing had to be put through, as the Indian Commissioner wanted it done. At the next council Dr. Ward and Dr. Warner of New York were present, and they heard the whole thing. Again the Indians all were opposed to leasing the lands. Before I came away I heard a man say that the thing would be put through. I said it could not if the Indians voted against it, as the Indians had treaty rights. I was answered it was a very easy thing; that the Indian agent could not lease the land, but he could permit men to come in with their cattle. The land asked by the agent was the northwest corner, but the land referred to in the telegram, I understand, was all land north of Grand River. As that valley is where all our Indians in the western part of the reservation live, it would practically ruin all their farms, and drive their cattle from water. There is little water on the reservation.

MISS REEL.—The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is opposed to having the Indians lease lands. In the Indian Territory land is leased for thirty cents an acre, where it used to be leased for three cents. Cattle men cannot pay thirty cents an acre and make money. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is anxious to have the Indians live on their own land.

MR. C. F. MESERVE.—A word in regard to this matter. I refer, not to what is termed cattle land, but such as our English friend would call an "agricultural" farm. I do not believe we shall ever get this problem settled until the Indian is got upon his land, until he will stay upon it and work upon it; but there are individual holdings of from five hundred to a thousand acres, and I would have a large portion of these holdings rented, and not allow the rent to be paid in money; but in labor, and the Indian should be taught by the white man how to plow, to cultivate, and to do all kinds of farm work.

THE CHAIR.—A note comes to me, asking me to inquire why the Indian agent thought the Commissioner wished to have the land leased to the cattle men. Miss Collins will perhaps tell us about it.

MISS COLLINS.—A telegram was received from Washington telling them to put the thing through, signed by the Assistant Commissioner. I cannot quote the exact words of the telegram, but that was the substance. The Indians are just beginning to become accustomed to the idea of allotments, and the speakers at the council all spoke of the necessity of the young Indians learning to keep herds. They said: "Our land is large and grass is plentiful, but there is but little water. We desire to have our herds increased, giving cows to our young men out of the money due us."

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT.—I wish some one would suggest a method by which Indian lands and tribal funds can be allotted so as to bene-

fit, not harm, the Indian. There is a difference among the Indians as among white people. Some could carry on a cattle ranch better than I could. I wish some one would tell us what the Indian is to do who has land which he does not wish to cultivate. He does not wish to be anchored to the soil; he wishes to be an engineer, a teacher, a lawyer, a doctor. What is he to do with his land then? How can he get the benefit of his land if he has no right to lease it? At the same time, how is the Indian who leases his land to be guided so that he shall not spend the money he gets from it in drink?

General Morgan was asked to reply to Dr. Abbott.

General MORGAN.—I am not prepared to answer these questions. This matter was carefully considered in the Indian office, and we found that there are many aged people who cannot cultivate the land; a number who are physically unable to do it; there are a number of minors, infants, children up to eighteen years of age, who could not; there is a large body of women who cannot possibly take a farm and cultivate it. There are quite a number who wish to teach or preach or follow some other profession or some other business who have no taste for agriculture. It is impossible that they should take this raw land and make farms of it, unless they abandon all other pursuits. Then there are many to whom land has been assigned who have no money, no farming utensils, no experience. What shall they do? What shall be done for those people who own these large bodies of land which they themselves by no possibility can use? That is the practical question, and it must be recognized in any scheme adopted by the Government. It makes it unwise and irrational to condemn the whole leasing system as in itself vicious.

Major BRIGHT.—To what extent is the matter of leasing subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or the Secretary of the Interior?

The CHAIR.—Absolutely and altogether. No lease on a reservation before allotment can be made without the authority and approval of the Secretary of the Interior exercised through the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Major BRIGHT.—Would it not be easy to devise a system by which the proper information could be given to him?

The CHAIR.—Much could be done to check the evils, and our Board has year by year recommended that this loose way of leasing should be stopped.

Miss SCOVILLE.—Dr. Abbott asks a question that I have been studying for some time, and while I know there are many details to be considered, it seems to me that the answer must be found in some system for homesteading Indian lands. In such a plan, every allotment of tribal land would have to be proved up by the Indian by three to five years' use of his land before he received his final deed for it. This would not throw open the reservations as rapidly, but it would teach the Indian the value of his land and check his roving habits, which are the root of the harmful form of leasing. The trouble with the Omaha and Winnebago Indians was that their land was handed over to them whether they wanted it or not. To a wild

Indian it is less than nothing to have one hundred and sixty acres, since it deprives him of the right to use many thousands, and he must learn to value land by working for it. Many an educated Indian, as Dr. Abbott says, may do something better than "agricultural farming." For such could there not be a time limit set when he must decide whether he will take it himself or not, say at the age of thirty? If he will not take the land then, or finds some other work, there should be a certain payment to him from the funds of the tribe, or by the leasing of the land, to help him in his chosen business. When it comes to leasing, there should be a preference given to leasing to Indians. At Pine Ridge this summer, with eight million acres of land, white men said there was not enough to support seven thousand Indians. Yet in the White Clay district there were Indians, with good herds of cattle, who already had in use much more land than any allotment could give them, and the missionaries say that if you deprive those Indians of the land you will deprive them of any future in the cattle business. I think they are better on a cattle ranch than Dr. Abbott would be. There are men who cannot read and write who would gladly hire a good many acres, and use it for cattle; and the tendency is to bring the Indians into that cattle life as the first step toward business relations.

Mr. DENNIS, Secretary of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration.—Whether we believe that the United States ought to retain possession of the Philippines or not; whether we believe the islanders capable of self-government, or think that they must be governed by men sent out from the United States,—we can all agree that if we are going to send out men to govern the Philippines, they ought to be the best men we can find. I wish to call the attention of the Conference to the plan proposed by Prof. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard, for securing the best men. It is an adaptation of the methods used by England for the last hundred years.

The men sent out must be young, in order that they may become inured to the tropical climate, and proficient in the native tongues. A middle-aged man is either a success or a failure. If he is a success, he does not want to go to the Philippines to begin life over. If he is a failure, we do not want to send him. England has experimented for many years, and has decided on from twenty-one to twenty-three as the best age to send men to India. For about fifty years the men who governed India were the graduates of the college at Haileybury. Later, England adopted the method of competitive examinations, designed to test the general education of the candidate, followed by special training in technical subjects. It is proposed to combine these methods here: to have a college designed to give a liberal education, to which each Congressman is allowed to appoint three men for every man that is expected to graduate. The incompetent would be weeded out, and the graduates sent to govern the Philippines. The plan is a selection of all that is best in the English system, adapted to the exigencies of American political conditions.

Rev. Frank Wright, a Choctaw Indian, was introduced as the next speaker.

Rev. FRANK WRIGHT.—With the Choctaws the land question is, When shall we get hold of our land? All we want is the land. We were the first of the five tribes to agree to take it in severalty, and we are the last to get our allotments,—I do not know why. So far as making farmers of the Indians, in dealing with a man you have got to take him as you find him. You cannot make blacksmiths of all the Indians, and you cannot make farmers of them all. Some will turn to the ministry, some to medicine, and some to law. You can make no hard and fast rule about it. But the first principle to teach him is that he must labor to take care of himself. The Indian must become self-dependent. We have been giving them rations till they are pauperized. It is a scandal and a shame, and I shall be glad when rations are absolutely cut off and the Indians must work or starve. I have worked among the Apaches, who were held as prisoners, and have established missions among them, and I want to tell you what I have found there. These prisoners were compelled to work, and it had a wonderful influence on them. It gave them an incentive; it took away their aimless life; it took them away from gambling; it showed them how to do things. I am in favor of compelling Indians to work. These Apaches worked eight hours a day. They lived in houses; they had plenty to eat every day, and I rejoiced with them. They raise corn and cattle, and are compelled to save their money. They have over two thousand head of cattle, and they are taught to breed and take care of them, like any other person. The result is that they are getting along, and when they are free they will know how to take care of themselves.

If you could go down to the Cheyenne camp and build a guard-house, and compel the men to work, and teach them how, it would be a good thing. But they must be taught and helped, or they become discouraged. They are not in touch with the whites. The missionaries build their houses near the railroads. I believe if farmers would go among them and live near them the Indians would learn to work, but as it is there is no one to show them how. They must be taught to work and then thrown on their own resources. That alone will give them independence of character.

Mr. MESERVE.—Mr. Wright has been a missionary for some time, and has established missions among the Indians. He had a station where the Mohonk Lodge is. I have traveled for days with him, and I wish there were hundreds of such missionary workers.

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Night, October 17.

After some singing by Rev. Frank Wright, the Conference was called to order by the Chair at 8 P. M.

Miss Frances Sparhawk was invited to speak on Indian industries.

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIES LEAGUE.

BY FRANCES SPARHAWK.

The object of the League is to open individual opportunities of work to individual Indians, and to build up self-supporting industries in Indian communities.

In many communities the native Indian industries are especially adapted to this purpose. The League, in fostering these and other industries, holds it of the first importance to replace the desultory work of the Indians by the regularity of the white man's occupation, that habits of industry may be attained. And it will labor to that end.

The League has been in communication with the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, with Government matrons and with missionaries upon the reservations, and others, to learn the opportunities for systematic industrial work among the Indians.

In 1899, by a loan of money to the famous workers among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes at Colony, Oklahoma,—the Rev. and Mrs. Walter C. Roe,—the League stimulated that industry just at the time that it most needed help. Since then the League has secured for this beadwork, from a large Boston firm, orders to the amount of almost one thousand dollars, with prospect of continuance of orders. Also, by teaching the Indians how to adapt the moccasin to the white man's instep, it has developed the moccasin among the whites from an article for curio lovers to a practical foot gear, and so, a constant industry.

The League has built an industrial room among the Navahoes, and for a time paid a matron in charge there, furnishing the room with a range for the instruction of the Indians in cookery, also with sewing machines. This room was intended for rug-weaving, and further development in industries.

The League gave a young Indian member, who had learned something of carpentry at Hampton, a course of study by correspondence, and, at his request, books on architecture, enabling him to become an efficient industrial teacher in a large Government Indian school. It has loaned money to Indians for industrial pur-

poses; has spent money for tools for Indians; has several times sent contributions of money to Miss Carter for her lace industry; and done other work on these lines.

It has bought Indian goods—at the Indians' prices—from the Pimas, the mission Indians, from the Navahoes, and beautiful baskets from the Indians of Washington State. Through friends of the cause it has been enabled to offer several prizes for excellence in basketry. It has sent materials for work to Mrs. Annie M. Sayre among the Pueblos, who are very poor; and it hopes by this means to be able to make a market for their needlework. It has also arranged for other needlework, and it has been prospecting among the Hopis, Paiutes, Pawnees, Kickapoos, Poncas, Walapais, Piegans and Northern Cheyennes.

Since a reservation, in its evil sense, is a condition rather than a place, the systematic labor of the Indians will, of itself, abolish the reservations; for what a man has outgrown, that is he freed from.

Mr. John Lolorias, an Indian student from Hampton, was invited to speak.

MR. LOLORIAS.—My being called on to speak before these great men and public speakers reminds me of a story. An old Indian was once invited to a prayer meeting, and the white men made him understand that they wanted him to pray. So the old Indian got up and said, "O Lord, January, February; January, February," and he kept on repeating those two names of the months, till finally some one motioned to him to sit down. Then a white man said, "We have seen how honestly and earnestly our Indian friend has tried to take part in this meeting, and even if those two words which he spoke do not make us understand what is in his mind, we do understand that he no longer means to shoot anyone with his bows and arrows or to scalp anyone; that he is our friend." So while I shall try to tell you in a few and simple words a little about my own people, I hope, in spite of the imperfection of my speech, you will catch some idea of what I shall try to tell you.

My people, the Papagos, live in Arizona. Nothing was known about them till a few years ago, when they got into trouble with the Mexicans. They lived on their own land. I call it my home because I was raised there; but any white man has as much right to call that place his home as I have, because that land is open to him, and he can go there and build his house. The Indians used to have cattle, and when they wanted money for food or clothing they sold some cattle. Some who did not have any cattle would work in the mines. Ever since I can remember, the Indians have been writing to the Indian Commissioner to ask that they might have land that they could call their own, for their own homes; but he never has done anything yet. Not a loaf of bread, not a shovel, a hoe or a plow, or anything else, has been given to these Papagos. What they have, they have earned it. All the help they have received from Government is the Indian school. As I think of my school

days I can almost remember the exact words in which my teacher taught me to read, and my first teacher was a Hampton student. As we looked at the little book we saw the picture of a cat, and then a picture of the cat running, and then where it had caught a mouse. My teacher said to me in the Indian language, "The first row of black marks tells the color of the cat, the second what he can do, and the third what he has done." Then she began to read: "This is a black cat. The black cat can run. The black cat has caught a mouse." When I went home the first thing I did was to show the book and the pictures to my father, and I said, "The first row of black marks tells the color of the cat, the second what he can do, and the third what he has done." And I read to him: "This is a black cat. The black cat can run. The black cat has caught a mouse." My father said: "That is very interesting, my boy. Return again to the school, and stay till you have learned to explain to me the man in the newspaper, tell me his color, what he can do and what he has done." I did not know then, that to be able to explain the man in the newspaper was a step toward civilization, and that nearly everything in the newspaper was a description of the color of the man, of what he can do, and what he has done.

In 1894 I said to my father, "I cannot learn much more in this school among my own people," and he told me to go wherever I could learn most.

The same year others were asking to leave their homes and come East to "struggle for better things." For this reason a meeting was called; the Indians came, smoked, and talked about the white man. Up rose an old man and said: "It seems to me that our general opinion of the white people is that every one of them is great in some way. There is a man who performs many wonderful things; we see them with our eyes, and when we cannot understand them we say, 'Here is a great man, let us follow.' We allow ourselves and our children to try the white man's tricks, and when one is successful we gather around him and amuse ourselves by seeing the tricks once performed by the white man and now by one of our own people.

"There is another man who writes, reads books and makes pictures; we say, 'Here is a great man, let us follow.' We send our children away from home to learn these things. How many of them have returned and amused us, made our lives and our homes happier with the knowledge of those things for which we send them abroad?

"There is another man who comes and says, 'This is right and that is wrong; you work to-day, rest to-morrow, and listen to the story of the Maker of all things, and of his Son who came here, worked and died for you.' We say, 'Here is a great man, let us follow.' We go into Mexico to learn the Mexican songs and prayers, and when we return home we sing and pray. Now, are we a better people than we were years ago when we sang our own songs, when we spoke to the Great Spirit in our own language? We asked then for rain, good health and long life; now what more do we want? What is that thought so great and so sacred that can-

not be expressed in our own language, that we should seek to use the white man's words?

"We have seen men who seemed to be our friends, and we have told them our stories and our best thoughts. They said we will do this and that for you, but some unexpected time they are gone; we know then that we were deceived. Never did we say, 'Here is a great liar, let us follow,' but still we longed for a chance to come when we might return the same deceitfulness to that man, and make him feel as we felt when he deceived us."

So the older Indians talked of what their children learned from the white man when they were sent away to school. It seems to me that the Indian teacher or missionary must know the thoughts which lie deep in the hearts and minds of the old Indians, in order to be successful. We need not follow the white man just because he is white, and can be seen in the night as well as in the day. It is right that the Indian should amuse himself by the white man's tricks. He who writes books and makes pictures is a great man, and the Indian must follow. But it is the part of the teacher to encourage the students to return to their homes, and explain to their people those thoughts in Christianity which are so high, so great and so sacred, which the old Indian does not yet know.

Rev. Egerton R. Young was asked to speak five minutes.

Rev. E. R. YOUNG, Toronto, Canada.—We had a glorious camp meeting this summer among the Indians. I invited you to come, and I invite you again. There were about thirty white people there with us. When we heard of the news about your beloved President I was with the Indians, and more than a thousand of them fell on their knees while we prayed for his restoration.

We were all filled with sorrow over the terrible news. We people of Canada have felt his death as a personal loss. Our cities were draped in black, our flags were at half-mast, and at the time of the funeral, services were held in all of our chief churches. We rejoice and thank God for this mighty republic, whose heart during these later years has learned to beat more and more in sympathy with the motherland. Both lands are doing the great work of giving the gospel and liberty and freedom to the different races which come under them in this great world of ours.

I should like to have referred to the English method of dealing with the Indians, and tell you how it is that we have never had a war with any Indian tribe or spent a dollar in feeding Indians, and politics is forever banished from the selection of Indian agents,—but there is no time. Let me give you one incident in connection with our camp meeting this summer in closing. Two or three drunken Indians came to the camp ground one day, and some of the white people said, "Send them to jail;" but there were some Christian Indians gathered there, and they said, There is a little house out beyond the village, and there are some good beds and plenty of food, and we will send some of our people with these drunken young fellows to keep them quiet and sober; and when they are sober we

will bring them to the prayer meeting, and try to get the spirit of Christ in them instead of the spirit of fire water. That is the sort of thing that Christian Indians will do.

Mrs. A. S. Quinton was invited to speak for the women of the country and their work for Indians.

Mrs. A. S. QUINTON, President of the Women's National Indian Association.—I cannot speak for the women of the whole country, of course, but I have a message to this Conference from the women of the Women's National Indian Association, and I believe I speak for the women of the missionary societies of the churches. We all believe in what has been said in regard to land. We long for the destruction of the reservation system. We should be grateful to see the unnecessary reservations abolished at once, and it would be according to the thought of all the workers if Indian agents could be instructed to keep in view as the end of the Indian service, the winding up of all that is peculiarly Indian, and the placing Indians fully as citizens. Most of the Indians, we believe, are ready for the change. Those not ready the women would desire to have protected carefully, and prepared for citizenship as rapidly as possible.

In regard to the New York Indians, we women believe that they are ready for citizenship, and that their reservations ought to be divided in severalty. Among the Senecas not a few have libraries, musical instruments, and are already truly civilized.

In the realm of law we should be very glad if genuine citizenship could be given to all, thus letting the Indians realize that they are free citizens in fact. Citizenship should and could be made real, by giving them all the privileges and protections that belong to citizenship. The women believe in the last appeal,—the appeal to the President; and we have felt for years that there was sufficient discretionary power in the hands of the President to reform many, if not most, of the evils of the administration of Indian affairs, and we should be glad to make that last appeal.

In the matter of funds there is great interest. We most heartily endorse what the Commissioner of Indian Affairs has said in his report. We should be delighted to see all the funds due the Indian tribes paid over to their individual members. Of course some money would be wasted and lost, but it seems clear that the great proportion of the funds would be more wisely used than now. When one sees that the Indians have earned a million and a half a year by civilized industries, one cannot be afraid that they would be left helpless. The Osages have been hindered in their industrial and moral development by their riches. The payment of their funds could be in such wise as to promote and hasten their civilization.

In regard to missions, what more can be said than has been said? If anything is to be achieved for any people, the wise thing is to do that which will best help them. The whole power of the man is secured if he recognizes his relation to God, heartily accepts that relationship and makes right doing the rule of his life. Christian

missions certainly do thus persuade men. Missionaries do much secular work also. We rejoice that in Manila they are doing work in an undenominational way. That seems like a clarion note of the millennium. The women wish that all Christian work for pagans could be done in that way; that we might teach Christianity pure and simple, and not churchianity. I can assure you that the women of the churches are interested in the evangelization of all these peoples named in this Conference, and that they believe in combined effort, the combined efforts of all Christian workers, and especially in this Indian service. The service which is now most needed is the consecrated service of those who can work along undenominational lines. And what privilege is there so great as to be permitted to share the divine work of the world's evangelization by the methods laid down in the New Testament.

Hon. William A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was invited to speak. Mr. Jones asked that first General Whittlesey might be allowed to read a paper with certain facts relating to the present condition of the Indians.

General WHITTLESEY.—I take pleasure in reading this paper, which has been compiled by that capable little woman known to many of you as "Miss Minnie Cook."

MEMORANDA.

FINANCE.—The appropriations for the Indian service for the current fiscal year aggregate \$9,736,186.09, an increase of nearly \$700,000 over last year. The increase is caused by payments for Indian land and the capitalization of annuity funds.

EDUCATION.—The need of a compulsory school law applicable to Indians is reiterated. Not that force would be frequently resorted to, or that it would be harshly used, but to give a more authoritative backing to the moral suasion now used. The Superintendent of Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, reports that 176 out of 180 agents, school superintendents and school supervisors favor such a law. Idaho has already passed an act "compelling the attendance of children at schools where tuition, lodging, food and clothing are furnished at the expense of the United States or the State of Idaho." Punishment for non-compliance is to be by fines varying from \$5.00 to \$30.00. This law, passed last March, has not yet been tested.

In the Government schools (25 non-reservation, 88 reservation boarding and 138 day) 23,332 pupils have been enrolled, an increase of 1,208 over last year. In the mission schools, including Hampton (the only existing contract school), the enrollment has been 3,933. Twenty-one public schools have had 257 pupils, a very small increase over last year. Thus the whole number of Indian pupils in schools last year was 27,522, and an average attendance of over 83 per cent was secured. Notwithstanding the discontinuance of Indian school contracts, the total number of pupils cared for last year was 1,071,—greater than any previous year. The school employees numbered 2,208, nearly one third of them being Indians.

Neighborhood institutes at Keams Canon, Arizona; Pine Ridge, South Dakota, and Puyallup, Washington, and a general institute of Indian teachers at Detroit in connection with the National Education Association, and afterwards at Buffalo, have been ably conducted. They are very helpful in improving methods, getting teachers out of ruts, and developing *esprit de corps*.

The Massachusetts Indian Association is rejoicing over the fact that the boarding school for the Walapai at Truzton Cañon has been opened. A new school at Hayward, Wisconsin, is almost ready; also one long promised the Southern Utes. A new school at Riverside, California, is under contract. Many other schools have been enlarged, and quite a number have had extensive improvements, especially in the way of water supply, sewerage, heating and lighting.

MARRIAGE.—Without further waiting for legislation on the subject, the Indian Office during the current year has issued instructions to agents in regard to regulating, licensing and recording marriages among Indians. These instructions require that before marriage an Indian shall obtain a license from some source, either the Indian agent or a civil magistrate. Agents are authorized to issue marriage licenses, and they must do so without charge; and they must conform, so far as practicable, to the legal forms and requirements of the State and Territory, and thus familiarize the Indians with them. Blanks have been furnished agencies for licenses, marriage records and certificates of marriage. Also, books have just been shipped to agencies for a permanent register of the Indians, showing family relations, so that it will be possible to trace relationship from two to four generations back. This record will be of special value for future reference in determining the heirs of deceased allottees.

IRRIGATION.—For the current fiscal year Congress has provided \$100,000 for irrigation work on Indian reservations, twice the amount appropriated last year. During the past year irrigation work has been confined mostly to Pueblo, Southern Ute and Navaho reservations, besides the continuance of ditch construction on the Crow reservation, which is paid for out of Crow funds. Much of the \$52,000 thus expended last year has gone back to the Crow Indians in the shape of wages paid them for work on the canals.

ALLOTMENTS AND PATENTS.—Patents have been issued during the year to 3,265 Indians. Allotments have been made (and approved) to 8,696 Indians, mostly White Earth Chippewas, and to the Kiowas and Wichitas prior to the opening of their reservation to settlement.

It has been decided that the jurisdiction of the Department over an Indian allotment does not cease until the time of trust has expired, and the final patent been issued. Meantime trust patents based on erroneous allotments may be canceled.

CESSIONS OF LAND.—The Grande Ronde Indians in Oregon, and the Lower Brule Sioux in South Dakota, have ceded to the United States surplus lands, twenty-six thousand and fifty-six thousand acres at \$1.10 and \$1.25 per acre respectively; the former to receive their pay in cash, the latter in stock cattle and the fencing of the reservation.

LOGGING ON INDIAN RESERVATIONS.—The logging of dead and down timber on the White Earth and Red Lake reservations, and on lands in Minnesota ceded by the Chippewas, was resumed last winter, under the direction of Captain Mercer. Sixty-one million feet were cut and were sold for \$364,000, netting the Indians above all expenses \$127,000.

Logging on the reservations in the La Pointe Agency and Menominee reservation has been continued satisfactorily as heretofore. Under the La Pointe plan, the timber is cut under contracts made with allottees; under the Menominee plan, the Indians cut the timber under supervision of the agent, and it is sold on the bank by public advertisement.

LEASES.—Leases of both tribal and allotted lands continue to be made,—sometimes to the advantage, and often to the disadvantage, of the Indian lessor.

RAILROADS, TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH LINES.—Applications for right of way through Indian lands for railroads and telephone and telegraph lines are numerous, especially in the Indian Territory, and particularly since general right of way Acts were passed in 1899 and 1901. Prior to 1899 every such right of way was acquired by special Act of Congress. Now the matter is left to the Secretary of the Interior. Care is taken to have Indian tribes and Indian allottees duly compensated by the railroads for rights of way through their possessions.

PIMA INDIANS IN MOENCOPI COUNTY, ARIZONA.—The attempt of white men to file on lands cultivated for twenty-seven years by two villages of Indians, numbering some one hundred, has been frustrated by the Land Office, but not before white trespassers had cut some of the valuable timber. The General Land Office has been directed to cancel the entries made by white men on these tracts.

MISSION INDIANS ON WARNER'S RANCH.—It is a matter of great regret that the long pending and twice appealed case of the occupation by some mission Indians of the tract in California known as Warner's Ranch, or Agua Caliente, has gone against the Indians in the United States Supreme Court. Thus some two hundred Indians go empty handed from the lands which their ancestors have cultivated for generations. An arrangement has been made by which they will be allowed to remain at Agua Caliente until Congress meets and can make some provision for establishing them elsewhere. As a partial, temporary expedient, all vacant lands in one of the California townships have been withdrawn from entry and settlement by white people, and will be devoted to the use of these Indians; most unfortunately, most of these vacant lands are worthless, and the few scattered arable areas will support but few families.

INDIAN TERRITORY UNDER THE CURTIS ACT AND SUBSEQUENT LEGISLATION.

EDUCATION.—Under the Government supervision which has been exercised for three years, great improvements have been made in the schools among the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws,

and the antagonism with which Government oversight was at first received is growing less. Normal schools and examinations have raised the grade of teachers; manual training has been encouraged; school funds have been honestly and fairly disbursed; and better schools have cost less per capita than under the old régime. A few towns have been able to raise funds by taxation to support public schools, but, as a rule, the one hundred and nineteen thousand white children in the Indian Territory are without any chance for schooling.

MINERAL LEASES.—Under seventy-one leases approved by the Department, coal is being mined in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, and the royalties collected during the year, at the rate of eight cents per ton, have amounted to \$198,449. There are also ten other companies operating under contracts made directly with the tribes before the passage of the Curtis Act. A small amount of asphalt is also being mined there. Some coal, under temporary permission, is being mined on Cherokee lands.

TOWN SITES.—Are being surveyed and platted in all the nations except the Seminoles.

TIMBER AND STONE.—Are being taken out by contract from the Chickasaw, Choctaw and Creek Nations.

SEMINOLES.—The roll of the Seminoles has been made, their lands have been appraised, and more than half of the tribe have received allotments.

AGREEMENTS.—An agreement made with the Creeks, relative to the distribution of their lands, has been confirmed by that nation. A similar one made with representatives of the Cherokee Nation failed of confirmation by the tribe. An agreement with the Choctaws and Chickasaws is still pending before Congress.

The Commission is completing rolls of the various nations, determining citizenship cases, and classifying and appraising lands.

CHIPPEWAS AND MUNSEES IN KANSAS.—The small band of Chippewa and Munsee Indians in Kansas have at last had their funds capitalized and their lands patented or sold, and they are no longer wards of the Government, except such minors as must still wait until they are twenty-one to receive their share of the funds, which is meantime held for them in the United States Treasury.

NORTHERN CHEYENNES.—Most of the white settlers on the Tongue River reservation in Montana have been paid for their improvements and have left the reservation, thus leaving for the Northern Cheyennes much needed agricultural land.

Largely through the persistence of the Indian Rights Association, Little Whirlwind was last July released from the Montana penitentiary. He was sentenced for life, and his brother, Spotted Hawk, to be hanged, as accomplices in the murder of a white sheep-herder in 1897; while the self-confessed, real murderer, Stanley, was sentenced to only five years' imprisonment. On a new trial Spotted Hawk was acquitted, but Little Whirlwind was still held in confinement, notwithstanding that Stanley, just before his death in prison, stated that he alone was concerned in the murder, and that he had implicated the other two in order to lighten his own sentence.

Among the Northern Cheyennes a revival of the Messiah craze has been suppressed. Porcupine began with the same methods which were so successful two years ago, convincing his followers of his own supernatural powers, and assuring them of the speedy resurrection of all Cheyennes, and disappearance of all white men. Arrest and confinement at Fort Keough for four months so modified Porcupine's theory of inspiration that he was released.

ADDRESS OF HON. WILLIAM A. JONES.

COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

I asked General Whittlesey to read to you the résumé of the work done by the Indian Office during the last year, as he had already been furnished by the Office with data bearing on the subject. However, upon listening to the reading of his paper, I notice one important omission of what has been done, and that is the inauguration of a system for keeping records of marriages, births and deaths. This I consider one of the most important steps taken for some time, and it was largely owing to the persistent efforts of Dr. Gates, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners. This system is as nearly complete as we could make it under existing conditions. While it does not have the force of a statute, it is a great step in advance, and if faithfully adhered to by the agents it will answer all immediate necessities.

An effort will be made during the coming session of Congress to have some law enacted embodying the principal features of this system. Very many of the agents have indorsed their approval, and are doing their utmost to carry out faithfully the instructions issued. Some have written in somewhat of a discouraging spirit as to their ability to enforce these regulations, but I feel sure that after they have once started, good results will be obtained.

Before entering upon any general discussion of the Indian question, I would like to impose upon your time for a few minutes, in order to reply to some questions that I understand were asked at a former meeting of this session.

I have been told that there has been some discussion concerning the leasing of some portions of the Sioux reservation, and some implied criticism was made as to the policy of the Office.

I do not want to shirk the responsibility for this policy, as it was inaugurated by me after a full investigation of the conditions that existed upon the Sioux reservation, and after testing it for the last eight or ten months I am more than ever convinced of its advisability. I want to state at the outset that I am utterly opposed to leasing allotments except in rare cases, where the allottee is totally unable to work his own land; but there is a vast difference between leasing allotments and leasing tribal lands. As a matter of fact, we have not leased an acre on the Sioux reservation; we have simply permitted the grazing of a limited number of cattle on these reservations, levying a tax of \$1.00 per head a year for the privilege.

There are millions of acres on the Sioux reservation unoccupied, except by squawmen and white cattle men living on the border. These people have for years been using the grazing lands of the Indians without paying either to the Indians directly, or to the Government, one cent for the privilege. Many of these squawmen have become wealthy by this practice.

Under the present system, all squawmen and Indians who have rights on the reservation are permitted to graze, not to exceed one hundred head free, but are required to pay \$1.00 per head for everything in excess of that amount. A very large proportion of the Sioux Indians do not own cattle, and cannot avail themselves of this grazing privilege, and it is eminently unfair to permit a few favorite individuals to reap the benefit of the grazing lands without any recompense to those less fortunate or less energetic full-bloods.

Upon investigation I have found that the dissatisfaction with this system comes almost entirely from these squawmen, and a few cattle men, who have been cut off from the free use of the range; in fact, a delegation of these squawmen called upon me at the Office a few months ago, protesting against the system.

I have also received several communications from people who are identified more or less with the Mohonk Conference, protesting against the system, claiming that it was unfair to these progressive Indians, who are doing what they can to become self-supporting. This reason seems to be very plausible, but I cannot conceive any good reason for rewarding an Indian for supporting himself and family. And right here I want to enter my protest against the conduct of some members of the Mohonk Conference concerning policies that have been adopted by the Office. As an illustration, I might state that a short time ago the Office stopped the indiscriminate issue of hides to the Indians of the Sioux and other reservations. The order had no more than gone out before the mail was loaded with letters protesting against the hardship imposed upon the Indians by such a course. The Indians had no right whatever to the hides, as their treaty simply provided for a pound and a half of net beef as a ration. The issuing of hides was a concession made to them during the Harrison administration, when it was thought it would avert a threatened outbreak at the time. I think it was a mistake in the first place, but I can see no good reason why the Government should continue the mistake.

Again, when the indiscriminate issue of rations was discontinued a few months ago and instructions were sent to the agents to cut off from the ration roll all squawmen and their families, returned students and Indians who were capable of supporting themselves, the same thing was repeated. I was burdened with a daily mail from our good friends of the Mohonk Conference, setting out the great hardships that would be brought about by such a course. If there is any one thing more than another that the Mohonk Conference deserves credit for, it has been its persistent and consistent opposition to these indiscriminate issues of rations; but I submit if it is fair for you to meet here for several days annually, advocating this policy, and then as soon as you return to your homes to belabor the Office for carrying out what you have advocated at the Conference?

You have also consistently advocated the breaking up of reservations, with which I am in full sympathy and have done all I could to bring this condition of affairs about by advocating the cutting up of the reservations and permitting the building of railroads, towns and villages upon the reservations, so that the Indians would have the benefit of the example of the whites, and also an opportunity to do work for the whites if they chose to do so; but these same good friends are writing continuously to the Office, asking me to protect the Indians and to keep out the whites from settling and encroaching upon these reservations.

In this one item of the issuing of hides alone, the Government has saved from \$70,000 to \$80,000 a year, a large proportion of which has in the past been simply wasted by the Indians, as the women were required to take care of the hide and turn it over to the men, who traded it for tobacco, whiskey and other worthless articles.

Mr. SMILEY.—I never wrote you such a letter.

Commissioner JONES.—No, nor any other member of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

In the matter of cutting down of rations, I will state that the indiscriminate issue of rations has been discontinued for the last three months. It was found that the Indian agents in their annual estimate would send in requisitions for the full number on their roll. As an illustration, the agent at Pine Ridge would send in a requisition for over six thousand rations. When the list was checked up and compared with the Office record, we found that there were hundreds of children from this reservation in non-reservation and other schools. Hundreds of others were not on the reservation at all, and not entitled to a ration. There are also hundreds of squawmen and their children, and wealthy Indians, who come regularly twice a month to the agency to get their pound and a half of beef, to the detriment of the poor and needy; and, as I stated before, instructions were issued to cut off every able-bodied Indian who could make his own living, provided he were given the opportunity to do so. Many of them own hundreds of head of cattle, and are no more entitled to a ration than a white man.

A report has been received from the Rosebud Agency after these instructions were issued, stating that only sixty-two per cent of the Indians who received rations last year were now receiving them; and now I ask you, my good friends, do not begin to send in protests against this discontinuance of rations, claiming that the Indians are being starved. That is not consistent. I ask you to stick to the principles that you are advocating here. If you are right here, you are wrong when you get home.

In considering Indian affairs at the last Conference, some attention was given to the obstacles in the way of the Indian toward independence and self-support, and three of the most important were pointed out and made the subject of discussion. It was shown that the indiscriminate issue of rations was an effectual barrier to civilization; that the periodical distribution of large sums of money was demoralizing in the extreme; and that the general leasing of allot-

ments, instead of benefiting the Indians as originally intended, only contributed to their demoralization.

Further observation and reflection lead to the unwelcome conviction that another obstacle may be added to those already named, and that is education. It is to be distinctly understood that it is not meant by this to condemn education in the abstract. Far from it. Its advantages are too many and too apparent to need any demonstration here. Neither is it meant as a criticism upon the conduct or management of any particular school or schools now in operation. What I mean is, that the present Indian educational system taken as a whole is not calculated to produce the results so earnestly claimed for it, and so hopefully anticipated when it was begun.

No doubt this idea will be received with some surprise, and expressions of dissent will doubtless spring at once to the lips of many of those engaged or interested in Indian work. Nevertheless, I believe that a brief view of the plan in vogue will convince the most skeptical that the idea is correct.

There are in operation at the present time one hundred and thirteen boarding schools, with an average attendance of something over sixteen thousand pupils, ranging from five to twenty-one years old. These pupils are gathered from the cabin, the wickiup and the tepee. Partly by cajolery and partly by threats, partly by bribery and partly by fraud, partly by persuasion and partly by force, they are induced to leave their homes and their kindred, to enter these schools and take upon themselves the outward semblance of civilized life. They are chosen, not on account of any particular merit of their own, not by reason of mental fitness, but solely because they have Indian blood in their veins. Without regard to their worldly condition, without any previous training, without any preparation whatever, they are transported to the schools—sometimes thousands of miles away—without the slightest expense or trouble to themselves or their people. The Indian youth finds himself at once, as if by magic, translated from a state of poverty to one of affluence. He is well fed and clothed and lodged. Books and all the accessories of learning are given him, and teachers provided to instruct him. He is educated in the industrial arts on the one hand, and not only in the rudiments but in the liberal arts on the other. Beyond "the three R's" he is instructed in geography, grammar and history; he is taught drawing, algebra and geometry, music and astronomy; and receives lessons in physiology, botany and entomology. Matrons wait on him while he is well, and physicians and nurses tend him when he is sick. A steam laundry does his washing, and the latest modern appliances do his cooking. A library affords him relaxation for his leisure hours; athletic sports and the gymnasium furnish him with exercise and recreation, while music entertains him in the evening. He has hot and cold baths, steam heat and electric light, and all the modern conveniences. All of the necessities of life are given him and many of the luxuries. All of this without money and without price, or the contribution of a single effort of his own or of his people. His wants are all supplied al-

most for the wish. The child of the wigwam becomes a modern Aladdin, who has only to rub the Government lamp to gratify his desires.

Here he remains until his education is finished, when he is returned to his home, which by contrast must seem squalid indeed; to the parents whom his education must make it impossible to honor; and left to make his way against the ignorance and bigotry of his tribe. Is it any wonder he fails? Is it surprising if he lapses into barbarism? Not having earned his education, it is not appreciated; having made no sacrifice to obtain it, it is not valued. It is looked upon as a right and not as a privilege; it is accepted as a favor to the Government and not to the recipient; and the almost inevitable tendency is to encourage dependence, foster pride, and create a spirit of arrogance and selfishness. The testimony on this point of those closely connected with the Indian employees of the service would, it is believed, be interesting.

It is not denied that some good flows from this system. It would be singular if there did not, after all the effort that has been made and the money that has been lavished. In the last twenty years fully forty-five millions of dollars have been spent by the Government alone for the education of Indian pupils, and it is a liberal estimate to put the number of those so educated at not over twenty-five thousand. If the present rate is continued for another twenty years, it will take over seventy millions more.

But while it is not denied that the system has produced some good results, it is seriously questioned whether it is calculated to accomplish the great end in view, which is not so much the education of the individual as the lifting up of the race. It is contended, and with some reason, that with the same effort and much less expenditure applied locally, or to the family circle, far greater and much more beneficent results could have been obtained, and the tribes would have been in a much more advanced stage of civilization than at present.

On the other hand, it is said that the stream of returning pupils carries with it the refining influence of the schools, and operates to elevate the people. Doubtless this is true of individual cases, and it may have some faint influence on the tribes. But will it ever sufficiently leaven the entire mass? It is doubtful. It may be possible in time to purify a fountain by cleansing its turbid waters as they pour forth, and then returning them to their original source. But experience is against it. For centuries pure, fresh water streams have poured their floods into the Great Salt Lake, and its waters are still salt.

What, then, shall be done? And this inquiry brings into prominence at once the whole Indian question.

It may be well first to take a glance at what has been done. For about a generation the Government has been taking a very active interest in the welfare of the Indian. In that time he has been located on reservations and fed and clothed. He has been supplied lavishly with utensils and means to earn his living, with materials for his dwelling and articles to furnish it; his children have been

educated and money has been paid him; farmers and mechanics have been supplied him; and he has received aid in a multitude of different ways. In the last thirty-three years over two hundred and forty millions of dollars have been spent upon an Indian population not exceeding one hundred and eighty thousand; enough, if equitably divided, to build each one a house suitable to his condition and furnish it throughout; to fence his land and build him a barn; to buy him a wagon, team and harness; to furnish him plows and other implements necessary to cultivate the ground; and to give him something besides to embellish and beautify his home. It is not pretended that this amount is exact, but it is sufficiently so for the purposes of this discussion.

What is his condition to-day? He is still on his reservation; he is still being fed; his children are still being educated, and money is still being paid him; he is still dependent upon the Government for existence; mechanics wait on him, and farmers still aid him; he is little, if any, nearer the goal of independence than he was thirty years ago; and if the present policy is continued, he will get little, if any, nearer in thirty years to come. It is not denied that under this, as under the school system, there has been some progress; but it has not been commensurate with the money spent and effort made.

It is easy to point out difficulties, but it is not so easy to overcome them. Nevertheless, an attempt will now be made to indicate a policy which, if steadfastly adhered to, will not only relieve the Government of an enormous burden, but, it is believed, will practically settle the entire Indian question within the space usually allotted to a generation. Certainly it is time to make a move toward terminating the guardianship which has so long been exercised over the Indians, and putting them upon an equal footing with the white man so far as their relations with the Government are concerned. Under the present system the Indian ward never attains his majority. The guardianship goes on in an unbroken line from father to son, and generation after generation the Indian lives and dies a ward.

To begin at the beginning, then, it is freely admitted that education is essential. But it must be remembered that there is a vital difference between white and Indian education. When a white youth goes away to school or college his moral character and habits are already formed and well defined. In his home, at his mother's knee, from his earliest moments, he has imbibed those elements of civilization which, developing as he grows up, distinguish him from the savage. He goes to school not to acquire a moral character, but to prepare himself for some business or profession by which he can make his way in after life.

With the Indian youth it is different. Born a savage, and raised in an atmosphere of superstition and ignorance, he lacks at the outset those advantages inherited by his white brother and enjoyed from the cradle. His moral character has yet to be formed. If he is to rise from his low estate, the germs of a nobler existence must be implanted in him and cultivated. He must be taught to lay aside his savage customs like a garment, and take upon himself the habits of civilized life.

In a word, the primary object of a white school is to educate the mind; the primary essential of Indian education is to enlighten the soul. Under our system of Government the latter is not the function of the State.

What, then, is the function of the State? Briefly this. To see that the Indian has the opportunity for self support, and that he is afforded the same protection of his person and property as is given to others. That being done, he should be thrown entirely upon his own resources, to become a useful member of the community in which he lives or not, according as he exerts himself or fails to make an effort; he should be located where the conditions are such that by the exercise of ordinary industry and prudence he can support himself and family; he must be made to realize that in the sweat of his face he shall earn his bread; he must be brought to recognize the dignity of labor and the importance of building and maintaining a home; he must understand that the more useful he is there, the more useful he will be to society; it is there he must find the incentive to work, and from it must come the uplifting of his race.

As I stated before, in the beginning of his undertaking he should have aid and instruction. He is entitled to that. Necessaries of life, also, will doubtless have to be furnished him for a time, at least until his labor becomes productive. More than this, so long as the Indians are wards of the General Government, and until they have been absorbed by and become a part of the community in which they live, day schools should be established at convenient places where they may learn enough to transact the ordinary business of life. Beyond this in the way of schools it is not necessary to go; beyond this it is a detriment to go. The key to the whole situation is the home. Improvement must begin there. The first and most important object to be attained is the elevation of the domestic life. Until that is accomplished it is futile to talk of higher education.

This is a mere outline. There are innumerable details to be considered and many difficulties to overcome. Of course, it cannot all be done at once. Different conditions prevail in different sections of the country. In some places the conditions are already ripe for the surrender of Government control; in others the natural conditions are such and the Indians are so situated that, if protected in their rights, they should soon be ready for independence. But in other places the question assumes a more serious aspect. Located in an arid region, upon unproductive reservations, often in a rigorous climate, there is no chance for the Indian to make a living even if he would. The larger and more powerful tribes are so situated. So long as this state of things exists the ration system with all its evils must continue. There can be little or no further reduction in that direction than that already made without violating the dictates of humanity. Already in several quarters there is suffering and want. In these cases something should be done toward placing such Indians in a position where they can support themselves, and that something should be done quickly.

But whatever the condition of the Indian may be, he should be

removed from a state of dependence to one of independence. And the only way to do this is to take away those things that encourage him to lead an idle life, and, after giving him a fair start, leave him to take care of himself. To that it must come in the end, and the sooner steps are taken to bring it about the better. That there will be many failures and much suffering is inevitable in the very nature of things, for it is only by sacrifice and suffering that the heights of civilization are reached.

ADDRESS OF HON. JAMES S. SHERMAN.

Mr. Moderator, for there seems to be so much of the Christian spirit in this Conference that I think I may address you as such, without meaning in the least to criticise what in legislative parlance we would call "the Steering Committee," I desire to say that the position in which they put me—first to speak yesterday morning, then in the evening and then this morning, and at last to be introduced at fourteen minutes before ten this evening—reminds me somewhat of an anecdote I heard of a German member of an orchestra who was criticised by his manager for being habitually tardy. The manager told him that there was too much of "dis tardy beesnes," and he threatened him that unless he could be prompt he would be discharged. The man appeared on time for a week, when the manager said to him, "Hans, I discover vat you turn over those other leaf. I notice you was early of late. You vas always been behind before; I am glad you vas first at last."

Introduced in the complimentary way in which I have been by your Chairman, calls to my mind a circumstance that a charming guest of Mr. Smiley's related to me this afternoon of her embarrassment in not being able to discover whether Mr. Smiley was himself or his brother, and Mr. Smiley relieved her of that embarrassment by saying that that was once a question that had troubled him. At one time in Philadelphia, but for the strength of a mirror, he would have injured himself in shaking hands, as he supposed, with his own brother! Mr. Thomas B. Reed once described a statesman as a politician who was dead. I cannot very well, with my style of architecture, claim to be deceased, and having been for a dozen or fifteen years a member of the House of Representatives, I cannot claim to be entirely aloof from politics; and when I take into consideration the somewhat uncomplimentary remarks that have been now and then made during these two days about politicians and Congressmen, I am somewhat uncertain whether I am myself or somebody else.

It has not been my pleasure to attend a Mohonk Conference before, although our good friend, Mr. Smiley, has frequently honored me with invitations. I came this year because I wanted to, and that statement has the novelty of being a true statement from a politician. I think I can prove my desire to come when I say that I took the train at one o'clock in the night, got into Kingston at five

in the morning, and struggled with a restaurant breakfast before I came up here. But before I got here, as I rode up this beautiful driveway, over these matchless hills, painted as they are to day by God as no artist could reproduce them, I felt more than repaid for coming even before the Conference met. There came to my mind, as we drove up in the early morning and looked down on that beautiful valley before us, that little verse by Eugene Field :—

“Sometimes I think I’d like to go
Where bells don’t ring nor whistles blow,
And clocks don’t strike, and gongs don’t sound,
And there is stillness all around.

“If ’tweren’t for sights, and sounds and smell,
I’d like the city pretty well;
But when it comes to getting rest,
I think the country’s lots the best.

“Sometimes I feel as if I must
Just quit the city’s din and dust,
And get out where the sky is blue :
And say, now, how does it seem to you?”

Dr. Abbott asked me yesterday morning, when he said that he would like to have me occupy a little time, what I would like to speak about, and I told him that if I had to speak at all, and had my choice, I would like to speak about a minute; that I had come here rather to listen and to learn than to talk and to teach. And I have listened, and I have learned. I have learned much to-night from the Commissioner. I have learned that he can preach one doctrine, and that in the estimates which he sends to us he can make a very different one. He tells you to-night that the way to civilize the Indian, and to do away with the present conditions, is practically to do away with the schools; and yet, next month he will send a book of estimates, asking us to appropriate \$4,000,000 for the continuance of the schools, and we will do it. We will do it because we believe, as you believe and he believes, that we must get at the minds of men and educate them, cultivate them, before we can civilize and Christianize them, no matter whether they are white or black or red. I agree in part with the Commissioner in many things, the same as I do with this Conference. I came here to find out what you desire, and Dr. Abbott suggested to me that I might give you some notion of how you might assist the legislative or law-making power, and it was that to which I intended to address myself, and that briefly. You can aid the law-making power by holding these Conferences just as you have been doing. I rather guess that so long as Brother Smiley intends to invite us here, and entertain us in this royal way, that there will be quite a little gathering here annually.

President GATES.—He never can stop these Conferences until he cuts off rations!

Mr. SHERMAN.—I thought when I listened to Mr. Gates’s opening address yesterday that I had seldom heard a man who could express himself so beautifully, and he has proved it again now. What we desire to do, we who make the laws, is to do that which makes for the public good and the public weal, and we desire to be assisted in

reaching that end by the best thought of the best minds of the best people under the sun. You can assist us, you of the Mohonk Conference, and you friends of the Indian, by discussing dispassionately what we do, criticising where we deserve criticism. Neither Brother Jones nor most of the members of the Indian Committee will hesitate to acknowledge the correctness of your criticism when you are right. We are not infallible, neither are you. You make some mistakes, and we know some things about the Indian question ourselves. We come in contact with the Indian; we know something of his wants. You can assist us by discussing dispassionately the various phases of the Indian question, and suggesting remedies for evils, remedies for mistakes, corrections of wrongs. It would be an easy matter for one of Mr. Smiley's men to go out and tear down this old building, but it is a very different proposition when it comes to building up the magnificent structure that is to take its place. It is very easy to tear down, but not easy to build up. It is very easy to talk about taking away the rations of the Indian and doing away with their school system, but how are you going to do that without giving them something to take the place of all this? Commissioner Jones, in his suggestion about changes, has not only suggested taking away, but he has suggested putting something in the place of that which was taken away. If the Commissioner be right in all his suggestions, I hope he will follow them up by making these same recommendations, not here at Mohonk only, but to the legislative body of this Government which has the right to act upon such matters. That is the practical way to do it, and I shall expect next winter, when you (turning to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs) come before the Indian Committee, to ask you if you believe then all that you have stated here to-night.

Commissioner JONES.—I will put it in writing.

Mr. SHERMAN.—We want all the light we can get from every source and we want new light. We want not only the light of this Conference, but the light of all other Conferences. Of course, there has been fraud in the Indian service; but there are men there who are as honest as any in the land, and here sits one of them in the person of Commissioner Jones. Dishonest men are not only in the Indian service, but in other branches of the Government service and everywhere else, in private as well as in public places. The millennium is more than three months and seven eighths of a mile distant. Someone has paraphrased the lines of Goldsmith to read:—

“They used to sing some time ago
 A rather plaintive song,
 Man wants but little here below,
 Nor wants that little long;
 But nowadays the song is set
 To a different rhyme,
 Man wants as much as he can get,
 And wants it all the time.”

That is the fact to-day all over the land. Cupidity is in all places, public and private. It is in the Indian service; but that service to-day is vastly purer, vastly better, than it was twenty or thirty

years ago. The condition of the Indian race to-day is infinitely better than it was thirty years ago. It seems to me that in all the history of the world there has never been a more remarkable advance in the condition of any people than there has been in the North American Indians of the United States from 1869 up to the present time; and I think that, differing somewhat from the Commissioner in that respect, but happily coinciding with Colonel Pratt, that that changed condition is largely due to the educational system which we have inaugurated and extended and perfected for the Indians throughout the country. That being so, I want to see that educational system continued. I want to see the tribal relations broken up, and I want to see that begun in New York just as soon as possible. There are difficulties in the way which have not been mentioned. Some of the New York Indians have a title to their land only so long as tribal relations exist. The Cattaraugus reservation is owned by a private corporation called the Ogden Land Company. The Senecas have only a tribal claim. The Ogden Company's claim must be wiped out before we can allot the land on that reservation. That is a thought that probably had not occurred to most of you, because probably you did not know the fact. I want to see the tribal relations broken up and the rations done away with, but not prematurely. Indians are not the only people who require help. The per cent of the population of Great Britain that are to-day paupers is not inconsiderable. Every county throughout this State and throughout this country has its poorhouse to support indigent whites. In every tax levy there is an item for the support of the poor in every little town throughout this State and every State. Are you going to strike those all out and let the poor, the halt and the blind starve to death? Why then do it with the Indians? Do away with the rations as quickly as you can. Make the Indians work, and you must make them work, since they do not work because they want to. The Indian is not naturally an industrious man. Naturally he would derive his support from sports, not from labor like the white man. We have got to work up to this thing gradually. We cannot do away with the Indian Office in three years. I hope we can in ten, but I don't believe it.

The PRESIDENT.—It takes faith and works.

Mr. SHERMAN.—I have the faith, but not so great faith as yours; but I am willing to put in just as hard work as you, my dear sir, to accomplish this, and I will do so; but the end I think is in sight, though a long way off—so long that I do not expect to live to see it, but I think my children will. The end will be expedited by the good wishes, the thought, and the work of the Christian people throughout the country, and especially by those who come year by year to the Mohonk Conference.

ADDRESS BY COLONEL PRATT.

I feel greatly honored by being allowed to speak after my chief. I shall not talk long. If I had prepared a paper to read here, as I had intended, after listening to what I have heard I would not read it.

I invite the attention of the older members of the Conference to the fact that in the earliest days, when we had long discussions on land in severalty, I advocated the allotment of alternate sections to Indians and whites. I have never changed my mind about that. All said here to-night has been helpful to that view. The example, the association, the contact of the Indian with our white farmers, our industries, our life, produce the most rapid civilization. It breaks up prejudice and brings the two races into sympathy with each other. In the general arrangement, public schools where Indians and whites attend bring the children of the two races together, and soon the need for special Indian schools will pass away. I do not agree with my chief about the usefulness of reservation schools, nor that material uplift can be accomplished in the home on the reservation. All our experiences prove the folly of such hopes. Go to the reservations in this great Empire State, where they have had schools for eight years, and look at the conditions there. Knowing the situation almost everywhere, because dealing directly with almost all tribes through their children, I assure you the conditions among the Indians of this great state of New York are really worse than in many of our wild tribes.

Commissioner JONES.—I want to interrupt Colonel Pratt. I am unwilling to give the impression that I said anything about homes on the reservation. I said homes. I do not believe in the homes on the reservation.

Colonel PRATT.—As you know, I have an Indian school about as remote from the tribe as any we have. I went to Carlisle on purpose, and for a purpose. General Sherman said I was wrong, and that he would give me Fort Riley, Kansas, near the Indians, with five thousand acres of the best land and almost new buildings. I said to him: "General, we must bring the Indians into contact with the white people. We have to educate the Indian, but we have also to educate the white people to the fact that the Indian can be educated, and we can't do that out of sight and on theory." What I mean is,—to bring the Indians to live in homes as we do, to be citizens as we are, they must come into actual contact with our homes and our citizenship. I understand that to be the burden of the Commissioner's paper, of his contention, and that is all of mine. We do not differ.

It is cruel to put a man into a position where it is impossible for him to succeed. We give an Indian an allotment of one hundred and sixty acres of land and expect him to be an independent farmer, when he has never struggled with the business before. We put our boys on a farm, and through prolonged daily contact with farm work they grow up farmers. In order to know how to run a farm a man must grow into it. That is the policy we should pursue not

only about farming, but all industries, schools, citizenship and everything else we want the Indians to engage in. I do not believe in reservation schools. All Indian schools should be remote from the tribes, and used only as a means of introducing the Indian to our civilization through putting him into contact with it, into participation in it, so that he will gradually get the courage of the language, the industry, the competition, and so grow into our civilization. That is the whole of it. I have not contended for less than this all these years. I do not think it cruel to place the Indian where he can learn quickest and best. It would not be harsh to do that by force, but force would not be necessary if the people in control on and off the reservations were of one mind about it and worked toward it.

Our experience at Carlisle entitles us to some compassion as against the allegations made by those who are against us. Within four days there has come to the Carlisle school from a reservation a party of boys brought because the agent could not keep them in the home school or nearby schools. They were constantly running away. They were kept in the guard house while the party was being made up to prevent their running away. They send such to Carlisle, and expect us to overcome habits cultivated and grown in the home schools to a point beyond their control. We undertake them and do the best we can, and when we fail take the blame. How much better for the youth and the Government if we could undertake the work without this false, bad, preliminary training! We have received in the Carlisle school from Western schools criminals of the worst sort, male and female, and some badly diseased. In a party of eight received not long ago, we had to send five back immediately. In another party of the same number received some time before, four had to enter the hospital for treatment for the vilest of all diseases.

We are trying to bring these young people into our Christian civilization. The Commissioner says the Government is not to consider religious matters. I think it is. I believe that the Government school that is not a Christian school ought not to exist. I believe, with the Chairman of this Conference, that the changes to bring relief necessary can be made quickly and ought to be made.

Every school exclusively for Indians is helping to create Indianism. I have had hundreds of applications from people having a very small proportion of Indian blood to send their children to Carlisle, who lived off the reservation; and sometimes both parents and children were born away from the tribes, and where the children had the fullest advantages of excellent local public schools. They want relief from the responsibility of supporting and training their children. In every such case I insist that the public schools are better for them than Carlisle. The great need is to get the Indian and the white children together, so that there shall be no separate schools, and each may measure the other's abilities, and so come to have competing power. The Indians are just like white people in their desire to get rid of responsibilities. Thirty-six years after the War we have the sad spectacle, in Pennsylvania, of a system

of soldiers' orphans' schools. These children are clothed, fed and educated by the State without expense to their parents. The parents are made to believe that they have done some great service that entitles their children to that education; politicians have led them to believe that. Recently, within twenty-five miles of Carlisle, an institution of this kind has been built. The system tells these young people that the State owes them a living, and by that it does them the greatest possible harm. It takes away their manhood, their power as real, independent Americans. The system of Indian schools is doing exactly the same thing for the Indians. We are teaching them to believe that the Government at Washington will look after them and their children forever. We are too paternal in the matter, and I am in favor of doing away with Indian schools, with Carlisle itself, as soon as possible; and I do not think it need be such a long time either, if we go about it in the right way. The Indian children ought to be made competitively industrious, to learn English, to adopt cleanliness, to have common sense; and to do this right, only the very beginning work can be the real mission of the Indian school. As I said here at Mohonk very early, when Carlisle was young and this Conference was young, I would use Carlisle simply as a place to clean up the children, to give them a little industry, a little insight into our life, and then pass them out to struggle for the good things in that life, and the very struggle would make them useful men and women and worthy citizens. I know that an Indian boy properly started can go into our life and easily take care of himself, and do something in addition; and, in doing that, he will grow into useful American manhood, and can then help his father and mother most by staying from the reservation and being a man.

I blame the church in these matters. The church has never said "Come" to the Indian. It has always said, "Stay where you are, and I will send some one out there to give you our religion." We do not say that to the people of any other land. Our message to all others is, "Come and live with us." Why not say, "Come and live with us," to the Indian, and give him the same chance to be of us we do the foreigner?

At the request of Dr. Lyman Abbott, Commissioner Jones was invited to speak five minutes at the conclusion of Colonel Pratt's address.

Commissioner JONES.—I want to thank Dr. Abbott for this courtesy, and will detain you but for a moment.

I am sorry that Colonel Pratt understood me as he seems to have done in connection with the discussion of school matters. While the colonel and I agree in the main as to the education of Indians, I confess that sometimes we disagree as to its details. I did not intend to give my unqualified indorsement to a reservation school. I believe that they accomplish considerable good, but as long as we persist in educating the Indian in his community home it will be a long time before we see much progress. What I would like to see

is the complete breaking up of reservations, and the distribution of a white community among the Indians, so that the Indian could attend the schools with the whites. Establish country district schools, as we have in all the States, and give the Indians the same privileges, but no more, than the whites are receiving. The sooner we do away with Indian schools distinctively as such, the better off we will be and the sooner the Indians will be absorbed by the body politic.

The Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House states that, in spite of all my economic theories advanced here this evening, I will come before his committee this winter asking for three or four million dollars to educate the Indians. That is true, but I submit that I am not responsible for the policy that has brought about these conditions.

I would not, if I could, tumble down at once this edifice that has been built up for thirty years. It would be very unwise and impossible for me to do so. It will be necessary to continue these conditions at least for some time, but I am heartily in favor of the gradual diminution of appropriations for Indian schools; neither do I believe that it is feasible nor wise to do away entirely with the issuing of rations, but I do believe and insist that when an Indian is able to make his own living when given an opportunity to do so and refuses, the only thing the Government can do consistently is to let him starve. I am firmly of the opinion that the time is with us when at least three fourths of the rations can be discontinued.

Mr. SHERMAN.—What will we do where there is a treaty?

Commissioner JONES.—There is no question in my mind that when a treaty has been made with the Indians its terms ought to be carried out, but I do not know of a single treaty that provides absolutely for the permanent continuation of rations.

The tribe most interested in the issuing of rations, as he knows, is the Sioux, for whom by far the greatest and largest amount of appropriations is made. The language of the treaty is, that the rations shall be continued "until the Indians become self-supporting." This does not mean that the whole tribe shall become self-supporting before they are discontinued, but that the rations shall be withheld from every individual who has become or can be made self-supporting.

I have received many letters from the Indians themselves, who have come forward voluntarily, stating that it is the proper thing to do and that they were glad the rations were cut off. Humanity demands and the treaties provide for the maintenance of the old and decrepit, but there is a far more economic and humane way of taking care of this class than by indiscriminate issues of rations to their friends in their tepees and wigwams. I would be in favor of having some system of poorhouses similar to those used among the whites.

We have one or two instances of that kind: one I recall in particular at the Leech Lake Agency, inaugurated by Captain Mercer for the old and decrepit, where they are cared for in this way. They are far better and more economically handled than they would be if the rations were issued to them and permitted to take it into their

camps, where the greater portion would be appropriated by the younger element of the tribe.

Again, very many of the agencies are ripe for their discontinuance, and the Indians under such agencies are in a position to take care of their own affairs. This is especially true of the Chippewas of Wisconsin, many in Minnesota, and also on the Pacific coast. I am firmly of the opinion that if we should withdraw our support and guardianship from the Indians of those States, they would be far better off than they are now. They may have property interests that would be necessary to be looked after for some time, but that could be done without any direct supervision of their individual affairs.

While I am called somewhat of an iconoclast in such matters, I do not want to break down the whole edifice at once; but I am heartily in favor of cutting down these appropriations, and will ask the Chairman of the Committee to aid me in such matters.

I will say this much in justice to Mr. Sherman, that he has always stood for the best in the administration of Indian affairs, and his course has always been intelligent and conservative. I will say that he has been liberal in all appropriations asked for, and there is not a member in Congress to whom I can go with more confidence that I will be treated fairly in matters pertaining to Indian affairs.

Miss Scoville was asked for a word on this subject.

MISS SCOVILLE.—When I was going over the reservation last summer I met a group of people; and one man, who had had some connection with the politics of the reservation, said that the nine hundred men who had lost their rations this year would have them back again at the end of the year. He said, "Your Indian Rights Society has tried this before, but they can't do it; there's too much money in it." I came back and reported it as a *dare* sent from that reservation by cattle men and men of that type. The cutting down of rations was a very interesting thing to watch, and it was a very good thing. There is no question that it will lessen suffering if there can be more for the people who really need it, but cattle men and white men and returned students are capable of taking care of themselves, and their rations should be cut off. I am sorry to say that some of those who have a chance to get on without the rations made the strongest fight for them.

THE CHAIR.—There has been much misunderstanding about the Mission Indians of California. People can hardly understand how reports from good people can differ so much. Do not be alarmed when you see some one new to the situation who tells you that all the Mission Indians are going to die of starvation, when such careful observers as Mr. Smiley, special commissioner on different occasions to look into the conditions of these very Indians, tells us that their needs are very slight. And do not be carried off your feet by reports of people who do not know.

Adjourned at 10.50 P. M.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 18.

The Conference was called to order at the usual time, and Mr. Smiley stated that about sixty Cuban teachers, who are now studying at the State Normal School at New Paltz, would be the guests of the Conference for the morning.

The teachers arrived in carriages and were given seats near the presiding officer. They were accompanied by the principal of the school and some of the other teachers from New Paltz. Mr. Smiley made a short address, of which the following is a summary:—

About sixty Cuban teachers have been received at the State Normal School under a contract between the military government of Cuba and the trustees of the school. A number of persons have come with these young women to act as chaperones. Some of these teachers studied in Cambridge last year. At home they have been receiving \$400 a year as salary. After the two or three years which they will spend here they are to receive \$700. The best teachers have been provided for them; one especially has had long experience as a teacher in Buenos Ayres.

The young ladies sang the Cuban national hymn, while one of them accompanied on the piano, after which Mr. Smiley introduced Mr. Myron T. Scudder, the principal of the Normal School, who spoke as follows.

MR. MYRON T. SCUDDER.—Mr. Smiley has asked me to tell you briefly some of the plans that we have in mind in connection with this band of teachers who have been sent from Cuba to the United States for professional training.

Last April, Lieut. Matthew E. Hanna, U. S. A., Acting Commissioner of Public Schools, wrote, under the direction of General Wood, to the leading normal schools of the Eastern part of the United States, to ask if they would be willing to undertake the training of a number of Cuban teachers selected from the whole island of Cuba, to be sent to this country at the expense of the Cuban government. The schools that were to receive them were to contract with the Government to furnish instruction, text-books, school supplies, board and lodging. It was expected that these teachers would be distributed in groups in various schools, but the upshot of the matter is they have all come to New Paltz. I will allow you to infer how much of this was due to the fact that the president of our board of managers is Mr. Smiley, whose name is recognized all over the world as a first-class guarantee of any project he may be back of.

I may say of these young people that it is a perfect delight to work with them in school, and a sincere pleasure to meet them socially; and

if they are as pleased with us as we are with them, and if this spirit continues through the two or three years they may be with us, then I think we may believe that a tremendous influence for good in our relations with Cuba will thus be generated. It cannot be otherwise.

In our school work it is not the three R's alone that we are giving to these young ladies. They have already passed examinations in elementary branches in Cuba, which entitle them to admission to the school. When it was proposed that they should come we replied that we would be willing to take them if we could agree on an educational policy. I, for one, was not willing to take a Cuban teacher into our school and give her only the old traditional routine of school work, and send her back to say that that represented the educational theories of the United States. It is a firm conviction with me that school life should consist of something more than the mere mastery of subject matter as presented in text-books. We are still ignoring in our schools many of the vital things of life. Most of our common schools, for instance, have little or nothing to do with the industrial arts, manual training, domestic science and art, and proper physical training. It does seem to me that a school that claims to fit young people to live, and yet ignores such matters, is recreant to its duty. But the school that deals with sufficient force with the three R's and the cultural studies, and in addition lays suitable emphasis on physical culture, industrial art, manual training, domestic science and art, painting and drawing,—that school is in some measure living up to the opportunities of this century.

Now, our ideas with regard to these things met with the hearty approval of General Wood and Lieutenant Hanna, so we propose to put these Cuban teachers through this kind of training and instruction,—the kind we believe that the twentieth century school calls for. Thus they will not only have thorough reviews in the elementary branches, but they are to study grammar, history, the elements of algebra and geometry, physics, chemistry and biology, also drawing and painting, and perhaps one or two foreign languages. Then there is the domestic or home science, including cooking, cleaning, and housekeeping in general; sewing, cutting and fitting,—in short, all those things that enter so largely into daily living. In manual training and industrial art come spinning, weaving, basket making, cord work, sloyd, bench work, bent iron work, and possibly typesetting and printing. Then, since they are to be trained to teach, they must have psychology, history of education, school economy, and methods of teaching. The psychology is studied under the direction of a teacher who has done university work in Germany, France, Switzerland and Austria, and who has a fine equipment for carrying on psychological investigations, including such apparatus as the ergograph, dynamometer, æsthesiometer, kymograph, sphygmograph, etc.

On the physical side of school work, the young ladies undergo careful physical examination at the hands of those who have had training in physiology as well as in gymnastics, and special corrective exercises are prescribed where necessary. In connection with their physical culture work they play the various games popular amongst

our young people. This is for amusement as well as for physical development, for we believe that the art of amusement should be fostered in schools as a means of profitably occupying leisure hours. To know how to play intelligently is one of the vital concerns of life. So five Cuban basketball teams are organized, and there is a fine rivalry growing up between them and the Northern girls. To be sure, they have not been accustomed to rugged exercise, and they are somewhat short-winded and weak of muscle; but by dressing and living hygienically, and by exercising and playing under expert supervision, we are sure these Cuban girls will give the Northern girls some very lively contests.

So much for their school work. Now as to the significance of this project.

Dr. Lyman Abbott said last year at this Conference, "If America, in the new path on which she is entering, undertakes to make self-governing communities of the nations that come under her authority, and if she uses that authority, that administration, her appointments, her educational systems, always, constantly and continuously for this one purpose, she will show herself the supreme nation among the nations of the earth." I assure you that the members of our board of management and the faculty, in opening our school to the Cubans, have not been devoid of the sentiment of patriotism and missionary zeal that are breathed throughout this quotation. As the newness of this movement wears off, as the heavy drag of steady work tells on us with the inevitable accompaniment of periods of depression and discouragement, it is only by constantly appealing to this sentiment of patriotism and missionary zeal that we shall be able to bring our enterprise to a cheerful and successful conclusion. We are full of courage and hope, notwithstanding that the tremendous responsibility sometimes appalls us, and the discouragements are occasionally staggering. One of our teachers voiced a sentiment that occasionally takes possession of us when she said one day, in semi-comical despair over plans gone awry, "The people who died for Cuba did not begin to suffer with those who are living for Cuba." There is a whole lot of truth in that, but of one thing I am sure, and that is that she will live as gloriously for Cuba as others have died, and that is true of all who are associated with Mr. Smiley in the work at New Paltz.

Gen. T. J. Morgan was asked to speak the word of welcome to the Cuban teachers.

General MORGAN.—These teachers are all welcome without any expression of that welcome on my part. We are glad they have come to this Conference. The men and women of this Conference are interested in them, interested in those coming from the newest born of republics. They believe that Cuba has a great future before it; that as a free republic, under wise administration, Cuba will make one of the most interesting places in the world, and we congratulate you as teachers that you are to have a hand in making a great and wonderful republic there in that beautiful Pearl of the

Antilles. We congratulate you that you have been permitted to come under the training that Mr. Scudder has outlined. Our best wishes and prayers are with you young ladies.

General Morgan's speech was translated into Spanish by Mrs. Armstrong, of the Normal School, for the benefit of the Cuban ladies who did not understand English.

Mr. Smiley added a word of welcome and told the young ladies that he hoped they would not only learn all that they could, but that they would teach the American pupils some of their ways.

The father of one of the ladies, a Spanish gentleman who had come with them, asked Mrs. Armstrong to express his gratitude for the cordial reception that his countrywomen had received, and to say that it was another tie added to the bonds of gratitude that bind Cuba to the United States.

Miss Hortensia Diaz, one of the young teachers, stepped forward and said, "All the Cuban girls have asked me to express their most sincere thanks for the kind welcome you have given them."

The teachers then withdrew, and the proceedings of the Conference were resumed. The first address was by Rev. A. F. Beard.

EDUCATION IN PORTO RICO.

BY REV. A. F. BEARD, D.D., SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

I am asked to speak about Cuba's little sister, Porto Rico. Porto Rico is a part of our national family now, and it is right that we should take a little time for her consideration.

Porto Rico is not as large as Cuba, of which we have just heard, but has nearly the same number of people. In the way of missionary service I have visited Porto Rico three times. I studied it somewhat thoroughly after it came into our possession. I saw it once again under our military government, and I made my third visit a little more than a half year ago, after it had come under civil government. With some special facilities to investigate its conditions and its institutions, I think I can bring to you something more than impressions. I am well aware that impressions are not facts.

In these several visits I have seen changes in Porto Rico. There are some things there which never change. One, for example, is the scenery. This reminds one of Dr. Watt's idea of heaven, "Where everlasting spring abides and never-fading flowers." But with all its beauty, Porto Rico has not the scenery of Mohonk. You cannot look out as we do now and see the glory which the world is putting on over these mountains with the wonderful autumn foliage, nor will you rejoice in the glorious opening springtime. No poet in Porto Rico has ever written for a prize on the "beautiful spring," nor has any one celebrated its "beautiful snow." As there are no changes in the appearance of the landscape, so there is no change in the

climate. The climate, like the scenery, is everlasting. The mercury ranges at an average from seventy to eighty degrees. Once, when it scaled sixty-eight degrees, the newspapers called it the "remarkable cold wave."

In such a country as this, and in such a climate of perpetual summer, there is little call for the vigor of the people. You will therefore not expect to find a sturdy or pushing race, nor will you expect to see marked changes among such a people within a short time; no, nor great changes even in a long time. You will not expect to find this people with ideas which they have held for four hundred years changing their ingrained habits rapidly, or, perhaps, visibly. The changes, except those which are imported, will come very slowly. It is not easy to efface an original stamp. For example, Boston has become an Irish city in these latter days, but all Ireland might be poured into Boston and it would not be Cork; it would still be Boston. Philadelphia has lost some of its Quaker ways, and is not following William Penn altogether lately; but, after all, when you get way down to the bottom of it, Philadelphia is a Quaker city, and always will be. New York is not supposed to have any character at present; but the old original Dutch stamp remains upon New York, and immigrations do not efface it. We have an illustration of this in the Dutch descent of the President of the United States to-day. We shall not easily change these Porto Rico people, except in outward seeming. You may take a silver coin with the American eagle upon it, and by constant use through the years make it a simple silver token with no eagle remaining, and yet if you will take that worn and smooth silver token and put it under an intense heat, just before it will come to the melting point you will find that the American eagle is there all right, and the original stamp will be in full view. We know perfectly well that where the die strikes it hits every particle, and that the die strikes way through. So it is with people and their ways. Hence, I say, we need not expect great changes in the people of Porto Rico within this generation. Those now living will doubtless live on in about the same ways, and mainly with the same qualities.

How do they live? Not well. Out of a million people, eight hundred and fifty thousand, at least, can neither read nor write. In the cities the masses are crowded together in a fearful condition, and with all that may be done for them, thousands will continue to live more like animals than like civilized people. When we get out into the rural districts among the great majority of the people, we find them living in shacks not worth ten dollars apiece, without what we should call the bare necessities of life; women sitting upon the floor idling their vacant hours away, or cultivating their little patches of garden about their doors. There, with the mother in absolute ignorance of what life means, and the father as ignorant, they are rearing their large families.

When you come into the larger life of people who are better off, life is better; but in the homes of wealthy families you will seldom see a book. Indeed, people who live in tropical countries are not likely to be a book people. An open-air people are not a reading

people. Our winter times, when we are shut in, make for our reading habit. Therefore, we may not expect very soon a literary or reading habit among the people of Porto Rico. It must all be acquired, and with the climate against it.

When General Henry went to Porto Rico the people were in this deplorable condition. During his administration General Eaton went down on his educational errand, and he found an educational chaos. In fact, it was worse than chaos. He had the débris of centuries to clear away before he got down to chaos. But with wisdom and his large experience he laid the foundation of a modern system of public instruction there. The very able Commissioner of Public Education, Doctor Brumbaugh,—formerly Professor of Pedagogy in the University of Pennsylvania,—is developing the educational work of the island, until there appears a splendid beginning of an excellent public school system in Porto Rico.

When I traversed the island for the first time, as far as I could learn there was but one schoolhouse in the whole island erected for school purposes. Now worthy schoolhouses are being erected in many places. Then in schoolrooms there were seldom any appointments for school work. The pupils were without text-books. The teacher taught largely by rote, and the pupils memorized and recited like parrots. In one of the most advanced schools I found a map of North America. Asking a pupil to locate New York, it was pointed out in Alaska. As I live in New York, I was glad that the pupil had made a mistake. I would not care to have New York in Alaska.

Our hope for Porto Rico is not to be in the present generation. It is in the coming generations and in their education. Those who are coming forward are to answer the questions of Porto Rico's future. I hope I have not spoken discouragingly, for I rejoice in the possibilities there. Our Government has made no mistakes in its dealing with Porto Rico. We have nothing to be sorry over. We have no ground to retrace. The island has been wisely governed in every direction.

When Governor Allen as Civil Governor took charge of the island he had a great problem before him in the transition from a military to a civil government. He met it splendidly. It was a difficult task to make those people believe that a government could be just and equal and honest; that it could not be bribed; that it was sure, and could be relied on; and those who had their own axes to grind tried their methods of complaint and machinery, but without avail. With Governor Allen and Treasurer Hollander civil government was established, which I believe now has the confidence of the people of Porto Rico. When Governor Allen left the island, the people of San Juan honored him by changing the name of one of its principal streets, and calling it "Calle Allen."

The island now is in the way of a new development, but we must remember that the great majority of the people of this island are undeveloped, ignorant and superstitious, and that it must be time that will work the desired changes.

In addition to the public school system now being successfully in-

troduced, the Christian denominations, with perfect harmony and co-operation, have entered upon their specific missions. Several denominations have established distinctively Christian schools, as well as churches. In the two missionary schools, one at Santurce and one at Lares, under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, I could call out some young people who two years ago had never seen a Bible, who can now recite more verses from the Bible than most of the children of the families represented here would be likely to do; and this is true of all the missionary schools in Porto Rico. We find that many are ready for something better than they have had in the way of Christian faith. As to government, I believe that Porto Rico is on the way to a political prosperity wholly new to its people, and I also believe that the people will be found hospitable toward a true Christian faith, which alone can insure their permanent security and happiness.

The platform was presented by Dr. Lyman Abbott, chairman of the Business Committee. For convenience of reference it is printed as adopted on page v.

President W. F. Slocum, of Colorado, seconded the motion to adopt the platform.

President W. F. SLOCUM.—I take great pleasure in moving the adoption of these resolutions. Since coming here there has grown upon me during the hours of this Conference the feeling that it is perhaps one of the most important that has been held in this place. Certainly no other has impressed me so strongly as this one, partly because of the seriousness of the problems that confront us, and also because we have looked into the heart of certain questions as perhaps never before. I am sure that none of us can have listened to the addresses that have been given without feeling that in reference to the Indian question we have discovered not only the secret of the success that has been achieved, but that we have also discovered the ground of failure at certain points. When Mr. Smiley said yesterday that the time had come for the banishment of the reservation and the reservation idea, it seemed to me that with that peculiar insight which he has in regard to all these matters, he had reached the point which needs to be maintained for the sake of the larger solution of our problems. One of the most significant facts that has appeared in the study of penology and the charitable movements, is a principle that was recognized in the State of New York by perhaps the most remarkable investigation ever carried on for the purpose of discovering the cause of pauperism. When Mr. Dugdale issued the book concerning the Dukes, the results of the examination of between seven and eight hundred cases of pauperism and crime, he drew this conclusion, which has been accepted by every student of charity and crime ever since, that pauperism is a more dangerous condition than criminality. In other words, there is more hope for the criminal than for the pauper. There would be more hope to-day for the regeneration of a blanket Indian if he were a thief than if he were a pauper. Our policy has been one which

has thrust our red brother into a condition where the odds have been strongly against him, and the marvel is that with our schools and Christian missions we have been able to accomplish so much in spite of the violation of one of the most fundamental principles in all philanthropy. I think that is the most startling fact that we have to deal with, and this Conference up here on the hilltop, independent of any political influence, has discovered the fundamental fact in regard to our Indian question. With the acceptance of that discovery made by Mr. Dugdale, that pauperism is more dangerous than criminality, we shall be able to go forward into larger conceptions of our work. We support the position of Mr. Smiley, wishing the reservation to go; and this hope is also expressed by one of the members of an Indian tribe here, who says that the only hope of his race is in the abolition of the reservation.

I was much impressed, as you all were, by the suggestion made by Mr. Daniel Smiley. I think it is very well for us at times to plan our movements out of humility rather than from our pride. As we go forward into the larger field, are we to profit by the lesson from the failures of the past? I am sure our souls were wrung as we heard the remarkable paper telling us of the condition of things in the Hawaiian Islands, and the failure that has come there in the handling of the native races. We have witnessed the failure that has come to a certain extent because of the wrong principles enunciated with regard to our American Indians. . . . It is a significant thing, as we turn back to the history of the education of our Negro, that there had to be raised up a man from the colored race itself—a new Washington—to show us what the education of the Negro really involves. We should not be too proud of our achievements. If out of our successes and our failures we can learn the lesson that is thrust upon us for the future, we shall do our work vastly better than if we applaud ourselves and say, “We are so good and so successful that failure never has come to us.”

Now, the fact is that we are facing one of the most stupendous opportunities as well as one of the most serious conditions that ever confronted an earnest people. Here are these millions of people in the far-off islands of the Pacific. What are we going to do with them? As we listened to that memorable address by Dr. Abbott I said to myself, “Almost thou persuadest me to be an imperialist.” Certainly if we can catch that larger vision of my good friend, if we can lift our thought to the conception that these people are put in our hands by a destiny above us for some great and good purpose, then whether we be imperialists or not, we can stand shoulder to shoulder, listening and giving heed to the strongest appeal that has ever come to an earnest, thoughtful people. What are we to do then with our Filipinos? Surely we must educate them. But do you understand what a complicated problem you have before you there? I think it is well for us and those who criticise this movement to realize that we are dealing with human souls possessed with moral and intellectual and religious capacities. I was very much struck in Washington in a conference in regard to certain conditions of the Filipinos, to hear one of the officers who had been in com-

mand at the Philippines say to another gentlemen from there, "Did you ever notice that every squash and pumpkin and melon raised in the Philippines tastes exactly alike?" The officer observed that that was a scientific conclusion. I can but feel that that represents the moral condition in the Philippines. My wife's sister, who has been there for three years, said to me the other day, that when she was forced to leave Manila with the wives of other officers on account of the dangerous conditions existing there, she left her washing in the hands of her laundry woman. She had to hurry away so fast that she was not able to take it to Japan with her. After nine months she returned to Manila, and one of the first smiling faces that greeted her was this laundry woman, who returned all her linen washed and ironed and in excellent condition. This poor woman was delighted that she could safely return it, and my sister was delighted to find one whom she could trust so well. I have thought a great many times of the faithfulness of that Filipino washer-woman holding for nine months, in all that turmoil and trouble, the washing of the wife of an American officer. On the other hand, my sister's coachman took the opportunity to take her purse and disappear. I think that represents the conditions there,—the tangling up of the moral conditions. Can you wonder at it? Do you wonder that under the oppression of the Spaniard all moral and intellectual matters should be tangled up? But it is our business to straighten them out. It is our business to teach them what morality means, what a true education really is. We must master that difficulty just as Dr. Abbott said, by rising to the occasion and praying God that our shoulders shall be broad enough to bear the burden that the Almighty seems to have placed upon them.

There is one other thing that should give us encouragement. We have discovered that we have made mistakes. Let us profit by them. We are ready, I believe, as never before to take up our burden. I heard some one quote here that passage, "Possess your souls in patience." That is a wrong interpretation of a beautiful passage. The real translation of the Greek is, "In your patience win your souls." The Master was looking into the faces of his disciples before they went out to their work, and instead of telling them to win other men's souls, he told them to win their own souls. He had just told them of the destruction of their nation and city and temple. In the midst of that, in the midst of all these troubles and the difficulties which they involved, they were to win their souls. To our American people has come a stupendous problem. The God of nations has put into our keeping the doing of that which may be not only for the saving of the Filipino, but for the development of the moral, political and social advancement of our nation and of us as individuals.

One other sign of encouragement has come: I am sure that there never was a time in the history of our country when we had such a number of earnest people who will stand by civil service as there are to-day. We have a man independent of political promises, a man of high ideals, who has come under peculiar conditions to occupy the chair of the chief Executive of the nation. He is saying

to himself, he is saying to all of us: "If I know my own heart I will not make any appointment for a political reason. I will make it for merit only." He means it. But he has on hand one of the most difficult battles that ever came to an earnest man, and he will be defeated if the good people of America do not rise up as one man and stand by him; not because he belongs to this or that party, but because as an earnest man he is trying to win the battle not only for our American nation but for all that pertains to the Indians, to the Filipinos, to the Hawaiians, to every one of those dependent races. The door is open. It is a far-reaching opportunity, and if from the seriousness of this meeting there comes the determination on our part that we will stand by the President just so far as he maintains that policy, we shall find that this meeting has brought to pass one of the best things ever accomplished in the history of this Conference.

Mr. D. W. McWILLIAMS, Brooklyn.—I very heartily second the motion to adopt the platform offered by the Business Committee. That platform has the right ring; the Mohonk platform always has. I do not look upon Lake Mohonk as a mere hotel. I look upon it, and have for two decades and a half, as a great educational institution. Its influence is felt in the political, social and Christian life of America, and it has its influence beyond the sea. That platform was framed by experienced men of heart and brain.

This thought comes to me in regard to the necessity for patience in dealing with these subject nations. Fifteen or twenty years ago Rev. Dr. Jessup was delivering a missionary address in Dr. Cuyler's church in Brooklyn when a man asked, "How long will it take to convert the Mohammedans?" Dr. Jessup looked down from the pulpit to the inquirer and asked, "How long has it taken to Christianize the Anglo-Saxon race?" Let us reflect upon that aspect of the case while we are studying these interesting questions, and as we are passing from the scene of action without seeing these great questions solved, let us train our boys and girls, the young men and women of our schools, churches and Sabbath schools to help solve these problems which God has laid upon the heart of the people of the twentieth century. Very heartily I second the motion to adopt the resolution.

After a little discussion between Mr. Joshua W. Davis, Dr. Abbott, Mr. Hamilton and the Chair on the wording of the platform with reference to law for the Indians and treasury payments, the platform was unanimously adopted.

A paper on education in the Philippines was read by Gen. John Eaton.

EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

BY GEN. JOHN EATON.

The army in extending its operations began to illustrate the United States' interest in education. Facts about what had been done were ascertained. Under Spanish rule education was mostly on paper. A population variously estimated from six million to twelve million in the archipelago was found with the usual proportion of youth requiring education, numbering not less than a million and a half of souls. These were of different races, and spoke a variety of languages or dialects, and, aside from a general prevalence of Spanish authority, were subject to a variety of local laws or regulations of their own. Their different customs present a curious study,—from the extremes of savagery to the prevalence of Spanish notions of civilization in all that constitutes social conditions, including industry, commerce, social intercourse, education and religion. The religion of the Spanish type was Roman Catholic, Mohammedan and pagan. The ministrations of religion were by members of the religious orders,—Augustinians and barefoot Augustinians claiming over three million under their direction, the Franciscans over a million under their order, and the Jesuits and Dominicans about nine hundred thousand, and the secular clergy about nine hundred and fifty thousand under their ministrations. The Spanish administration was substantially in the hands of these orders and priests, who acquired great wealth in lands and in deposits in the banks of Europe. They carried things with a high hand, with great selfishness, and by the most corrupt methods, which won for them the hatred of the people. The spirit of Christ was everywhere a stranger. The army is not organized for the promotion of piety, yet battalions had hardly taken possession of Manila when the altruistic Christian spirit began to manifest itself. Christian officers began to see what could be done to remedy this condition among the people in spite of the evils, disorders and intemperance of the vicious element in and around the soldiery. All saw that education was the one need. Reports were called for. Our officers found a semblance of a system of instruction. To a very limited extent native dialects had been reduced to printed forms, and children taught, but most of the formal instruction attempted was in Spanish. A large number had been taught in the university. Nine colleges of their kind had done their work, with over eight thousand students in attendance in 1895 and 1896. Beside these colleges there were ninety-seven private Latin schools. For a considerable period over four thousand had annually been matriculated at the university and the colleges for secondary instruction. There were normal schools,—male and female,—a school of arts and trades, with a department for apprentices; school for mechanics, engineers, electricians, for masters of works; a school for agriculture, for painting and sculpture, for the training of pilots, and a military academy. The law also

provided for elementary instruction for the seven millions of people 1,342 male and an equal number of female teachers; but, in fact, poor as they were, only 923 female and 991 male teachers could be found, and some of these only on paper; or only one teacher to over four hundred individuals. Text-books were the poorest. The course was under the control of the Spanish church; its doctrine, history and catechism,—these subjects were taught even before reading. The form instead of the substance—sham prevailed. Commanders of the army, as they extended their authority over the islands, took account of what had been previously attempted in education, leaving out what had related to the church, and began to set the little machinery in motion, and as far as possible to provide for the teaching of English. The interest shown in these efforts was among the first and emphatic evidences of a possibility of establishing government. Parents were interested in their children, and their children were happy in school, and parents were not in the insurgent army. Officers were detailed for the care of schools. Frederick W. Atkinson was in charge at Manila. As schools were opened, scholars applied with eagerness for admission. There was zeal in trying to learn English. Many an American soldier turned teacher. Thus, under the army more was done in a short time for the instruction of a larger number of pupils than had ever been done under Spain. Credit should be given our several missionary Boards for their efforts to establish schools and churches. In the organization of some of our troops the chaplaincy was overlooked. This deficiency was especially supplied by Miss Helen M. Gould. The Y. M. C. A. was especially active in supplying moral aids both to the army and the people.

September 1, 1900, Mr. F. W. Atkinson, teacher of the high school, Springfield, Mass., became general superintendent. The Philippine Commission, in assuming control of education, passed a comprehensive act regulating the entire education of the archipelago. At once he took control of what the army had accomplished. What there was in the way of buildings—old barracks and other quarters, books, etc.—was turned over to him. All possible information was gathered. Every school organized proved a power for peace. It controlled so many children, interested so many mothers, and so many fathers were set against war. It operated as do schools among our Indians. The archipelago was divided into eighteen divisions, in each of which the population ranged from sixty-six thousand to five hundred and fifty thousand, and each was put under an American assistant superintendent. Five of these assistants were selected from our Indian service. There was small reason for keeping up the native tongues, and they were dropped. The Spanish required only limited attention. The people wanted English, and it was everywhere taught.

Teachers of English were drawn from America and from the soldiery. Books and other supplies were ordered in large quantities. Teachers' meetings began to be held. Normal schools were

set in motion. The preparation of native teachers in American methods was urged. Whatever there had been,—the university, the college, the special school, etc.,—that was of special value was set in motion on the American plan with American methods and the American spirit. The raising of money required a revision of taxation,—an adjustment more in accordance with American ideas. In a short time, quietly, a vast American free common-school system began to operate. The school-master was abroad as never before. There had been no plan for vacations, and these were now arranged for. There had been no silent study, but a grand confusion while the school was in session. Silent study was established. Houses and books and appliances were supplied. Before May activity on an enormous scale had commenced. Hundreds and hundreds of teachers were teaching English when Mr. Atkinson made the report before us, and in July an entire ship-board of American teachers was taken out. Everybody is too busy to report. Nearly every university, college and normal school in America has its representative in the Philippine schools. It is unsafe to give figures. There is nothing like it, to be sure, in human history.

The following report was also submitted by General Eaton.

EDUCATION IN ALASKA.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Jackson is not here to report in person on this important subject. Dr. Harris, the Commissioner of Education, says the Bureau has maintained 25 public schools with 31 teachers and 1,681 pupils, besides paying the salaries of 5 teachers in the Sitka industrial schools, where 151 pupils are taught. In 1900 many natives perished from pneumonia, and the Secretary of the Interior made use of the cutter Bear to give out provisions to save starvation. At Port Clarence many of the children whose parents had died were gathered in an orphanage by the teachers. Schools in Alaska for the natives were sustained by direct appropriation by Congress, as among our Indian tribes. This appropriation was stricken out by the last Congress. This would have left the region destitute of schools had not Dr. Jackson, by great and persistent effort, secured provision in one of the last hours of the session that "hereafter, 50 per cent of all licenses paid for business carried on outside of incorporated towns in the district of Alaska may be expended for education, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior." This had been previously done for incorporated towns. Thus, schools were saved for the natives. Certain of these towns, Sitka, Juneau, Douglas and Wrangel, have local committees to advise and direct in regard to their schools. The industrial education of the natives in the management of the reindeer has gone forward with increasing approval. The reindeer have already in-

creased to about four thousand, two thousand of them belonging to mission stations, and 1,381 being in the care of twenty-two Eskimo apprentices. Lieutenant E. B. Bertholf, who had become greatly interested in this introduction of reindeer in Alaska, and was sent through Siberia to Okhotsk Sea to collect information and purchase deer, reports that he has landed in Alaska 254 deer of a larger kind.

The Chair introduced Miss Constance G. Du Bois as a lady specially interested in the Mission Indians of California.

Miss Du Bois.—This last summer I visited the Indians living in the remote reservations far beyond the tourists' line of travel. The crying need among these Indians is not unknown to the Government. A special recommendation was sent a few years ago to the Indian office in order that there might be additional land secured for them in the Campo region. These little Indian places are very different from those that lie nearer the white man's land down on the Orange belt quarter. Very few reservations are adequate to the support of the Indians. If the Indians had no opportunity of going away to work I do not know of any which would be adequate. Some of the best reservations had but twenty-five arable acres. People who visit Southern California cannot understand the conditions in the back country in the summer time. There is no rain for six months, and streams are all dry. As we took our camping tour we had always to inquire carefully in advance where we could get water for ourselves and horses. The Indians had no irrigation. I have seen a patch of three or four acres with stagnant water with wigglers in it, and that was all they had. I wish to impress upon the attention of this Conference the conditions of the Indians of San Felipe. They are a small number, between thirty and forty. They, too, are threatened with eviction,—the case is not actually decided. It is pending, but with the Hot Springs decision as a precedent it is likely to be adverse. If ordered off, where can they go? They are on the eastern slope of the mountains looking toward the desert. There is very little water, which loses itself in a bog. They have some goats, and they eat the kernels of the wild cherry stones. All the Indians in these remote regions have to eke out their scanty harvests with Manzanita berries and acorns, boiled grass, or anything that can fill the stomach. At Manzanita there are fifty-three Indians on barren hills where there are five or six arable acres. At another reservation there are forty or forty-five acres, twenty of which can be cultivated, but without water for irrigation and little for drinking. They can raise only a little grain. Congress means to do something for the Hot Springs Indians. If Congress has to buy land for them, it would be wise economy to make adequate purchase so as to make provision for the Indians of San Felipe and others as well. If the amount of land were sufficient it would invite an overflow from those desert

places, and it would settle the whole question. The Government has shown its generous interest in these California Indians by making an appropriation for a new school for them at Riverside, showing that it is anxious to uplift them; but should not the Indians in the remote places feel the uplift too? I would rather see them starve on their barren acres than reduced to pauperism. I have seen old Indians lying dying on the ground, with their head on a stone, ragged, absolutely without provision, and yet the young Indians were not responsible. The young are miles away from home getting what work they can. I have seen them along the irrigating ditches, but it is only temporary work, and most degrading from its associations with white men's saloons. It is only a makeshift condition. The white man's civilization is presented to them in its worst form. The people of San Diego were amazed at the conditions there which I crossed the continent to tell them about. I think an adequate measure might be carried through the next session of Congress. I have traveled several hundred miles in a wagon to get a business scheme that might be presented, and if the members of Congress want the best proposition I am ready to give it.

Mr. A. K. SMILEY.—I am glad to hear Miss Du Bois' full statement in regard to the destitute condition of the Mission Indians at Warner's Ranch. This beautiful tract of land has, undoubtedly, been held by the Indians from time immemorial, and, as has been fully proved, is their rightful possession. When the Mexican Government transferred California to us the merciful provision was introduced into the treaty that all Indians should forever hold the lands then occupied by them unless they voluntarily left them.

You may recall that about twenty years ago Helen Hunt Jackson was sent out by the Government to look into the condition of the Mission Indians of Southern California. She sent in her report, calling attention to the need of immediate action, to prevent the Indians being driven away by grasping white settlers, and to secure these lands permanently for them.

Soon after she and Senator Dawes met and framed a Congressional bill creating a commission with ample powers to secure the land while it could be had. Ten years afterward practically the same bill passed Congress, giving authority to the President to appoint a commission of three, with full powers, to obtain all available land to be held inalienable for twenty-five years. I was chairman of that commission, and we labored for two years, and secured all the desirable land we could obtain for the Indians. We found they had been forcibly driven out by unprincipled whites from the land they had formerly occupied, and thus lost their possessory right. The owner of Warner's ranch was at that time trying to eject the Indians from his property. His own attorney joined with us in an unsuccessful effort to give the Indians a clear title to the land rightfully theirs. He and his heirs continued their efforts for ten years before the courts to eject the Indians, but,

notwithstanding that thousands of dollars have been expended by private individuals to obtain justice in the Indians' defense, quite recently the highest court has decided against them. By this decision many hundreds of defenseless Indians are liable at any moment to be suddenly removed from their beautiful farms, their well-built houses and the graves of their ancestors, with no place provided for them.

It is imperatively necessary that Congress, which is soon to assemble, should, with its customary liberality to the Indians, make sufficient appropriation to secure homes for these worthy and homeless Indians. There are one or two other small bands of Indians which may need similar help.

Great mistakes have been made heretofore in dealing with the Indian. The giving of rations, clothing and farming utensils to Indians who have proper means of earning them destroys their independence, and tends to pauperism. The Indian in competition with the white man needs to have a knowledge of the English language, an elementary education and some industrial training, and should then be thrown upon his own resources like the white man. He may need some care to set him in the right direction, but should mainly depend upon his own industry and skill to make himself a useful citizen.

Exceptions to the above treatment would have to be made in the case of those Indians who have been removed to barren lands, where it is next to impossible to earn an honest living; but wherever Indians live in sections where they can earn proper wages and will not avail themselves of it, they should not be assisted. The distribution of money arising from the sale of Indian lands works infinite harm to the Indians. I wish Senator Dawes's wise plan could be adopted,—to divert this money into a permanent fund, the interest of which might be used for their industrial training and general education.

I hope the time will soon come when reservations and the Indian Bureau will be abolished, and the whole Indian population become a part of our general civilization.

Dr. FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston.—I have been greatly interested in all that I have heard, and I want to express my delight in this meeting and in our hospitable temporary home. This is the first year that other duties have allowed me to attend a Mohonk Conference, and though I have heard very much about Lake Mohonk, the half has never been told. It satisfies every expectation. Like the Taj Mahal, it leaves nothing to be desired.

It seems to me that there is one fundamental thing to be considered in our dealings with the dependent races, and that is the attitude of the average Anglo-Saxon toward those whom he considers his inferiors.

The attitude of the white race everywhere is to look down upon those of a different color. I have been very much impressed by

this in the Orient. My blood boiled often in China as I have seen burly Englishmen elbowing others off the sidewalk, though those others were the natives of the land and had the best right to the sidewalk. And the same spirit is manifest in South Africa, where unusual restrictions are put upon the Zulus, who are not allowed to be out without a pass after eight o'clock at night or to walk upon the sidewalks, while their lords and masters take the best part of the earth. These things indicate a wrong spirit and attitude on the part of the ruling races, and I can say these things though I am a great admirer of the Anglo-Saxon colonial methods, and think it has done magnificently in India and Egypt and many other countries.

And so it is with us in many parts of our own country. All these horrid outrages and tortures at the stake of our black fellow-citizens would never occur if the attitude were different. The trouble goes a long way back, but just such conferences as this, where our consciences are quickened, will have much to do with changing this state of affairs.

Let me give you one illustration of the prevailing attitude of the white races toward those they regard as inferiors. I remember when in Shanghai a year ago, I had just come back from a journey up the Ningpo River and had come on deck early. The steamer tied up and the passengers rushed ashore, and the hackmen—Chinese coolies—were of course importunate and desirous for a fare for their jinrikishas. I saw one poor man who, in his eagerness and haste, crossed by a very little the line which jinrikisha men were forbidden by the police to cross. He went over it a few feet or inches, but not more. He was a poor fellow, possibly with a starving family at home. A French policeman came along, cuffed him, pushed him the other side of the line, then knocked him down and broke his jinrikisha into kindling wood, kicked the man again, and went off laughing at the poor fellow.

Such things have been taking place almost every day for fifty years in the Orient, and I do not wonder that this trouble has come in China and that the Boxers said in their mad despair, "We must rise and sweep these foreigners from our shores, and drive them into the ocean!"

We have that trouble to fear in our new possessions unless we hold a different attitude. We must see to it that they are to be governed by just laws, and that the people who go to administer them shall have a kindly and generous spirit; that they shall not assume a hostile and supercilious attitude, but that they shall remember that they are sons and daughters of our common Father in heaven, and that we are all brothers and sisters of a common earthly heritage and a common future home.

Mr. HOWARD M. JENKINS, Philadelphia.—It is a great relief to the mind of anyone who thinks as I do, and feels as I do, to listen to the testimony of Dr. Clark. When we were favored to hear

those beautiful and generous sentiments, so well phrased as they were, in the address of Dr. Lyman Abbott, and the same in our platform, adopted this morning, one could only hope—without the confidence we should like to feel—that they are intended to be, and that in very fact they will be, carried out; that we shall not keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope. As we sat here this morning and General Morgan said those fine words of welcome to those young Cuban women, it must have occurred to the minds of many, I should think, that there was not one particle of certainty that any assurance which he could give them regarding the future of their beautiful island—their cherished plans for a republic, their condition under a government of their own choosing—would ever be realized. All that we can do is to trust that such beautiful expressions of hopeful anticipations for our “dependencies” and our “possessions” may retain their beauty in form and in fact. And in my judgment not only one of the most important contributions to that result, but absolutely the essential feature of it, is what Dr. Clark has said, that in the approach which we make to those people who have come fortunately, or unfortunately under our control, we shall make it in the manner which he described. In no other way can we succeed.

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

Sixth Session.

Friday Night, October 18.

After the singing of a hymn by Mr. Frank Wright, the last session of the Conference was called to order at eight o'clock.

President GATES.—In the words and the music of the beautiful Christian song to which we have just listened, fraught as they are with tender feeling, there is nothing incongruous with the practical aims and the careful discussions of our Conference. On the contrary, we cannot see our work in its true light unless we look upon our efforts for the less favored races in the heavenly light of that uplifting hope which has traversed the world since the "Light of the World" was lifted up on Calvary. It is only in the light of his teaching that the brotherhood of men and the blessed fellowship of unselfish service have begun to be revealed to the nations,—have taken captive the heart and life of his chosen servants, the world's truest benefactors in all the ages.

In one of those moments of unexpected and delightful interchange of thought about the highest and best objects, which, coming suddenly to us in flashes of social intercourse here, are a chief charm of these Conferences, a friend who has done loving work of investigation in the history of Christian missionary effort was speaking with me to-day of the glorious impressiveness of the great fact that there had been no dark ages and no dark century in the history of the Church of Christ, no period in which the true missionary spirit had not lightened the gloom. There is an unbroken succession, truly apostolic, of Christian hearts mightily moved by the love of Christ to seek and to save. From the time when the light of the Sun of Righteousness, flashing into the life of Paul, blinded him to all other sights save the compelling love of Christ, and filling his heart with flaming zeal to make known the truth, sent him on his fiery missionary journeys through Asia Minor and to Greece and Italy, down through the centuries to our own day there has been a succession of true missionary apostles,—men sent with uplifting tidings of love from the King of kings. And among the figures which have been commanding in their influence over these Conferences, we miss this year one who was perhaps the most striking personality connected with Christian work for the Indians—our beloved and useful colleague upon the Board of Indian Commissioners, and in England the best-known of the American house of bishops, the Rt. Rev. Henry B. Whipple, D.D., Bishop of Minnesota. Who can read the account of his early journeys through the wilderness of the Northwest, when, with

the Herculean strength, the irrepressible vigor of his early manhood, his sinewy stride wearied even the native guides who took him through winter snows and summer heats, by toilsome trail, or in birchen canoe, with frequent portage from streamlet to little lake, among the tributaries of the Mississippi,—who can read the record of his early and of his later life, of his courageous, outspoken championship of the rights of the Indians, to whom he so tenderly preached the Gospel of Peace, without feeling that the missionary spirit of the apostles has survived to our own time, in our American apostles to these “people of the wandering eye and the restless foot”? The circle of our friends in this Conference has grown to be so large that we cannot take the time to speak at our public sessions of all those whom we miss, with whom we have had fellowship here, who have been called from the lower to the higher service from year to year. But the early, the prolonged and the signally effective service rendered by Bishop Whipple to the cause we have at heart, makes it eminently fitting that we should pause at the beginning of this session to give expression to our tribute of love and affection while we remember this man of God. General Whittlesey, for many years the friend and associate of Bishop Whipple in his efforts for the Indians at Washington, has been asked to prepare a minute for our record, which he will now present.

Gen. E. Whittlesey was invited to read the minute which had been prepared in memory of Bishop Whipple. It was as follows:—

The Mohonk Conference records its profound grief and its sense of irreparable loss in the death of Rt. Rev. Henry B. Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota. He was often with us, and his presence was always a benediction. His forty years' missionary labors for the Indians; his quick grasp of their wretched condition; his sagacious practical work for their relief,—fitted him to speak with authority upon Indian affairs; and such was his courage that no opposition or threat of violence could thwart or daunt him. He was one of the heroes of our age, and in his breadth of mind and grasp of principles he was also a statesman of no mean ability. He gained a thorough knowledge of the Indian condition and needs, and he had the wisdom to forecast some of the most important measures of reform which have since been adopted. He opposed, like Monroe, treating with Indians as sovereign nations; he condemned appointment of agents as a reward for political services. Before the Mohonk Conference discussed land in severalty, he demanded for the Indian an individual right to the soil. His memorial in 1862, and his report in 1866, are said to have led to the organization of the Board of Indian Commissioners, as a member of which he rendered much valuable service. His unselfish, enthusiastic devotion to his neglected “red brothers,” as he fondly called them, who had learned to trust him as the man who “talked straight”

and never deceived; and his whole career of toil for the outcast,—give us new proof that the life of service is the noblest life. May others be inspired to follow the example of this noble man of God!

To the bereaved widow, the Mohonk Conference proffers most hearty greetings and sympathy.

General WHITTLESEY.—We all feel a much deeper reverence and love for the good Bishop than could be expressed by a brief minute like this. I am not worthy to pronounce a eulogy upon Bishop Whipple; I can hardly trust myself to speak of him at all. Among the most precious recollections that I cherish is that he honored me by calling me his friend, and that he spoke kindly and even flatteringly of the help I had given him in his work for the Indians. Ah, how little it seems in comparison with his great achievements! He always treated me with the most kindly and affectionate regard. How often in this place, and in Washington, he has told me the marvelous story of his journeyings through winter storms and summer floods, over the vast territory which constituted his diocese among the Indians for whom he labored; stories which, when repeated in this country and in England, aroused the deepest interest in his work. We have certainly great reason to bless God for raising up such men, so great, so good. We are grateful to God for endowing him with such wisdom and with such a Christlike spirit. But he has gone from us. He has seen the beloved Lord in his beauty. He has heard the welcome, “Well done, good and faithful servant.” He has received the crown, the unfading crown of righteousness, which was laid up for him on high. But though we see him no more here, his influence will abide, for his works do and will follow.

The PRESIDENT.—Like Bishop Phillips Brooks, Bishop Whipple was too large for one denomination. The whole country loved him. And yet there is an appropriateness in the fact that one who has himself so long rendered distinguished service to that branch of Christ’s church with which Bishop Whipple was so long connected should add a tribute to his memory, President Smith, of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

President SMITH.—When the President of the Mohonk Conference asked me if I would second the minute that was to be offered to-night in memory of Bishop Whipple, I accepted the honor with gladness. At the same time, I was fully aware of the difficulty of seconding this minute with such a seconding as should be worthy of the minute itself.

Bishop Whipple was among the great and noble men of the nineteenth century. Perhaps among all the illustrious philanthropists who have arisen since the days of Wilberforce, none will rank higher than he. And yet this man did not become a consecrated bishop, an apostle to the Indians, whose praise and glory are in

all the churches, without passing through those experiences which show what stuff a man is made of, and by which he is developed into his higher usefulness.

When Bishop Whipple was appointed to the bishopric of Minnesota, the northwest region of the United States was being flooded with a great rush of immigrants from what was then the West, as well as from the East and from over the sea. These people did not go there for their health altogether, and they found themselves face to face with the Indians, who up to that time had been practically undisturbed. Although missionaries had been among them, and some missions had been established, the Indian was practically the sole occupant of the territory. When the flood of white people came in, there was an inevitable conflict. We know what happens when a body of white men impinges upon a body of Indians; the Indians go down. So it was in this case, although they were unusually numerous; for they had been crowded back from the East, and enticed from the West by the provision of rations by the Government. Then they found themselves face to face with a flood of white men who were crowding them to the wall. By superior cunning, by violence, and one means or another, the whites proceeded to deprive the Indians of what they believed to be their rights.

When Bishop Whipple went to Minnesota he found these white people, to whom he had been sent to minister, and of whom he was to create his church. But he also found the Indians, who were being deprived of the soil on which they lived, and of their rights under the treaties. The question came up, What was he to do? Should he take the part of his own race in the interest of those who had sent him there; or ought he to take the larger view, and stand up for humanity and human rights in the interest of the red man? If he were to build up his church, should it be by falling in with the interests of the white people; or by building on the eternal principles of Truth and Honor and Righteousness to all men, although for the moment it seemed impracticable to include the red man in his scheme?

Now the man felt that, if one was called to be a bishop in the church of God, he was called for no mean purpose; but rather that, seeing clearly, and acting boldly, and intending purely, he might confer lasting benefits upon mankind. So he took the side of the Indian, and threw all his personal influence, and the weight and dignity of his high office, in the scale in behalf of the poor red man, whom all were interested in thrusting out of the land.

The effect upon the people, as it was told me at that time,—for, at that time, I was coming upon the scene of action and expected to go to Minnesota, and so far had the scheme progressed that my tickets were purchased to St. Paul,—the effect upon the people was such that Bishop Whipple presently found arrayed against him the Indian agent (one of the old kind, who received a salary of \$1,500 a year, and laid up \$40,000), the Indian contractors, the

teachers, the people who expected political office on the organization of the State, or at some future time, and the whole body of people who coveted the Indian lands. Those who were otherwise minded felt that he could not stem the tide, and they sat still and gave him no help. Those who were disposed to favor him regarded him as a sentimental enthusiast, and some said he was "a crank." The people living there said it was to be a white man's country, not an Indian's country; that the white man was strong, and the Indians were dying; that he must lay the foundations of his church with the strong white man, and not with the feeble Indian.

Suddenly there came upon us what the older generation here will remember,—the frightful news of the Indian massacre in Minnesota, in 1862. None of us can fail to understand that men whose kindred—brothers, sons, wife, children—had been mercilessly slaughtered by those Indians, in greater numbers than had ever before been known in the history of Indian wars, and with atrocities that cannot be described, must have felt that there was nothing to be done with the Indian but to sweep him from the face of the earth. Men snarled at the bishop when he said that there were Indians and Indians; when he said: "You know the causes of this uprising, and you know that there are Indians who stood by the treaties, and refused to slaughter any whites. Will you destroy the just with the unjust?" And so he went up and down among those people, facing them in their houses, talking to them in the streets, expostulating, pleading, going into the legislative chambers and making long journeys, to stem the tide of vengeance that threatened to sweep away the entire body of Indians, innocent and guilty alike. He went to Washington on his errand of salvation, and there I saw him for the first time. The streets and avenues of the city were seething with that mass of virtue and vice, sin and unselfishness, bravery and cowardice, everything good and everything bad which gathered there in those war days, and which filled the lobbies of the hotels and departments, when the man went there on his mission of mercy. He saw the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,—or the man who represented him,—the Secretary of the Interior, the President, the members of Congress, Senators, all of whom were busy with the affairs of the Civil War, and tried to get a hearing for his protégés. He went to the churches also. I remember the first time I saw him. He preached in the Church of the Epiphany, and instead of going into the pulpit, he went to the desk, and said: "I want to talk to these people instead of preaching to them. I want to tell them the story of the wrongs of the Indians, and see what they will think when they hear it." I remember some of the incidents he cited, and the pathetic telling of them. I recall one where he told how the poor creatures, driven from home and starving, went out on the highways, and picked out of the dirt left by the horses the half-digested grains, gathering them one by one in their hands to take

them home to the squaws and papooses to save their lives. There were some ladies present who found it "as good as a play." They nodded to each other, and smiled. The Bishop saw it, and stopped; and then he told those people that he had not come there to tell a tale to awaken their jaded emotions, or thrill their souls; nor did he wish their applause or their flowers, as if he were an actress. He wanted to tell them a story of human wrong that would bring God's judgment upon field and forest, upon lake and river, upon city and country, all over this favored land, unless God's justice was established, and his people were delivered from wrong. The effect was felt all through that audience. All talked of it when they went away, and after a long struggle in social and official circles he succeeded in getting a treaty for the Chippewas, who had refused the solicitation of the Dakotas, securing to them their lands, their homes and such provision as was necessary at that time of need. Thereafter he was a power to be reckoned with in Indian Affairs.

And so he went on, gathering strength and becoming known throughout the country. About 1869 or 1870 his health failed and he went abroad. He was at Mentone when the admiral of the American squadron came to Villafranca, and hearing that the Bishop was there sent to him an official invitation to come and visit the flagship of the American squadron as the guest of the representative of the United States in those waters. The Bishop was too ill to go, but he sat up in his chair and wrote a four or six page letter, a long and piteous plea, to those naval officers in behalf of the red men, with whom his heart was full, although he was five thousand miles from them. For he always carried them in his heart, and was always pleading their cause at home or abroad.

I have but three minutes left me, and must omit much that I would like to say. In 1897 there was a gathering in London, at the time of the Queen's Jubilee, of Anglican bishops from all parts of the world, and the Queen invited the Apostle to the Indians to a garden party. After the others had made their obeisance to the Queen, they were scattered about the grounds. Two of the bishops were walking up and down talking together, when the personal attendant of the Queen came up behind them, and taking them each by the collar thrust them apart with the words, "Way for the Lord Bishop of Minnesota, whose presence the Queen desires!" It was a tribute paid to the Bishop of Minnesota by the Queen of that great empire,—the greatest empire that ever existed upon earth, and she the most powerful sovereign in the world,—that she should have given that garden party in honor of the Bishop of Minnesota, the Apostle to the Indians, who had touched her womanly, Christian heart by the labors of forty years in their behalf. I think she voiced the sentiment of the whole world, and in honoring him she honored herself. But he has received a higher honor still, the highest that can be paid to mortal man, for now the King of kings has sent for him.

"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord. Even so, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labors and their works do follow them."

I second the resolution to adopt the minute.

The minute was then unanimously adopted.

Mr. JOSEPH J. JANNEY, Baltimore.—Those of us who attended the Mohonk Conference four years ago will doubtless recall two interesting personages, Rev. Walter C. Roe and his wife, who were with us at that time. We will remember, also, with what pathos, earnestness and womanly eloquence Mrs. Roe presented an appeal for assistance in the erection of what she was pleased to call "a lodge" for the benefit of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians under their mission. Through the leadership of Mr. Smiley, and under the stimulus given the movement by his own liberality, considerably more than \$1,500—the sum asked for—was raised, and the lodge was built. In gratitude for the help received here, Mrs. Roe named it "Mohonk Lodge." Well, "Mohonk Lodge" has been a great success. It has enabled these Cheyenne Indians in Oklahoma not only to pursue their industries, but has provided a channel by which their products can find a profitable market.

I refer to this to-day for two reasons: one, to thank you, in the name of Mrs. Roe, for the help and inspiration she has received from the members of this Conference; and to say, entirely on my own responsibility, that, although "Mohonk Lodge" is a success, it is not beyond the need of help from outside sources, and to suggest to those who have money to spare that "Mohonk Lodge" is a very excellent place to put it.

Another object I have in view in referring to this subject now, is to identify to you the writer of the letter I hold in my hand. It is written by the same lady, Mrs. Mary W. Roe, and I wish to read from it one or two sentences:—

"Mr. Roe and I spent August in the Rockies, and are very much refreshed, and are happy over our work. Its main troubles now are the many deaths from consumption and the coming of the saloon into every part of our Indian country. A letter from a missionary's wife in Anadarko the other day told us that they had twenty saloons in Anadarko, and that the streets were full of reeling men, women and children, several Indian boys from the Riverside School having been carried home drunk. I lay these facts before you, feeling sure that if it is in your power to render us any assistance you will be sure to do it."

When I am confronted with such a statement as that, authentic beyond question; and when I know, as I do know, much more in the same line; and when I go to Buffalo, and visit the Exposition, and spend a half hour in the Indian village, and see the Indian lowered to the level of a dime-museum freak,—I am led to believe

that the present peril to the Indian is not altogether in the ration question or the reservation question, or even in the educational question, but it may be largely in the fact that he is being paraded over the country, clothed in blanket and bears' claws and paint, and exhibited for the entertainment of the idle and the ignorant; and that he is becoming increasingly the victim of the avarice of the rumseller.

I cannot help regretting that our platform makers failed to note the importance of this matter, and I feel that I am somewhat to blame for not having pressed it; yet, after all, perhaps platforms are not the most effective means for accomplishing certain results. May it not be that it is the individual duty of each and every member of this Conference to use all our influence to bring about a more rigid enforcement of the United States prohibitory law, and thus throttle the mercenary wretches who are making money by degrading and ruining the Indian?

President GATES.—No one can look over the reports that come from the field without realizing the terrible evils of liquor selling among the Indians.

Dr. Lucien C. Warner was asked to speak.

Dr. LUCIEN C. WARNER, New York.—It has been my privilege to spend about two weeks in traveling through the Sioux reservation, and I want to speak especially of the Standing Rock Agency, where there are about four thousand Indians. It is a grazing country, where it is impossible to raise any crops. Grain and vegetables do not succeed oftener than once in three years. There is no water outside the river and wells, and the water of the wells is often so mineral that it destroys the grass. If you were to give land in severalty, and fence off the portion next to water, the rest would be worthless. It must be used for grazing in large parcels.

For the Indians to get a living by grazing is not so simple as it might at first appear. I made inquiries as to how much land it would take to keep one cow, and the very best informed men assured me it would take twenty-five acres. With one hundred and sixty acres a man could keep six cows, but if he had to buy wheat and potatoes, and could raise nothing but meat, that would not be enough to support a family; it would hardly support a single person. Most of the Indians have only two or three cows, though some have as many as twenty or thirty. They realize that only by having large herds can they support themselves. There was talk of leasing this land to herders from outside. The plan was to bring in 15,000 cattle from Texas upon this reservation, and to fatten them here for market. It would be an excellent business for the railroads, but what would become of the Indians? If you put ten or fifteen thousand cattle in there they would have to have water, and they would monopolize the streams and sources of water. It would dis-

courage the attempts of the Indians to increase their herds. But it would have another effect more disastrous. It is difficult to tell the ownership of cattle even under the most favorable conditions. Sometimes the owner does not see his cattle for six months. The custom is to round them up and brand them just after calving. Experience shows that if the white men's cattle are among the Indians that the calves get branded a little early, and it is discovered that nearly all the cows that belong to the whites have twins, and those that belong to the Indians have no calves! It is no wonder that the Indian becomes discouraged.

This is the economic problem before the Indians. I am not sure that they will be able to make a living on their land. Perhaps it would be better for them to move; but they enjoy raising horses and cattle, and there is a possibility that they may succeed. If, however, the land is leased they will have to leave. They never could succeed in competition with the whites, and the Government would have to supply rations as long as they remain on this land.

I visited many of the Indians at their own houses, living and sleeping among them, and I want to pay my tribute to the progress they have made in civilization. The proportion of those who attended church and were members of the different churches is as large as that of the average community here in the East. I was surprised and delighted to see the impression that the gospel has made upon them. They were living in comfortable log houses, well dressed, and enjoying many of the comforts of civilization. Few of them speak English, but they read Dakota and sing with spirit and melody in their own tongue. The great problem before them is economic; it is to teach them how to save, how to work, how to be thrifty. These are lessons which they learn very slowly.

Miss COLLINS.—I was delighted to hear what Dr. Warner said, for he knows whereof he speaks. I took him over the reservation myself, and he saw the country there. We passed over a large tract where there is no water. Fifty miles from there we went through another district where there is no water, and I did not hesitate to point out to him what our Indians would suffer if they were shut out from the sources of water when they were trying to raise cattle. Before I came away the chiefs came to me, for they thought I was going straight to the Great Father in Washington, and they wanted to send a message to him, and they said: "Tell him not to hurry us; not to go too fast. They are talking about allotting our lands. We trust you to tell the Great Father that if it is necessary to allot us, just to allot our homes, and leave the great grazing land for us to hold together, where we can graze our cattle in common. Tell him we do not wish to lease any part of our land for several reasons." And one of the wise ones said to me: "One reason is that we fear it will be an entering wedge. We could spare some of it for a few years; but by and by, if we succeed, we shall need the whole reservation, but if the white men

had been using it, it would not be ours then. We would rather have our land for our own cattle."

I want to say a word about the Indian money. What shall we do with the money that belongs to the Indian? I am one of those Christians who believe that to be a true Christian one should be a true lover of his country. I believe that we have made treaties with these Indians, and that we should keep them. This money in the Treasury belongs to the Indians. Our Indians do not ask for money in cash payment, but they do ask that when students return from school they be given cattle, or something to start them in housekeeping. If that is done, and the boy when he comes home has cows given to him, so that he can start a herd, then the whole of Standing Rock Agency will not be too large. It is large, but it is not good for "agricultural farming."

President James M. Taylor, of Vassar College, was invited to speak.

President TAYLOR.—There is only one subject on which I care to say a word to-night. I was struck by a remark made last night by Mr. Sherman in his interesting address, regarding the difficulty in the way of proper reform in many directions which we are pursuing in the Indian work on account of the treaties that have been made by us, or were made by our fathers, with the various Indian tribes. Reference has been made to that subject by one of the speakers this afternoon. I am very sorry to controvert in any way an impression that a treaty should, in all circumstances, be maintained, but I raise this question as a simple, practical question in ethics: Is it always desirable to keep a treaty? I shall not yield to any man or woman here in my reverence for truth, in my abhorrence for untruth, whether on the part of a man or a nation. But it becomes often something more than a simple, abstract question of truth and falsehood when we face an issue of this kind. Statesmanship is not, as it was cynically suggested, the property of dead politicians. Statesmanship consists in adjusting ourselves on principles of truth and honor to present conditions. A statesman is a man who dares to put before a nation a course of conduct in harmony with truth and righteousness which may be unpopular to-day, which may not commend itself to the majority of the people, but which he knows to be for the ultimate good of the nation, and to all concerned with the nation.

I submit this question: If there are treaties with Indian tribes which are standing absolutely in the way of the interests of the Indian, then is it fair, because of the mere abstract love of truth, that we continue to pauperize the Indian, to make less and less a man of him, to threaten him, indeed, with effacement, simply that we may keep a treaty that our fathers made with him?

I do not believe that in any high sense that is truth, nor that in any worthy sense that is righteousness. Our fathers did the best

that they knew how, and in many things, perhaps, they did better than their children will ever do. I am not here to discuss that, but it has seemed to me as I have been trained year after year by the Mohonk Conference, and as I have read history, that the most vital mistake made was the treating with Indian tribes as separate nations. There was the root of all the evils that have sprung up, and that have been so slowly reforming themselves under the lead of the men and women who have given themselves to the cause in the nation and in Congress. If that be true, it becomes us to remedy the defects of those treaties. The great work of Indian reform has been removing conditions forced upon us by those old treaties.

Let me raise that issue again in the light of concrete facts before us in the very State of New York. There are those on this floor who can speak with fuller knowledge than I can, and who have considered this particular question in connection with Governor Roosevelt's Commission; but I have no hesitation in saying that if we should find that by keeping the treaties with the Indians of New York we are bound to maintain a condition that is degrading to the Indian, that is forcing him into pauperism, that is reducing his manhood, that is encouraging social conditions that are vicious in the tribe, and dangerous to the surrounding population, I would break any treaty by whomsoever made, in the interests of truth, righteousness and the welfare of the Indian.

Now, as I said, this is a very unpleasant subject to bring into any discussion, because one is so easily able to say, Why, that is not reverence for truth, and that is not respect for honor. All that you can say is, If you respect honor and truth more than you do the saving of the human soul, then you must have your honor and truth. I would much rather be instrumental in seeming to set aside honor and truth, and helping, thereby, some human soul up to a higher conception of honor and truth.

We must do some straight thinking and straight talking. I am aware that it will be said, O, you will endanger society if you set aside the duty to keep treaties, and it will be the introduction of a new element of danger. If we cannot be fair in this matter, then probably we would better let them alone; but I am not prepared to admit that there are not able and conscientious men, like the Indian Commissioner, who can adjust these matters precisely as fairly if the treaty were set aside, and it is a simple matter of fact that we have been setting them aside. After fifty years of experience we ought to have gained some wisdom to readjust these matters so that they may meet present conditions.

I do not know that there has been a very loud outcry among the American people against the proposition to set aside the treaty made with Great Britain in regard to the canal at Nicaragua or Panama. At least we have been pushing along those issues until we seem to be in the way of getting a new treaty. Is that right or wrong? It is the only way in which we can adjust such matters between nations. When you take the great body of gifts made to the uni-

versities of Great Britain, what comes to pass? When conditions change, then Parliament is asked to meet those changed conditions. For instance, because five hundred years ago a man left money to give a glass of beer to every applicant at St. Cross, shall the bequest be defended when it is found to encourage pauperism and tramps? Parliament says: "Very well, these agreements were made when conditions were very different. To carry out the conditions made with our ancestors would defeat the very purpose of the gift," and Parliament has turned over bequest after bequest, and there is no more conservative body than the English Parliament. It has re-interpreted the conditions, and has put the funds into the hands of the university to administer according to the conditions of to-day, and according to the real meaning of the testator. That, it seems to me, is statesmanship, and honoring the truth in the largest possible sense.

President GATES.—That is straight talk. We have got to face that thing, and to do the honestly best thing for the people who have been our wards.

The remainder of the evening was devoted to speeches of gratitude and appreciation of the hospitality of the brothers Smiley and their wives. The speakers were W. W. Beardshear, President of the Iowa State College; W. H. McElroy, of New York; and Mr. Howard M. Jenkins, who read what purported to be a translation of an old Indian document. A formal resolution of thanks was presented, on behalf of the Business Committee, by Dr. Foster, as follows:—

The Lake Mohonk Indian Conference, at the close of its nineteenth annual gathering, gratefully acknowledges its obligations to its hosts,—Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley and Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley. Through a long succession of beautiful Octobers the favored members of this Conference have been permitted to climb these mountains; to enjoy the generous hospitality of this house; to meet one another in delightful Christian fellowship; to discuss with earnestness, but unflinching kindness of spirit, great philanthropic questions; and to see, as the years have gone, one after another of the aims of the Conference attained, and the measures advocated by it pass into the law of the land. All this we owe to the high purpose and large plans of Mr. A. K. Smiley, heartily seconded by Mrs. Smiley, the gracious lady whose presence at late Conferences is deeply missed, and to Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley, whose attention to the details of this gathering contributes so much to its success.

We recognize that the personality of these friends pervades this Conference, and gives it its character; and if the Conference has, as we believe, accomplished something for the good of the Indian and our land, it is due in large degree to the wise forethought, the self-forgetful effort, the tact and the Christian courage of our hosts.

We are grateful to them, not only for the abundant hospitality they have extended us, but for the opportunity of usefulness they have given us, and for the influences we have here received in the development of our own lives and character.

Rev. Donald S. Mackay, D.D., of New York, seconded the resolution in a few words, and was followed by Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler. Of all these speeches, space has been found only for abstracts of Dr. Mackay's and Dr. Cuyler's.

Dr. DONALD SAGE MACKAY.—This Conference has been to me a wonderful revelation. Everyone, in these days of pampered luxury, enjoys the experience of a new sensation. It was to me a new sensation when we came out of the darkness the other evening, under the gloom and shadow of Sky Top, and saw the sparkling lights upon the lake. "Here," we said, "is a Venice on the top of a hill." When we came to the door and felt the cordial hand-grasp of our host, whom I had never seen, but of whom I had heard so much, his welcome was characteristic of the warmth and cheer of this beautiful spot. Our host is one of the men, all too rarely met with, who knows how to say the right thing in the right way.

Another revelation has come to me with the Conference itself. I did not know, to my shame be it said, that there was still a living issue in the Indian question. I had thought that that question had been solved long ago, and that this Conference was only a kindly way of giving us a happy holiday. Well, we have had the holiday, but with it we have had also a vast amount of information and inspiration in addition. It has all been wonderful to me.

We have heard much of the colonial policy of Great Britain and of France, and some of us have been justly proud of the way in which Great Britain has carried on her vast colonial empire. But when have you ever heard of a nation inaugurating a policy for its new colonies under circumstances such as those which have brought us together to this place, when men of light and leading have been devoting themselves to devising educational, social and economic schemes for furthering the progress of these new colonies that have come under the flag? When, for instance, did you ever hear of Great Britain sending for the Egyptians, to teach and train them in the arts and ways of culture, as we have sent for these young Cuban teachers to be trained in the educational system of America? When, in fact, did you ever hear of any nation holding such a Conference as this, devoting itself to a thoughtful and exhaustive study of the new problems which an enlarging territory has created?

We go back to our homes as friends of the Indian,—some of us, perhaps, to pose as enemies of another kind of Indian in New York City,—with a deeper sense of our duties as citizens, realizing that after all it is on devotion to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whose love has blessed this nation so signally in the past, whose presence is the beacon star of our nation's way in the future,—it is

on devotion to him that rests the hope of our nation and the honor of its flag.

It is with great pleasure that I second the resolution.

Dr. THEODORE L. CUYLER.—Good friends, I have been asked to add a few words of parting before we turn our faces homeward, and they must be words of hearty congratulation on the splendid success of this Conference. My deafness has prevented me from drinking in your streams of eloquence, but my very much better half has quick ears to hear, and she has told me that your speeches have been a perpetual feast, and that all the proceedings have been on the highest plane of effectiveness and usefulness. If I have not ears to hear, I have eyes to see the noble company of men and honorable women, not a few, who have been gathered during these few days. Let me tell you what a source of sorrow it has been to have come here and missed two of the most conspicuous figures that have been in times past the joy and glory of your Conference. I had hoped to look into the honest face and grasp the honest hand of Massachusetts' grand old Christian statesman,—Henry L. Dawes, Thank God the grand old man is with us in spirit. Let us hope that we may hear him in meetings yet to come.

And that other most conspicuous figure—the handsome and the holy hearted Bishop of Minnesota—never will enter this hall again. He has been translated into the innumerable company of the white-robed and the crowned conquerors in glory. Permit me, ere we close, to offer a word or two of personal tribute to my beloved old friend.

Bishop Whipple and myself were almost exactly the same age, born only a few days apart, not far from the interior of this State. His native place was Adams. During the last forty years the Episcopal Church has not produced, nor has the ministry, a more picturesque and powerful personality. I do not wonder they loved him and lionized him over yonder in Britain. I do not wonder that the Queen had him come and pay her a visit, and gave him a book as a keepsake. I do not wonder that in the Isle of Wight they had him pronounce the memorial address on the poet Tennyson. But wherever he went he was the same fearless, Abraham-Lincoln-like man in the ministry. An illustration I can give you shows the point and pith and plainness of speech the grand old man possessed. He was visiting a family of rank in England, and when he went to the station he was accompanied by a young nobleman of high rank, who had also been a guest. When they got to the station this young nobleman vented a most horrible amount of oaths at his valet, because he had done something to displease him. When he discovered that the Bishop had heard him, he said, "I beg your pardon, but the fact is I have always called a spade a spade." "Indeed!" said the Bishop, "I rather think that instead of a spade you have called it a damned old shovel." In a few days that young nobleman sent a letter to the Bishop, saying that

he had always been profane, but promising that he would never swear again. That was Bishop Whipple, every inch of him. The honors from royalty and nobility never for an hour let him forget that peculiar service to which his Master had called him, being the friend and helper of the poor red man. And the glory of Bishop Whipple is this—that since the days of John Eliot he stood out as the most impressive, effective, holy hearted and successful apostle to the Indians in all our American history. Let the red men put up a tablet to him, and write on it the name of old “Straight Talk.”

Then let them write under that the name of Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute; and under that the name of grand old Senator Dawes, who for so many years, in a different connection, has been serving the highest interest of the Indian. But if they want to make that tablet complete they must add another name to the names of these benefactors of the wronged and the wretched and the down-trodden brothers and sisters; beneath their names let the Indians write the good, honest name of Albert K. Smiley. Out of his big, warm heart was born this Conference, which has become one of the established institutions of our land. I do not exaggerate when I say that, outside of the Capitol in Washington, and the White House, and the government departments, there is nowhere in this land a scene of such far-reaching influence and power on the destiny of the Indian as within this annual Conference, to which we come up with joy and gladness. From this lighthouse of Mohonk have flashed bright rays that have gladdened the face of the vast West, and lightened the destiny of the wronged and neglected Indian.

And then, too, our brother has done it all with such wonderful adaptation to the instincts of human nature. He has made it so delightful and attractive. I had occasion to say in one of the earlier Conferences that he had wrought a great revolution in the line of benevolence. In former years a reformer was a persecuted man. The philanthropist was often the butt of jeers and ridicule, and sometimes the victim of mob violence. My dear Brother Smiley has changed all that. Up here at Mohonk, for the first time, philanthropy is fed on peaches and cream, and rides out every afternoon in a coach and four! Who need wonder that two hundred men and women rejoice every year to be philanthropists? So let us thank our dear friend for the privilege of coming and serving the Master in such an exceedingly delightful way; meeting and mingling our salutations and our prayers, then going yonder to Skytop to take in all this magnificent general assembly of the mountains that the Almighty has painted so gloriously; gathering here to sing hymns of praise, to clasp each other's hands, and then go home, as we shall on the morrow, the better and stronger, and carrying away in our heart of hearts the names of these two brothers. God bless them! If all the people in our broad land that know and love Albert and Daniel Smiley could travel up yonder hill and gather

on that lake shore, you would see such a mighty assembly as you have seldom seen, and you would hear uprising shouts of thanksgiving to God that he had put it into their hearts to establish this institution, and permit us to come together and be his guests. And so I am going to take your hearts into my own, beloved friends, and say God bless you on and on; with long life satisfy you, until your eyes shall behold the splendors of the full salvation.

Mr. A. K. SMILEY was the last speaker. He said that he had tried to persuade the committee to omit these resolutions of thanks, but they would not do it. He thanked the speakers for all their kind words, and assured his guests that the two most blessed times of the year were when the Conference on Arbitration met and when the Indian Conference was in session. He closed in the following words:—

I have made up my mind that this work shall go on. My brother, Daniel Smiley, who will take entire charge of this place hereafter, shares in this purpose. If the Indian problem be solved (and I hope it will be soon), the agencies abolished, the Board of Indian Commissioners dismissed, the Indian Bureau a thing of the past, and the Indian taken into the body politic as a citizen, there will be no Indians as a race, but all will be American citizens. If all that comes to pass then there will be something else needing discussion: the Philippines, Porto Rico, Cuba, Hawaii, and perhaps the Danish islands. It is only a question of time when all these matters will come up. So this hill-top I hope will be a sort of Mecca for philanthropists for a hundred years to come; a place to discuss problems of national interest.

We have had a good Conference, exceedingly gratifying to me, and I thank you most heartily for coming. We have had a fine, executive committee, an excellent presiding officer, good secretaries, a faithful treasurer; and I am going to put them together, and ask you to give them and Mrs. Hector Hall, for her music, a vote of thanks.

The vote of thanks was passed, and the Conference was closed by singing, "God be with us till we meet again."

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

OF

FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN

1902

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

1903

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PREFACE.

The twentieth annual Lake Mohonk Conference of the friends of the Indian was held in October, 1902, through the unfailing interest and hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley. The importance of the subjects to be discussed drew a large and interested number from many parts of the country. The discussions were free and earnest, but in good temper. They are given almost in full in the present volume. It has always been the desire of Mr. Smiley to print everything pertaining to principles, but to hide his own personality as much as possible, and out of regard to his wishes the brilliant closing speeches of gratitude and appreciation are omitted.

It is due to the Publishing Committee to state that the delay in presenting this Report to the public was owing to matters over which they had no control. Though all of the copy for which that committee was responsible was in the printer's hands in November, yet the work of collecting certain manuscripts from distant and busy people, including the delay of one in the Dead Letter Office, was the occasion of the much regretted delay. It is hoped, however, that the contents of the book will be of sufficient value to the friends of the Indian to make it worth waiting for.

NEW YORK, January, 1903.

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PLATFORM OF THE TWENTIETH ANNUAL LAKE
MOHONK CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS
OF THE INDIAN, 1902.

The one effort of the Mohonk Indian Conference, and of all intelligent philanthropic effort for the Indian, has been and must be to develop in him a true Christian manhood, and to secure him a position as an American citizen. Here is the center of all wise legislation, all reasonable education, and all missionary labor.

Much has already been accomplished. About thirty years ago our Government decided to make no more treaties with Indian tribes. Then in 1887 was passed the Dawes Severalty Act, securing the Indians possession of land in severalty, and with such possession making them American citizens. Since the passage of this law the work has gone steadily forward. Already over seventy thousand allotments have been made, and as many Indians have become citizens.

In this work of elevating the Indian and giving him his place in our land on an equality with the white man and enjoying the same privileges, what yet remains to be done? The work of dividing the Indian reservations and allotting to each Indian his own piece of land to be held in severalty, must be pushed to completion. Indian reservations must cease to be, together with all the machinery that has been connected with them. The Indian agent is less and less needed, and the office should be discontinued at an early date. In the meantime, we rejoice in what has been done by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in breaking up polygamy, securing the purity of homes, and the proper registration of families. We desire to see this work go forward until every family is properly constituted and fully registered. We cordially approve the order emanating from the Commissioner's office to diminish, and as soon as possible, to prevent various savage and pagan practices. We believe that the Government is fully justified in efforts to break up habits and customs among the Indians that interfere with their advance in civilization. The action of the Secretary of the Interior in forbidding Indians to take part in Indian war-paint shows, especially at public expositions, is highly to be commended, and we trust that no influence will succeed in securing a reversal of this policy. We are glad to note that lately not less than twelve thousand Indians have been dropped from the ration rolls of the Government, and that the Government has encouraged them to earn their bread by furnishing them work and paying them with money which would otherwise have gone for rations.

We would reiterate the previous utterances of this Conference as to the importance of choosing trustworthy and fit men to carry on the duties of the Government in dealing with the Indian. Whatever dishonor has come to our nation from its dealing with the Indian has not come from its purpose, which has been just and humane, but from the fact that the execution of the purpose has frequently been committed to unworthy instruments. The choice of Indian agents and every other public servant connected with Indian affairs should be most carefully made.

Added evidence confirms this Conference in the belief heretofore expressed, that the Indian should be subject to all the rights and privileges of a citizen so well secured in the General Severalty Act of Feb. 8, 1887. That act provides that trust patents issued in the allotment of lands shall be of legal effect, and declares that the United States does and will hold the land thus allotted for the period of twenty-five years in trust, for the sole use and benefit of the Indian to whom such allotment has been made. The decision of the Secretary of the Interior that he has authority to annul a trust patent at his discretion at any time during the life of the patent is opposed to the spirit of the act, and seems to us detrimental to the interests of the Indian, as it renders his holdings insecure, and thus lessens the incentive to industry and thrift. We are, therefore, of the opinion that any defects which may exist in the present statute to render such a decision possible should be remedied by new legislation.

Experience under the Severalty Act has shown the need of freeing the Indians from the restraints heretofore surrounding trade. The fullest opportunity should now be afforded him to sell in the highest and buy in the lowest market obtainable. We urge that former conflicting legislation be repealed, and that any person of good moral character shall, upon application, be granted a license by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to trade within any Indian reservation; also, that when Indians have been allotted lands in severalty no such license shall be required within such allotted lands.

The necessity for allotting all Indian lands so that each Indian may hold his land in severalty applies with equal force to the Seneca Indians of New York, who were not included in the Dawes Severalty Act. This Conference is convinced that the social and political conditions existing on the reservations involved are most serious in their nature, and make it important that these Indians be at once brought fully under the laws of the State of New York and of the United States, and thus become citizens. We therefore respectfully urge upon Congress the prompt passage of H. R. Bill No. 12270, known as the Vreeland Bill, introduced at the last session of Congress, and already favorably reported by the House Committee. But we believe the bill should be passed without the amendment requiring the consent of the Indians affected, thus bringing it into harmony, in this respect, with the terms of the Dawes Severalty Act.

The next great step necessary for the good of the Indian, and for his protection from the machinations of designing white men, is to break up the great tribal funds held by the Government into individual holdings. A share should be apportioned to each individual member of the tribe, and placed to his credit on the books of the Treasury of the United States, interest being paid thereon, while as soon as practicable the principal itself of each individual share should be paid to the Indian to whom it belongs.

This Conference desires to call attention to the peculiar needs of the Navajo Indians. These people are especially worthy, being industrious and self-reliant; but they are the only tribe which has no adequate school privileges, while they are also in danger at this time of starvation. They are not to blame, but suffer from adverse conditions, and their necessities should be met by the Government.

The educational work that has been maintained by our Government among the Indians is admirable, and should be steadily extended till a good public school education is made possible to every Indian child. We are looking, however, to the time when schools maintained by the National Government shall be discontinued, and all Indian youth shall be trained in the public schools and higher institutions of the states or territories.

The most important work for man is his religious training. This necessarily falls to the missionary societies of our different churches. Their labors, ever important, have now become indispensable for the uplifting of the Indians. We are heartily in favor of such missionary effort, and warmly commend it to public sympathy and support. This is work the Government cannot undertake, and it must be done by private beneficence.

Other dependent races in our newly acquired possessions have demanded the attention of the Conference. We have been intensely interested in listening to statements in regard to the condition of those in Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Alaska. We urge upon Congress further legislation for the civil, commercial, educational, and moral well-being of these outlying portions of our country. Especially do we suggest that in Hawaii efforts should be made to raise the standard of citizenship and to meet the peculiar conditions of labor.

To recapitulate we favor :—

1. The allotment in severalty of the lands of the New York Indians, and to this end the prompt passage of H. R. Bill No. 12270.
2. The discontinuance of Indian agencies where no longer needed.
3. The breaking up into individual holdings of the great tribal trust funds.
4. The omission of the public exhibition of pagan customs.
5. The establishment of unrestricted trade at Indian agencies.
6. The still further development of the present policy of the Indian Bureau of furnishing work and paying for it instead of giving out rations.
7. We emphasize the importance of selecting only trustworthy men as the agents of the Government.

8. We urge that trust patents should be made, if not so already, independent of any power of annulment by any officer of the Government.

9. We approve the Government schools, but look to see them eventually superseded by the schools of the states and territories where the Indians live.

10. We especially commend all missionary work, in whatever form undertaken, by missionary societies for the moral and religious elevation of the Indians.

11. We look beyond the Indian to the needs of other dependent races in our new possessions, and we urge further congressional legislation for their good, especially in the case of Hawaii, where the unfortunate civil and agricultural conditions need immediate remedy.

THE LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 22, 1902.

For the twentieth time the friends of the Indian assembled as a Conference, by invitation of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley, at Lake Mohonk, October 22, 1902. After morning prayers Mr. Smiley spoke a few words of welcome.

WELCOME OF MR. A. K. SMILEY.

The time has arrived, friends, for the meeting of the Twentieth Conference of the friends of the Indian. I used to call it the Indian Conference, but lately we have extended it to include other dependent races,—the people of Hawaii, of the Philippines, and of Porto Rico; but the Indians come to the front, as the larger number of those present are specially interested in Indians. We extend a general invitation to all government officials in relation with the Indians as well as all other friends of the Indian. The object is to bring all such people to work together instead of at cross purposes, as used to be the case. The effect of these Conferences, I believe, has been to bring the different workers into harmony. We expect the freest expression of opinion here, no matter how much people may differ from each other. Each one must speak his mind candidly and firmly, but kindly. Some questions will come up at this meeting in which there is great difference of opinion, but I hope that as heretofore we shall preserve our Christian temper, and that at the close we shall have an utterance that will command the respect of the country.

This Conference is to me very pleasant. Nothing gives me more pleasure than to see a company of men and women together who are trying to lift up the dependent races. I think you will all agree with me that one of the best things in life is to try to do good to somebody who needs help; and there is plenty of it to do in the world, and I bid you all a hearty welcome here to strive to find the best and wisest ways for doing good to our dependent races.

I always take it upon myself to nominate a presiding officer, and I have great pleasure in nominating Bishop Potter for our presiding officer for this morning. I regret that we can have him only this morning, but we shall have some other good man to take his place.

Bishop Potter was then elected unanimously with hearty applause, and in taking the chair spoke as follows.

ADDRESS OF BISHOP HENRY C. POTTER.

After a few words of personal allusion to his own Quaker ancestry, and to Mr. Smiley as a member of that body, Bishop Potter said:—

Some years ago I said to Mr. Froude when he was here, I want to ask you a question. "Yes," he said, "if you don't ask me whether I like the country or not." "No," I said, "I will not embarrass you with that; I want you to tell me what you think we need most." "You need most," he said, "a governing class; a class educated to take in hand the responsibilities of the civil and moral life of a great republic." In a larger sense than that in which he used the phrase, it may be used in reference to such an assembly as this. There are two kinds of government: government by enactment, by tradition, by organized institutions; and government by ideas. Our danger in this country is in worshipping the net and the drag; of falling down to the level where the mere mechanism of government is the finest thing in the world, and where we think if we can get the mechanism to go quickly and apparently smoothly we have done everything that we can do for good government, good order, and the well-being of society. I do not believe it. I do not believe that mechanism created by human hands can by any possibility be of divine authority and value; and I submit with the greatest respect to the people of the United States of America, that the Constitution which Mr. Gladstone said—perhaps unfortunately for us—was the cleverest thing devised by the wit of man,—I submit that the Constitution was not let down from heaven, was not perfect, and is not above criticism. When you have created a mechanism such as that which exists in our country to-day, it needs forever to be qualified by free discussion and by the free criticism of the intelligence and moral sense of the community. Now, it is for this purpose that I think this annual assembly here at Lake Mohonk is of permanent value. There are, very often, certain high ideals which disappear when you set the new mechanism to work. There is a lady in this room who has told me since I came here of the condition of one of our public hospitals during the late Spanish War, and of the circumstances under which the Red Cross nurses could not get into them. That was an illustration of the perfection of the machinery and the corruption of the institution. The whole hospital system was bad and vicious at that moment, and yet it was conducted according to the laws of government of the Army of the United States. Over and over again circumstances may arise when it is necessary to introduce into the body politic just precisely that element of free comment which stands not for the impulse of fault-finding and the disposition to criticise, which of course is a human disposition, but which stands for the recognition of the instinct of justice.

I was in India two years ago, and was walking through the streets one day with my guide, who said, "Would you like to see a court?" We went into a court, on the bench of which were sitting two or three native judges and one of British ancestry. There were two men before the bench who evidently, from their dress and jewels, which had a fascinating effect upon me, were great swells, and I was told that they were Rajah this and Rajah that, and that they had a difference. One of them stated it to the court, and the English judge said to the other man, "Is that a correct statement of the case?" "No, not perfectly; I will qualify it when my turn comes." So he made his statement, and one of the judges said to the first man, "Is that a correct statement of the case?" "No, not quite." "Well, qualify it." Then the judge told them to come back next morning at ten o'clock; and I said to my guide, who was a very intelligent Mohammedan, "Are those gentlemen going to accept the decision because one of them will be shown to be in the wrong?" "Yes," he said; "they will accept it because it will be a just decision; none of the men who will make this decision would have done *this*," and the man made a very suggestive gesture (putting his hand behind his back as if secretly to receive money). Under native government justice had been bought; under this government justice was unpurchasable. I confess, as I walked down the street, and felt what the British government was doing for India, that a great many things that perplexed and embarrassed me were made clear.

Mr. Smiley has said that we are at liberty to discuss the interests of the dependent races, not only of the Indians, but of the people in the Hawaiians and Philippines. I want to say just one word,—that is, that I believe the nation will vindicate its right to be, in those cases just so far as it stands for eternal righteousness; the question of schools, of railways, and so on, which are foremost in the minds of most of the gentlemen who represent you and me in the two houses of Congress are all secondary questions. The final question is, Are you going to do fairly by these people? Are you going to stand for justice, honesty, fair dealing? These are questions which, in one of those possessions (I shall not be more particular) have been pre-eminently the issue which has caused perturbation and apprehension. I want to be allowed, if I may (I should be reluctant to introduce into this assembly any element of discord), I want to express my highest respect for him who administers the Philippines to-day. I mean Governor Taft. I believe he recognizes that the great thing to be done in the Philippine Islands to-day is to make the United States of America a witness for eternal righteousness, and in all our effort in that direction we shall find good men of his kind in cordial sympathy with us.

May God's abundant blessing rest upon this assembly, and give you what our Quaker friends are wont to wait for,—would that in all our churches we had the same usage,—sometimes in silence, the light of the Holy Spirit.

On motion of Dr. Warner the following Secretaries were elected in the order named: Mrs. Barrows, Mr. J. W. Davis, and Mrs. Geo. H. Knight.

On motion of Mr. Meserve Mr. Frank Wood was thanked for his past faithful services, and re-elected Treasurer.

The following Business Committee was elected: Dr. Addison Foster, Dr. Lucien C. Warner, Mr. Daniel Smiley, Mr. P. C. Garrett, Dr. M. E. Gates, Mr. Darwin E. James, and Pres. C. F. Meserve.

Mr. Lasalle Maynard was elected press reporter.

The following Publication Committee was elected: Mrs. I. C. Barrows, Mr. J. W. Davis, and Mr. Frank Wood.

General Whittlesey then read a *résumé* of affairs in the field, prepared "by that earnest and faithful woman," Miss Emily S. Cook, of the Indian Office in Washington.

A SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

Cutting off Rations.—The policy of cutting off rations and then finding work for Indians has been persevered in with excellent results wherever agents have taken hold in earnest. Work in making roads, digging irrigating ditches, building fences, etc., has been provided on reservations, and the Indian has been paid by the agent \$1.25 per day, or \$2.50 when he furnished a team. Opportunities for work outside the reservations as farm hands, herders, building railroads, etc., have been found and improved, and the cultivation of farms and gardens has received unwonted attention. Of course there has been and will be suffering among the deserving as well as the undeserving, but there seems to be no anæsthetic which will make painless the operation of bringing to self-support a people who for a generation have depended on Government rations.

Finance.—The appropriations for the Indian service for the current fiscal year aggregate \$9,132,028.10; nearly \$700,000 less than that of the previous year. More than one third (38 per cent) of the whole sum appropriated is for schools. The expenditures for the year, ending the 30th of last June, were as follows:—

Current and contingent expenses	\$647,039.71
Fulfilling treaty stipulations	1,841,935.80
Miscellaneous supports, gratuities	539,920.42
Trust funds	2,126,154.01
Incidental expenses	76,842.87
Support of schools	2,837,785.14
Miscellaneous	1,979,906.91
Total,	\$10,049,584.86

Agencies under School Superintendents.—The policy of putting school superintendents in charge of agencies or parts of agencies has developed rapidly during the past year. Twenty-one agencies, as follows, are now under a school superintendent instead of an agent:—

Cherokee.	Neah Bay.	Siletz.
Colorado River.	Nevada.	Tulalip.
Grande Ronde.	Nez Perce.	Umatilla.
Hoopa.	Puyallup.	Warm Spring.
Jicarilla.	Quapaw.	Western Shoshoni.
Lemhi.	Round Valley.	Yakima.
Mescalero.	Santee.	Yankton.

Other school superintendents have had Indians in the vicinity of the schools taken from agent's supervision and placed under the care of the school, as follows:—

Cantonment and Seger Colony schools among the Cheyenne and Arapahos; Rice Station for some Apaches on the San Carlos Reservation; Truxton Cañon for the Supai and Walapai; Albuquerque and Santa Fé for the Pueblos; Western Navaho for some of the Navaho; Keams Cañon for the Moqui; Shawnee for the Shawnee and Mexican Kickapoo; Pawnee for the Pawnees; Carson for the Indians of the Walker River Reservation, and Fort Mohave for Mohaves in the northern part of Arizona.

Education.—In the various schools (exclusive of the New York Indians and the Five Civilized Tribes) 28,610 Indian pupils have been enrolled,—1,000 more than last year,—this gain being entirely in Government boarding schools. The average attendance has been 24,434, a larger gain even than in enrollment. They were distributed as follows:—

Government schools	24,434
25 non-reservation boarding	8,568
90 reservation boarding	11,506
134 day	4,360
Mission schools	3,853
47 boarding	3,565
2 day	288
Hampton	134
16 public	189
Total,	28,610

The attendance in public schools has been steadily decreasing since 1896. The number of non-reservation schools has reached 25,—rather more than are needed; but many of them have been established by Congress without consultation with the Indian Office or even against its recommendation. School plants have been enlarged, and special improvements have been made in the way of lighting, water supply, and sewerage.

The average cost *per capita* of supporting pupils in reform and industrial schools among white people, as shown by statistics of the Education Bureau, is about \$160 per annum. In the Indian

service, counting both day and boarding schools, it is \$138 *per capita*; but if only boarding schools were considered the comparison would not of course be so much in favor of Indian schools.

School employees number 2,289—white 1,662, Indian 627.

All the schools in the Five Civilized Tribes, except those among the Seminoles, are now under the supervision of the Indian Bureau. They are considerably improved, but several undesirable features, such as running a school by contract, are still retained. There are about 10,000 pupils enrolled in day schools and 2,700 in boarding schools whose maintenance costs the tribes about \$368 a year. This does not include twelve schools, excellent and invaluable, carried on by missionary societies. The negroes have little schooling, and the 50,000 white children in the Territory are almost without free schools. Only a few incorporated towns are able to levy a school tax.

Agreements.—The Kansa or Kaw Indians entered into an agreement among themselves for a division of their tribal lands and funds, giving to each member a homestead of 160 acres and dividing the remaining lands equally.

The Fort Berthold Indians have ceded 208,000 acres for \$260,000, to be paid in stock, cattle, and agricultural implements, after setting aside \$50,000 for a poor fund and paying out \$54,000 *per capita*.

The Rosebud Sioux have ceded 416,000 acres in Gregory County, South Dakota. The Red Lake Indians in Minnesota have ceded 256,152 acres for \$1,000,000, to be paid in cash, one quarter within ninety days and the balance in fifteen annual payments.

The Devil's Lake Indians in North Dakota have ceded 104,000 acres at about \$3.30 per acre, to be paid in cash, \$145,000 down and the balance in ten annual payments of \$20,000 each.

Liquor Selling.—The sale of liquor to Indians continues, and can hardly be checked unless five or ten thousand dollars is provided by Congress to be used in obtaining evidence against liquor dealers.

Exhibition of Indians.—The Office has continued its policy of refusing to authorize Indians to be taken from reservations for exhibition purposes. Even the request of the Denver festival was refused. But Indians of the Fort Peck Agency were allowed to participate in the Dawson County Fair in Montana solely as exhibitors of their farm products and school work. They made an excellent impression, and took back proudly three first premiums,—one for the largest and best display of agricultural products.

Osage Trade.—Immense funds in the United States Treasury, and unlimited credit offered them by licensed traders, resulted after a lapse of years in a demoralizing debt to the traders among the Osage Indians. The traders lobbied for appropriations from Osage funds to wipe out these debts, and the Indians stoutly insisted that the books of the traders were unreliable and their prices excessive. Finally, during the past year, all the traders' books have been ex-

haustively examined; the transactions running back to 1888, and covering over \$2,000,000. The examiners allowed claims against 584 Indians, aggregating \$429,596, averaging \$735 to each Indian. This was about two thirds of the amount claimed by the traders. These debts are to be paid from rentals of Osage pasture lands and interest on tribal funds, as fast as such funds accumulate. The first payment, made last July, wiped out nearly one half the indebtedness. A recently appointed supervisor of trade now regulates the amount of credit which may be given each Indian during a quarter, and he exercises strict watchfulness over the transactions and books of the traders. Last year's law allows anyone to trade among the Osages provided he is a person of good character.

Allotments.—Patents have been issued during the last year to 7,305 Indians. Allotments made last year to 352 Indians have been approved, and 709 allotments made this year are awaiting action. Allotment work has been in progress on the Cheyenne River, Rosebud, and Crow Reservations, and among some scattered Indians off reservations in Northern California and along the Columbia River. More than one third of the allotments made to the Indians on the Sioux ceded lands have been relinquished by them, and they have gone on to their reservations.

Mission Indians on Warner's Ranch.—An attempt has been made to find lands for the two hundred and fifty Mission Indians in California who have been dispossessed of their ancestral home at Warner's Ranch. For purchase of a tract and settling the Indians there the last Congress appropriated \$100,000. The Monserrate Ranch of 2,370 acres was selected by Inspector McLaughlin, but upon a representation that its water supply was wholly insufficient an advisory commission, consisting of Chas. F. Lummis, Chas. L. Partridge, and Russell C. Allen were appointed, who, without compensation, have most thoroughly and laboriously looked over the whole ground, and made an exhaustive report on the merits of several available tracts, and have recommended the Pauma tract.

Sale of Indian Lands.—The Indians whom the law allows to sell their lands are disposing of them rapidly. The seductions of ready cash, and the importunities of land grabbers, are irresistible. The Office tries to see that the Indian gets a fair price for what he sells, and the deeds have to receive office approval. During the year members of the Potawatomi, Shawnee, Peoria, Miami, Wyandotte, and Chippewa tribes have made 305 conveyances, aggregating 30,000 acres for \$204,000.

Legislation at the last session of Congress permitting the sale of inherited allotments, will still further illustrate the adapted proverb that an Indian and his land are soon parted unless the land is inalienable.

Rules have been carefully prepared and then carefully amended in order to safeguard the interests of the Indians so far as practicable. They require that all the heirs interested shall formally petition the agent, or other official, to allow the lands to be sold. For

ninety days he shall post conspicuously a description of the land with name of owner and date of sale, and meantime have the land privately appraised while the Indian Office advertises the sale in the newspapers. The timber to be sold for not less than the appraised value on sealed bids,—a separate bid for each allotment, or part of one,—each bid to be accompanied by a certified check for twenty-five per cent of the amount bid. Bids will be accepted subject to the approval of the owner of the land, and deeds must be executed with two witnesses and the acknowledgment of the Indian agent, or other named official, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior. Two tribal officers, or reliable members of the tribe, must certify as to the facts of the death of the owner, the heirship, etc., and the money is not to be paid to those who sell the land, but to be deposited in bank, subject to their order.

Leasing.—The extent to which Indian lands are leased increases each year; but to lessen the evils of leasing, lessees are required to fence grazing lands, or put some substantial improvement on farming lands in addition to any cash payment, and able-bodied, adult allottees are required to reserve forty acres unleased to be cultivated by themselves.

Railroads.—Railroads, telephones, and telegraph lines are crossing Indian lands in every direction. About one thousand miles of railroad have been located or constructed on Indian lands during the past year,—twice as much as during any previous year. Tribes or individuals, as the case may be, are duly compensated for right of way. Thirteen hundred miles of telephone lines have been located or constructed in the Indian Territory.

Five Civilized Tribes.—The work of disintegration goes merrily forward among the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory. The Cherokees at last recognized that division of lands and funds was inevitable, and entered into an agreement last spring as to how it should be done. The Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws also made supplemental agreements of the same nature.

The Cherokee lands are appraised in ten classes, and each Cherokee may have the value of 110 acres of average allottable land.

Each Creek is to have a "flat 160 acres," the difference in value to be equalized in the distribution of the tribal funds and the residue of tribal lands.

Each Choctaw and Chickasaw is to have a tract which shall equal in value an average 320 acres. Their freed men get one-eighth as much.

Each Creek and Cherokee may, after five years, dispose of all his land except a forty-acre homestead, which is to be inalienable for twenty-one years; but Creek lands other than the homestead may be disposed of earlier with the consent of the Secretary of the Interior. Each Choctaw and Chickasaw is to hold 160 acres as a homestead, and may dispose of the rest of his allotment, one fourth in one year, one fourth in three years, and the remaining half in five years.

The Seminole rolls have been completed and lands nearly allotted. About 7,000 of the Creek deeds have been written. Town sites are being designated and platted and town lots sold.

Mr. S. M. Brosius, of the Indian Rights Association, was asked to report on several subjects connected with his work. Mr. Brosius read the three following papers.

THE INSECURITY OF AN ALLOTMENT.

BY S. M. BROSIUS.

Implicit faith in the security of an Indian allotment certificate—that after twenty-five years a patent in fee simple would be executed by the Government to each allottee—has been a solace in time of depression, when the Indian seemed to be meeting with failure, there being the feeling that no matter what misfortune overtook him the allottee would at least have title to his home without question.

We find that these hopes were elusive. The Secretary of the Interior has made repeated inroads upon security of trust patents. Nearly all allotments in trust to Indians have been made under authority of the General Severalty Act of February 8, 1887, or special acts in conformity therewith. The General Severalty Act provides for a "trust patent" to be issued the allottee, which shall declare "that the United States does and will hold the land thus allotted for a period of twenty-five years, in trust," and "at the expiration thereof will convey the same by patent to said Indian," etc.

No obligation could be more plainly stated,—that no matter what action the allottee, in his inexperience, took in the case, he might encumber it by mortgage, or convey away the title, the State might levy taxes, yet all should be void and the land be turned over to him, free of all encumbrance, after the twenty-five year trust period had terminated.

September 25, 1900, the Secretary of the Interior decided that at any time prior to the issuance of the final patent at the expiration of the twenty-five year trust, he had the authority to cancel a trust patent. While this decision applies to all trust patents, it was rendered in the case of an allottee under the Fourth Section of the General Severalty Act, which provides that any Indian whose tribe was not provided with land could settle upon any of the public lands of the United States not otherwise appropriated, and receive a patent therefor in like manner as provided for reservation Indians.

Hundreds of Indians throughout the country took advantage of this law and settled upon the public domain, and improved their holdings for a home, in many instances expending large sums of money thereon, only to be deprived of their holdings under the decision of the Secretary of the Interior during the year 1900, as

stated, which will stand as the law of the land until reversed by the courts or annulled by Act of Congress. This decision works especial hardship upon mixed-blood Indians, who comprise the greater number of those seeking allotments out of the public domain. The application of the principle of law is made retroactive, for we find that although the Act of 1888 provided that children born of marriages solemnized after that date between white men and Indian women should be citizens of the United States, in the year 1896 it was decided by the Secretary that all children born of mixed marriages, irrespective of the date of the marriage, should be debarred from allotments on public lands. This later decision seems most unjust, depriving, as it does, the Indian allottee of the fruits of his labor and expenses incurred in building up a home for himself and family.

It may be said in reply to this that the Secretary of the Interior will not cancel a trust patent where the Indian has been faithful and honest in his relations with the Government. We know too well the influences that will surround these cases: the Indian is not acquainted with our mode of securing justice; has not the means, usually, to prosecute a case in court when the contest comes on for trial. There have already been many deserving Indians turned out of their holdings by this ruling, on technicalities of the law turning in favor of the white contestant.

A Case in Point.—I recall a case which has just been decided in the Land Office, Ashland, Wisconsin District. The lands are valuable on account of the pine timber thereon, being worth upward of ten thousand dollars. The claim is contested by a banker, who will hardly claim that he intends to live upon the land in dispute, yet he claims it for a homestead. The local Land Office decided a few days since in favor of the banker.

With political influence and corrupt methods being brought to bear by contestants it is an unequal contest, to which the allottee should not be subjected.

It seems that the Secretary of the Interior, in order to carry out the decision above noted, and those cases of a similar nature, to render the law retroactive as to the children born of marriages between white men and Indian women, determined to clothe himself with authority to cancel any "trust patent" issued by his department: hence followed the decision of September 25, 1900, already alluded to. The decision will work great hardship upon allottees upon reservations as well as upon the public domain. Since a trust patent may be canceled at any time previous to the expiration of twenty-five years, a contest may be commenced a short time previous to this limit; and the evidences that the allottee might have had in the beginning of right to his allotment may then be impossible to obtain, by reason of death of witnesses, etc., and he may lose his home in consequence. The Yankton Indian allotments afford a good illustration of the possible effect upon allottees. The tribe ceded to the Government all their

unallotted lands for a stipulated consideration. The Secretary of the Interior has held in a recent claim of the tribe that an allotment found to be erroneous did not revert to the tribe, but was the property of the Government, hence open to settlement; so that in any contest over other allotments, if the Indian owner could not in the next twenty-five years prove his right, the outside claimant would be awarded the lands that have been improved for a home by the allottee.

It will be recalled that in the year 1884 Congress authorized the extending of the provisions of the Homestead Act to Indians who settled upon the public lands, and authorized the payment of the usual Land Office fees by the United States, and that lands so homesteaded should be held in trust for twenty-five years. It was but three years later (1887) that the General Severalty Act became a law, and under Section Six thereof it is provided that the Indians who take up their residence separate and apart from an Indian reservation are thereby declared to be citizens of the United States. I do not suppose a single person in this audience who is familiar with the circumstances ever thought that Congress intended to thereby annul the provisions for Indian homestead entry, and more especially that the entries already made should be void so far as the twenty-five year trust period is concerned. Yet such is the decision of the Secretary of the Interior.

The Act of 1884, under which the homestead was secured, required that the Indian should have abandoned the reservation and dwelt upon the land in order to secure the homestead; while, on the other hand, the commissioner of the General Land Office holds that by reason of abandoning the tribal relation and dwelling upon the lands homesteaded he is a citizen under the clause of the General Severalty Act, and, therefore, not amenable to the restrictive clause wherein his lands are held by the Government, so that he is at liberty to dispose of them at once. This later decision is supported by the findings of Judge Hanford, of the United States Court (*U. S. vs. Saunders et al.*, 96, Fed. Rep. 268), in which he held that an Indian complying with the terms of this section of the General Severalty Act "was a citizen of the United States, entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of such citizens, including the right to buy, sell, and convey the title."

Under this decision of Judge Hanford it is stated that numbers of the Indians in the Northwest who secured homestead lands are encumbering or conveying the same already, notwithstanding they hold such lands under the restrictions of the "trust patent."

A large percentage of Indian allotments are made under special Acts of Congress, so that the same ruling will apply under a reasonable interpretation of the law; and may we not go still further with as much reason, and conclude that the Severalty Act itself, providing for allotments in trust, in a separate paragraph clothed such allottee with citizenship, so that all allottees are free "to buy, sell, and convey the title?"

Unfortunately the trouble has apparently only begun, for we find that the State of California, relying upon the weakness of the Indian trust patent, has assessed taxes upon an Indian homestead that was improperly executed, and the Land Department has decided that they cannot issue a new trust patent covering the lands involved. In this case Sampson Grant possesses a home, and is surrounded with many of the comforts of life; has planted trees now bearing fruit, has swine, fowl, and horses, and is said to be clean and industrious. The taxes already amount to \$200, and the owner was relying upon his trust patent exempting him from taxation, so that his home has been sold to the State, and it will require an effort to reclaim it.

It seems apparent that the friends of the Indian must appeal to the courts when practicable to test the validity of the decisions; and especially should this be done to secure a decision upon the question of the right of the Secretary of the Interior to cancel a "trust patent" at will. I hope that this Conference will urge by proper method that the laws be so amended that the Indian allottee will be protected in and under the "trust patent" during the period of tutelage; that the promise of the Government to hold his allotment in trust and convey the same to him at the determination of that period shall be kept inviolate. I wish to add that the Indian Office is protecting allottees in every possible manner.

THE GOVERNMENT DENYING THE INDIAN TITLE.

BY S. M. BROSIUS.

In his annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Col. James F. Randlett, Acting Indian Agent for the Kiowa Agency, Oklahoma Territory, says:—

It is apparent that the time has come when the righteous should, in praying for the interests of this agency, plead, "God save them from their friends," the Board of Indian Commissioners, and the Indian Rights Association; the latter having developed as the allies of grasping attorneys who seem bent upon robbing the Indians of the magnanimous provisions made for them by the Act of Congress of June 6, 1900, and establishing the fact that they are simply the wards of the Nation, subject in all their interests to the caprice of national legislation, and without legal rights to hold any landed possessions, except as the body politic from time to time may deem wise to establish for them; thus encouraging the constituents of legislators in Congress in beseeching that the possessions of the Indians of this agency may be taken from them, and engendering a want of confidence and distrust, which is disturbing the minds of the Indians, that has raised the question, What calamity have we to expect next?

Agent Randlett can best explain his motives for issuing this official misstatement of fact regarding the attitude of the Indian Rights Association in the suit instituted by Chief Lone Wolf and others, seeking to restrain the executive officers of the Government from carrying out the law of Congress providing for the disposal of the surplus lands of the tribe without tribal consent.

On account of the issues involved in the Lone Wolf suit against the Secretary of the Interior *et al.*, by reason of which it was advanced upon the docket of the Supreme Court of the United States and argued on October 23, 1902, their narration may prove of interest to the public, and more especially to the friends of the Indian.

The Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache Indian tribes hold their lands under treaty compact entered into in 1868, which provides that the district of country described "shall be, and the same is hereby, set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the tribes herein named," etc. It is in evidence by both military and civilian officers of the Government that unjust and illegal efforts were made during the negotiations with the Commission appointed to secure the cession of lands by the Indians, to secure the consent of the tribes. This was in the year 1892. The alleged agreement passed the House of Representatives two or more times, but failed in the Senate, until a bill was rushed through both Houses of Congress and became a law January 6, 1900.

It was conclusively shown by the Secretary of the Interior (Senate Doc. No. 76, 56th Congress, 1st Session) that the necessary three fourths of the male adult members of the tribes had not signed the alleged agreement, yet it was ratified by Congress after vital amendments had been incorporated in the measure, without any provision for submitting the amendments to the tribe for ratification. This is thought to be the first instance in which Congress has amended an Indian agreement without the alterations being submitted to the tribe for ratification. In brief, it was a confiscation of millions of acres of land purchased by the Indians for a consideration from the Government, and held by solemn treaty contract thereunder.

There seems to be no precedent nor authority for such action on the part of Congress or the Executive. The United States Supreme Court has uniformly held that Indian treaties regarding lands must be respected, and that "the right of the Indians as to their occupancy is as sacred as that of the United States to the fee."

The Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache tribes applied to the Courts of the District of Columbia for an injunction to restrain the Government officers from executing the law. The request was denied in the two lower courts. The Court of Appeals, in March last, in denying the petition of the complainants, held in brief that

... reservations are held by the Indians subject to the control and dominion of the United States, and such Indian tribes are subject to be changed from one locality or reservation to another, as may best serve the purpose and policy of the Government in the administration of Indian Affairs. They have no title in the lands they occupy, except in certain cases where treaties of settlement may have conferred a title in the land. Their right is simply to occupy at the will of the Government and under its protection.

This doctrine being so revolutionary and apparently so unjust, and applicable to the lands and funds of our entire Indian population, the Indian Rights Association appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the brief and argument of the appellants it was shown to the Court that the Indians renounced as fraudulent the agreement upon which was based the legislation of Congress, so that from that time "there was no meeting of the minds of the contracting parties," and hence no binding contract. This, together with the lack of the requisite number of signers and the material changes in the agreement by the law-making power, rendered the contract void. Is it not humiliating to see the Secretary of the Interior contending against the rights of the Indians even so far as to introduce technical points of law into the controversy?

If the Supreme Court decides that Congress can with impunity dispose of Indian lands without first securing the consent of the tribes interested, we may look forward to the early confiscation of the remaining reservations, and their early settlement by homestead entry or otherwise, the remuneration, if any, being subject to the will of Congress.

THE EVIL OF LICENSING TRADERS AMONG INDIANS.

BY S. M. BROSIUS.

One of the greatest needs of the hour is to free the Indians as citizens from the circumscribed rules and restraints of the reservation life of a generation ago. In no direction is this more essential than in the matter of trading.

In former days, when large numbers of Indians were confined within reservation limits, it was necessary, no doubt, to have a closer surveillance of traders, but the system of licensing Indian traders as in vogue for many years is fertile with scandal. For several years the statute has provided that the privilege of trading among Indians should lie in the discretion of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the time-worn practice remaining to a large degree of authorizing the agent in charge of the various Indian tribes to recommend such persons as he should select as suitable to sojourn among Indians, the license to be granted by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

We realize that the Indian Office must depend upon its subordinates largely in carrying out any policy, so that abundant opportunity is afforded through such recommendations to secure the success of plans inimical to the Indian's interests.

With citizenship and allotments, the privileges given licensed traders in restraint of freedom in buying and selling do not comport with the Indian's advanced responsibilities. The present Commissioner of Indian Affairs promulgated the rule that where Indians are allotted no license shall be required; and yet we find that monopolies are frequently formed covering the unallotted tracts surrounding the agency and schools, and only favorites of the agent

admitted at time of payments being made to the Indians. Complaints come to us from all directions showing the need of taking the trade question out of politics.

For instance, an Indian woman at White Earth Agency wished to conduct a millinery store near the agency, but the licensed traders objecting, she was refused this privilege by the agent in charge of the Indians.

At La Pointe Agency no one save the favorite few are allowed to peddle beef in the Indian town of Odanah, nor to take orders for groceries, nor engage in any traffic that comes in competition with the monopoly of traders in that town.

As already stated, the Indian Office must depend upon its agents largely for carrying out any policy; hence it is powerless to remedy all the injustice. It is apparent that the relief must come, if at all, in a change of law. The present restrictive measures which govern should be repealed, and in lieu thereof greater liberty be allowed the Indian in buying and selling. The following form is suggested as outlining the need at the present time:—

Any person of good moral character, shall, upon application therefor, be granted a license by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to trade within any Indian reservation. *Provided*, That within reservations where Indians have been allotted lands in severalty, no such license shall be required of the Indian office as to the allotted portions thereof. *Provided further*, That in the disbursement of funds to Indians, no favoritism shall be shown any person in the collection of debts. Any violation of the provisions of this statute shall subject the guilty party to dismissal from office.

A beginning has been made in this direction by Congress, by authorizing applicants of good moral character to secure licenses upon application to the Indian Office for the purpose of trading within the Osage Reservation, Oklahoma Territory. It has been found to produce good results in this instance, and the experiment should be broadened into the rule.

A letter from Hon. H. L. Dawes, "the Nestor of Indian Affairs," was read by Mr. Smiley.

MY DEAR MR. SMILEY: I am compelled to apologize for absentsing myself from the Mohonk Conference after an invitation so many times repeated in terms so cordial as to be almost a command. I had hoped till the last moment that this would be unnecessary, and that I could bring with me in person all the apologies necessary for pardon. But work has stepped in between me and the pleasure I have so long anticipated. There lay on my table at this moment important papers from the Territory requiring such immediate attention as will not admit of a week's delay, even for recruiting at Mohonk, whence cometh our strength. Nothing reconciles me to this enforced absence but the command to work while the day lasts.

I have thought, however, that I might contribute something to the interest of those I cannot greet personally by some account of

the progress during the past year of the work in the Indian Territory, with which I am more especially connected. No one can understand the nature or need of the undertaking in which the United States, through a Commission, has been engaged in that Territory, who fails to keep in mind the difference between it and all the other Indian reservations in the United States. The Supreme Court has decided that while white men who discover and appropriate any territory, however extensive, acquire an indefeasible title thereto, and the right to govern it as they please, the American Indian cannot; but though they may have occupied their reservations, from a time no one knows how long before Columbus set a white foot on this continent, they gain no other title but that of occupancy as a tribe. Moreover, they lose this title the moment that kind of occupancy—that is, as a tribe of Indians—ceases, and another form of occupancy is adopted. Even allotment to each other of separate parts, by agreement among themselves alone, would forfeit any Indian title.

But the territory of the Five Civilized Tribes is no such reservation. It was created by the United States out of whole cloth, if I may use that phrase, by statute, out of unoccupied land, and all the title to it and all the civil rights to govern it were granted by that statute to the Indian residents. There is no other reservation of Indians, or even commonwealth of white men or black men, like it. All these rights—both the land title and self-government—are vested rights, and cannot be taken from them or modified in any particular without their consent, except by force.

The work of the Commission has been to obtain the consent of these Indians to exchange their communal title to their lands for an allotment system of individual holdings, and their government for a territorial government by the United States, like that of existing Territories. The Commission was powerless till that consent was obtained. Last year I was able to say to you that four of the five tribes had given their consent to all necessary changes, and had by agreement fixed the time when the Indian government should be exchanged for a territorial government of the United States. One tribe, the Cherokees, had refused from the beginning to agree to any change. But during the past year there has been a great change of opinion among the Cherokees as well as, in some important particulars, among the other tribes, enabling the Commission to make greater progress than at any other time during its work. They have now substantially the co-operation, instead of the opposition, of the large majority of Indian citizens.

The Cherokees, who have up to this time refused to change, clung with a tenacity one cannot but admire to the homes and government granted them seventy-four years ago,—an exchange made in payment for homes left behind in Georgia, out of which they have been driven as punishment for harboring teachers who persisted in teaching them to read the Bible. These Cherokees, having put away the idea that it meant extinction, have during the past year

entered into an agreement which has been ratified by their people and Congress, bringing them up in front of the other tribes, and in some respects improving on provisions found defective in the agreements which have been made with them.

The Commission, with the hearty co-operation of the Cherokees themselves, have been carrying out the provisions of this agreement since its ratification, and have so far brought its present requirements to completion that every Cherokee entitled to an allotment can see on a chart the appraised value of the whole territory of the tribe, and how much he will be entitled to in division by equality of value without regard to the number of acres. He can also see thereon the land divided into classes according to value by the acre, and how many acres he will be entitled to if his allotment is taken in either of the divisions made according to value. He can have a copy of this chart to aid him in making his selection if he desires it. Each allotment will contain a homestead of forty acres, inalienable and untaxable for twenty-five years, unless upon a hearing by the Court the sale shall be adjudged for the best interest of the holder. I may say that the homestead is smaller in this reservation than in the others, because the Cherokees have already sold much of their land.

All this has been accomplished with a tribe which till now has refused to listen to the proposed changes. And meantime the work has been carried on with the other four tribes along lines heretofore agreed upon with increased vigor till its completion now appears near at hand.

No portion of this work of lifting the Five Tribes from the deplorable condition into which they had sunk during the seventy years they had been left to their own ways is more encouraging and full of hope in their future than the provision for education which has been inaugurated in connection with and a part of the other work of the Commission. The United States owns no public lands in this Territory, as in all the other Territories, a portion of which has been in them set apart for the support of schools. But in the treaties with the Five Tribes that important provision, like everything else, had been left to their own management. The consequence was that when this work was undertaken there was no provision for schools except for Indian children,—and these scant enough of everything but the name,—while the children in white families, numbering then about thirty thousand, were unprovided for, and could get no other education than a poor pioneer could pay for from the slim pittance of daily earnings. The consequences sure to follow the growing up of so many children in ignorance and unrestraint are fearful to contemplate. All this has been changed, and in the agreements made with each of the tribes schools open to all have been provided for, under the control and management of a superintendent and teachers appointed by the United States, and supported from resources of the Territory which have hitherto gone largely into private pockets. It is no extra-

gant comparison to say that in this brief time the school facilities will compare favorably in quantity and quality with those in any of the organized Territories which have had the public lands to aid in their establishment.

There are other minor details rendered necessary in securing the full benefits of the basic plan governing all these agreements. An account of these might be of interest, but I cannot ask you to listen further. The whole plan is being carried forward with encouraging progress, and is drawing to an early completion.

If the building of a state may be in any respect likened to the building of a great edifice for posterity, the promoters of this work may already discern in the near future the outlines of a completed structure, whose rise from its foundation they have watched and guarded with untiring solicitude. Under their watchful eye its foundations have been laid with no untempered mortar, and into its walls neither haste nor scamping has forced any element of weakness, and the finish, now near at hand, in full harmony with its beginning, is well assured. There is hardly anything so challenging our admiration and wonder in our time as the growth of a State—sprung up from causes we cannot see, and trained and fed by influences and elements whose sources and effect we can neither see nor determine. We nevertheless observe a silent growth, as of the infant's limbs, and development of character diversified as in our own lives until the fully developed statehood demands its place and opportunity in the Union for the free exercise of that influence for which its origin and training have fitted it. However widely it differs in tendency from those it is to join, it thereby adds to that diversity in influences which contribute so largely to the strength of the Union itself.

Of the forty-five States now constituting the Union, I have witnessed fourteen spring into being out of the solitudes of the public domain, and grow into maturity of strength and stability of purpose, taking their places in the family of States, among the foremost in character and influence. With some study and knowledge of the elements of greatness and power existing in the Indian Territory, developing with surprising celerity, I do not hesitate to say that in no one of those which I have seen put on the habiliments, and gird on the armor of statehood, did these elements exist in greater abundance and in greater promise of early development than in the Indian Territory. I am confident in the belief that those who will meet here in the near future will find that this beautiful land will constitute another of the States of the Union, adding to its greatness among the nations and to the glory of the stars on its flag.

With greetings to those who will meet with you this week in conference for the best good of the Indian race, and my congratulations on the encouraging progress of the good work, I am, my dear sir,

Truly yours,

H. L. DAWES.

PITTSFIELD, MASS., October 20, 1902.

Mrs. A. S. Quinton, President, was invited to speak of the work of the Women's National Indian Association.

In responding, Mrs. QUINTON said: During the last year our Association has dropped the word "Women's" from our name, returning to its original title; is now a mixed association, and we hope it will become much more mixed.

I visited the Yumas, of California, in March. Most of the Indians there were living down in a deep basin with an inch or two of dust over it all; and even in the homes, where every floor was an earth floor, the same dust prevailed. The Indians should be located upon the higher land. In the spring the rains raise the rivers and they overflow their home land. They have deep mud a part of the year, and that terrible dust the balance of the time. How they can possibly live in it is a mystery to anyone knowing anything of physiology. The people have a mind to work, but no facilities for labor. The land where they are could not be cultivated. What they most need is a friend; some one who will really care for them, teach them, plan for them. They have a school under government care, and good work is done under an excellent superintendent, but he could do much better work with better facilities. I believe they are expecting these in the near future. I found the people much brighter than I supposed them to be. One was a plumber working for white men, and his mother represented the best intelligence of the tribe; yet when we were talking about gambling she said, "Oh, well, you know the money that is made on the game is used to make a feast, and all the others are called in to enjoy it." This, she thought, lessened the evil. She only reflected the teaching of the country.

From that Arizona edge I went to Martinez, in the California desert, and there found the Indians making real progress since my previous visits. One could do a variety of civilized work, doctor a sewing machine and other machines. They were in the real desert, and showed most pitiable need of law protection and help in civilizing work, though the people were doing better than could reasonably be expected. They have no water supply save a few surface wells; have asked for an artesian well, for which I carried their prayers to Washington four years ago. They need not only the water supply, but fences, and legal defences. Their cattle are constantly borrowed by white neighbors and never returned. They have several little villages, with one or two hundred souls in some of them. Their number is not large. They should be out of the desert with the rest of their tribe near Banning; but they love the desert as their home, and with wells, surveys, and fences they would be self-supporting and happy. They are doing all they can, and their petitions to Government are very earnest, intelligent, pathetic. They invited me to a council with them, and I heard the stories of eight or ten of their leading men, who spoke of the large number of ponies they had raised, and said: "White man come

settle near; we think we make money when we sell ponies to the white man. White man take the cattle, drive them into his pound, keep them, and no pay. We have no fences to mark our line." They are begging for surveys, that they may know their own lines and keep within them; and their losses are and must be constant without the surveys and fences. Out of a dozen ponies, in more than one instance, eight or nine had been carried off, and there was no redress. The food of the people? Well, I should not like to tell you what it is in time of need,—crawling creatures and all sorts of things. Yet they have intelligence, and desire education. I was astonished to see how much they know of the white man's way, and how well convinced they are of its superiority. At one time our Association had a mission there, but passed it over to a permanent Home Missionary Society, as is our custom when a mission is established. This one went to the Moravians; and the station has an ideal pair of missionaries, who are getting along well in industrial and all other work. The Indians are more faithful to church duties than some of our own churches, and they appreciate what is being done for them.

I visited the Mission Indians at Warner's Ranch in May, at their request, and found, as I had been previously informed, that they were determined to go to Washington to plead for their own homes against dispossession and removal. I have seen many pathetic Indian situations, but that one was harder to endure than most of them. They had lost their lands and homes simply through ignorance of technicalities. They had had no friend to explain to them at the right time that they must appear at a given date, at a certain place, and make claim to their land. Not knowing this, they did not appear, and so lost all. They said, "We think we ought to go to Washington to plead for ourselves, for our homes, our own land; for *it is our land*." They had voted to go to Washington before I heard of it, but did not intend to go until the work of the Commission, appointed to help select a new home for them, was done.

In all these cases, as in many others, I saw things which I think every friend of Indians has felt for the last few years, and that is that this whole reservation system should end. It is time that it should end. As things are, the frauds will go on; corruption will not cease; the encroachments of the white man will continue so long as Indians are on reservations and under agents. What is imperatively needed is the final closing up of the so-called Indian question. The process will not be too hurried. The way is to abolish the reservations by making them no longer needful; by doing away with the agencies as fast as that can safely be done, thus getting all Indians into our general citizenship. The only questions are "how" and "when." The members of our Association, especially the experienced ones, believe that the time for temporary half measures has gone by. We have been lopping off branches; what is wanted now is "the axe at the root of the tree."

The Government has done magnificent things; but what is wanted now is to bring all Indians into United States citizenship without needless delay. If the agencies can be abolished as fast as is safe, it will take but few years to abolish all. We have been told on high official authority that at least twenty Indian agencies could now well be spared; that Indians would be better off without them, and that the white race would also be safer. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs recently asked for the dismissal of eight agencies, but politicians could not spare so many salaries, and only three were abolished. This matter should be seriously investigated and the work hurried.

Then there should come the individual payment of debts due to Indians for their land sales. Thirty-three and a third millions of dollars are yet unpaid. The interest is paid to them, but the white man's palm is extended for too much of it. He claims it, often fraudulently, for personal debts. Much of it goes for strong drink or gambling, and if some loss were to come from a speedy payment of the whole debt, *pro rata* to individual Indians, things would not be worse than now. With the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, we believe that it should be paid *pro rata* to each Indian when he reaches a certain age, or to his family at his death.

With the end of the Indian agency, the payment of debts to Indians, the making them in fact United States citizens, and putting their children in the public school, our grandchildren will forget that there has ever been an Indian question.

ALASKA.

BY DR. SHELDON JACKSON.

I am allowed thirty minutes in which to speak for one fifth of the United States! Consequently I shall have to deal in generalities rather than in details.

Alaska is in a transition condition. Ten years ago it was considered out of the world; to-day it is in the center of that marvelous movement looking to the development of the commerce of the Pacific,—the halfway house between California, Oregon, and Washington, and Siberia, Japan, China, and the Philippines.

When two or three years ago there came a crisis in the war with Spain, and it became necessary to send additional troops to the Philippines in the shortest possible time, the great army transports, loaded with men and munitions of war, were sent from Seattle to Manila by way of Alaska as the shortest route to Manila. From Seattle to Manila, by the way of the Aleutian Islands, is one thousand miles shorter than by the way of the Hawaiian Islands.

Travelers *en route* between Asia and America on clear days have magnificent views of the rugged, snow-crowned peaks of the Aleutian Islands.

In recognition of the movement of commerce, the Government has set apart land on Amaknak Island, Alaska, for a naval coaling station.

Alaska's transition is also manifest in its changing resources. Twenty years ago the only thing considered of value in Alaska was its furs. To-day the fur trade is practically extinct; but in place thereof we have gold and silver, copper, tin, coal, and oil, for a "gusher" has been struck this fall. There are even agricultural products. I know everybody looks skeptical about that, but since the Government has established an agricultural experiment station there it has been demonstrated that Alaska has agricultural possibilities.

There is a transition in the population. In my early addresses at the annual conferences of the friends of the Indians I congratulated myself that I had found a region where the white man would never want to go and the native would never be displaced; but the time has come, and the transition has commenced. The native is fading away before the thousands and tens of thousands that are coming rapidly into that country. The mining district practically covers the whole of it—a region as large as New England, the Middle, and Western States combined. The "Klondike" itself is just over the edge on the Canadian side of the international boundary line. From the "Klondike" the mining region passes westward two thousand miles across Alaska, until another center is found at Nome, near to Bering Strait. Nome sends out \$10,000,000 worth of gold this year, and the hardy miners and prospectors are pushing hundreds of miles north of the Arctic Circle. As I was leaving Nome, a few weeks ago, a vessel was departing loaded with prospectors, who expected to spend the winter five hundred miles north of the Arctic Circle. There has scarcely been a stream found in Central Alaska where men have not found gold. The question is whether it is in sufficient quantities to pay for working.

Yes; a transition in population has come. The white men are pouring in, and with them whiskey and syphilitic diseases, and the native population is fading away before them. In the past four years in the Seward Peninsula—a region larger than New England—it is estimated that from one third to one half of the entire Eskimo population has gone down to death. It was not all due to whiskey and disease; but their systems had been so weakened, that when, in 1900, "grip" and measles came, they simply died. There is also a transition in the character of the mission work. In the seventies and early eighties the population of Alaska was almost exclusively aboriginal, and this shaped the lines of mission work. Hereafter mission work to the Aborigines will gradually lose its present prominence, and church work for the whites will become more and more prominent.

There are in Alaska, among the aboriginal population, four principal families. All intelligent people are acquainted with the fact that Greenland and Labrador are peopled with Eskimo; but com-

paratively few realize that the Eskimo extend across the American Continent from Labrador to Bering Strait, and from Bering Strait south to the Aleutian Islands, and from Unimak Pass along the North Pacific Coast almost to the base of Mount St. Elias in Southeastern Alaska, so that the three great ocean sides of Alaska are occupied by Eskimo or InnuIt population. They are a seafaring people.

Passing from the coasts into the interior of Alaska we find the beginning of the Athabaskan family, extending across the continent from Central Alaska down to Minnesota.

Inhabiting the Aleutian Islands are the Aleuts, a very small people in number, for they were almost exterminated by Russian civilization. It is one of the interesting facts of history, that when our American Revolution was just beginning the Aleut Revolution was just coming to a close. Ours lasted eight years; theirs for fifty years. For half a century the native people of the Aleutian group fought the power of Russia, and only succumbed after almost the entire population was annihilated.

Then in Southeastern Alaska are the ten tribes of the Thlingets, speaking a common language. Missionary work and civilization commenced among the latter in 1877.

The Aleuts, having been under Russian civilization for a century, have been brought into the Russian Greek Church, and they are all baptized members of that church, adults and children. But the Eskimos, the Athabascans, and the Thlingets were still heathen at the commencement of the American occupation. Among the Thlingets mission work was commenced at Fort Wrangell, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, by Mrs. A. R. McFarland and myself, August 10, 1877. A few months ago a Roman Catholic father came and commenced the work of that church in Alaska. The success of the Presbyterian missions in Southeastern Alaska among the natives was so great as to attract the attention of the entire Christian world. Stimulated by this success, the other great missionary societies commenced preparations to also open missions at Fort Wrangell and Sitka at the side of the Presbyterians.

The establishment of these several missions among so few people (1,500) would be a waste of men and money, and the introduction of the diversities that exist among us a hindrance to mission work.

To prevent this a convention was called at the Methodist Book Rooms, January, 1880, of the various missionary societies, and an equitable division of the field was allotted to the different denominations. The Presbyterians, being already established in Southeastern Alaska, that field was assigned to them. Since 1877 they have spent \$750,000 in their efforts to elevate, civilize, and Christianize the natives of Southeastern Alaska, which shows the energy and zeal that they have put into this work. They have had fruit, of course; they have seven native churches with over one thousand native communicants, and have now a second generation started in Christian citizenship. There has been a continuous

religious revival in that section for three years. Eighteen months ago an old chief, who raised a rebellion in 1877, gave his own heart to Christ, and is throwing the same fire into his evangelistic work for the benefit of his relatives as he did into his persecution of Christian natives.

The Baptists took their field 622 miles west on Wood Island, near the Kenai Peninsula, west of Sitka, embracing Kodiak and adjacent islands, Kenai Peninsula, and the regions bordering on Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound. Their first mission was erected on Wood Island, in the harbor of Kodiak.

Prince William Sound is the coming center of Alaska; a region in which Valdez will be the largest town. The route from Valdez to Eagle is to have a telegraph line established by the Government. Eagle is in telegraphic communication with Lake Mohonk. There are large copper mines north of Valdez. From Skagway, in Southeastern Alaska, a railway crosses the mountains 120 miles, and will ultimately be continued down the Yukon Valley to Bering Strait. The children of to-day will, some of them, live to take a sleeper in New York, and go to Paris through a tunnel under Bering Strait. Two islands, one belonging to the United States and one to Russia, lie in the Strait. Thus the citizens of the United States and citizens of Russia live within a couple of miles of each other, and the United States is bounded on the west by Russia.

Six hundred and twenty-two miles west of the Baptists at Wood Island is Unalaska, the center of the Methodist field, where they have established a good, strong, efficient work, built out of the waifs who have been discarded by the Russian-Greek church. The Methodist field extends the whole length of the Aleutian Islands. Their orphanage at Unalaska has been named the Jesse Lee Home.

The Moravians went 840 miles to the northeast of Unalaska and selected the valleys of the Kuskokwim and Nushagak Rivers, where they have secured a large following. In some of their villages they have evening vespers every night. When bedtime comes the church bell rings, and the entire population, except the little ones, go to church; and a young man, who has been taught a little English, reads a passage from the Bible, explains it in the native tongue, leads them in prayer in their own tongue, and they go home and go to bed. Where can you find a better record in New England or in New York or in the most favored place in the United States?

On the Delta and in the valley of the great Yukon the Roman Catholics have a number of missions. Their principal station and leading schools are at Holy Cross Mission, 410 miles from the mouth of the river.

In the same Yukon Valley are the principal missions of the Alaskan natives of the Episcopal Church; the best equipped of which are at Anvik, 457 miles from the mouth of the river; St. James Mission, 897 miles; and Fort Yukon, 1,353 miles. The

Church of England has maintained missions for nearly sixty or seventy years on the Canadian side of the boundary line.

One hundred and fifty miles north of Anvik is the successful mission of the Swedish Evangelical Church at Unalaklik, and a few miles farther west, on Golofnin Bay, their second mission.

Two hundred miles west of Golofnin is located at Teller Reindeer Station, Port Clarence, an orphanage of the Norwegian Lutheran Synod of North America. The orphanages at Teller, Golofnin and Unalaklik largely grew out of the epidemic of 1900, when so many Eskimo died and the missionaries took charge of the orphan children.

One hundred miles west of Teller, at Cape Prince of Wales, on Bering Strait, facing Asia, is the mission of the American Missionary Association (Congregational). At this point they have built up a good, strong church from unpromising Eskimo elements.

Two hundred miles northeast of the Congregationalists in the Arctic Ocean is the "Friends'" Mission at Kotzebue. The Friends also have missions at Douglass and Kaake in Southeast Alaska.

Two hundred miles northwest of the Friends is an Episcopal Mission at Point Hope; and three hundred and fifty miles north of the Arctic Circle is a Presbyterian Mission at Point Barrow, being the second most northern mission station on earth; Upernavick, Greenland, being twenty miles farther north. At Point Barrow are a Presbyterian missionary and wife and a Government teacher and wife.

Two hundred and fifty miles south of Bering Strait and within forty miles of the main coast of Asia is Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, a mission station of the Presbyterian Church. Point Barrow, Point Hope, and Gambell have practically but one mail and one communication a year with the outside world. The Rev. and Mrs. S. R. Spriggs, of Point Barrow, have returned to the States for the first time in three years, and through the hospitality of Mr. Smiley will be here to-morrow. He and his bride went out from New York, and have spent three years separated from all the world, with a mail once a year brought by the Government revenue cutter. They have come to rest for a year, though I do not think the calls of the churches for mission addresses will give them much rest.

What are the results of these missions? From five to ten thousand of the native population, through these various organizations, have been brought more or less under gospel influences. Three or four thousand can be classed among those that we call communicants, and many thousands of the children are in school.

In addition to the mission schools, the United States Government has twenty-eight public schools, of which probably twenty are exclusively for the natives.

If you ask the average miner the result of missionary work, he will tell you that there are no results whatever from these twenty-

five years' work of the churches in Alaska. He does not stop to think that he is in that country as the result of that work. During the past few years many thousands of white men have gone from all parts of this country to the Alaska gold mines. Some of them have penetrated hundreds of miles north of the Arctic Circle, and have found that if they treat the natives fairly they can go anywhere in safety. If the miner is starving the native will divide with him his last bit of fish. Why is it that the white man can go everywhere? The miner will tell you that it is because the people are so docile, but his knowledge of American history is very slight. As late as 1877 Sitka was a fortified town, guarded by a detachment of United States troops, and every night before sundown the guard was turned out to search and see that no native was inside the stockade. The gates were barred and locked until sunrise the next morning. The miner does not remember that at St. Michael was another Russian post with stockade, and that as late as 1880 they did not consider themselves safe from the native population. When the United States sent a scientific expedition to Point Barrow under the charge of an army officer they had a mounted cannon trained on the native village. Only twelve years ago (1890) it was proposed to establish a mission at Bering Strait, and place a couple of men up there, two thousand miles from any policeman or any court or other protection. People said the revenue cutter will not be out of sight before they are both massacred. No whaler for ten years had dared drop anchor at that point over night, although some of them had large crews armed with Winchester rifles and guns. But the Congregational Church placed two men there, and they were left without any protection for twelve months, except the protection of God; and the mission has made it safe for whaler or miner. One of those young men has just resigned after thirteen years' service, because the six children that have been born there needed better educational facilities than they could have in that part of the country. Another young man, his wife and mother-in-law and children, have gone to take the vacated place. Now a miner can drop in and spend the night or a dozen nights in perfect safety in that place, because missions have been established there ten or fifteen years. Yet these very miners whose lives have been spared will tell you that missions are a complete failure in Alaska. They will point out the group of natives, dirty and ragged, with unkempt children, and say, "Do you think ye can do anything with them?" A gentleman coming down from the mines five years ago, a Chicago millionaire, called at the Methodist Mission school at Unalaska, and saw an Aleut girl, her father being dead and her mother an ignorant, dissolute, drinking woman. The gentleman said he wished he could take the child to Chicago. He did so, and put her in the best public school in the city. There were 1,200 children in that school of our best American citizenship, and that girl stood side by side with these 1,200 children for five years,

passing from the third to the eighth grade. Last spring, at the close of the eighth grade, she took the gold medal at the head of that school. A competitor of that poor Aleut girl was the daughter of the President of Chicago's Board of Education. And yet we are told that you cannot do anything with them.

Many of you remember young Marsden, a pure-blooded native of Alaska, who, a few years ago, came to Mohonk to plead for his people, and the Conference helped him through his college course at Marietta. Afterwards, in Cincinnati, he took a course in law and one in theology at the same time,—a man of master mind, that seemed to grasp whatever it took hold of. To-day, in South-eastern Alaska, with his little launch, *The Marietta*, the Rev. Edward Marsden is preaching to his people in eighteen different places, carrying the gospel into all that region of Alaska,—a master workman that no church would be ashamed to have in any presbytery. And yet you are told that "you cannot do anything with those dirty brats!"

Another girl taken from Sitka to New Jersey is now a young woman who will stand side by side with the better class of our American womanhood in her intellectuality. She would be admitted to any Browning Club in Boston. For the last ten years she has been in Alaska teaching among her own people. She is named Frances Willard for that noble woman of whom you have all heard. She has taken the Thlinget language and reduced it scientifically to a written language for the first time, and her Thlinget and English Grammar and Vocabulary is ready for the publisher. And yet "you cannot do anything with those brats!" Two of the native young men who came out of the Sitka school went to a salmon cannery and saved their wages, bought merchandise, and started a store with \$200. A trader in the neighborhood wanted them to go into partnership with him, but they declined. Then he tried to undersell them and put his prices down below cost, but the friends of those boys stood by them, and when their stock was used up their friends bought goods from the other trader at the reduced price and turned them over to those boys. They might have kept it up to this time if the trader had not found it out, and learned also that he could not "freeze out those brats." They amassed \$1,000, bought machinery for a steam sawmill, and are doing a large business in making boxes for the canneries and in supplying white men with lumber.

Other boys have learned carpentry at the Sitka school, and at least one hundred and fifty of the "brats" that have gone out from the Sitka school are making their own living and are respected citizens of the United States in that country. And this work is going on. If the churches in the different denominations had done more work there would have been more of these scholars. It is a question of environment and not of heredity in Alaska. They have the intellect; they only need the chance to become honest citizens of this country. That is what we are pleading of the churches and

the Government to give us,—more facilities, that the remnant of this people so rapidly passing away may be brought into Christian citizenship.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—I do not see upon the map before us any places where the Russian Church is doing work. The Russian Church had been working in Alaska for a hundred years. I am impressed with the greatness and humanity of Russia. I know myself personally the Bishop of Alaska and the work he is doing. I think it is a matter of regret that we should be left with the impression that the Russian Church is doing no work there or bad work.

Dr. JACKSON.—This map was not designed to show all of the mission stations. It was made to show the mission work of the Protestant churches. The Roman Catholics have many stations which are not marked here. There would not be room on the map to put in all the Greek chapels where services are conducted by natives. The gentleman says that he is acquainted with the Russian work in Alaska. I trust he has read the United States census report of 1880, wherein the Bishop of the Russian-Greek Church, Innocentius Venisminoff, a remarkable man, a man afterwards made Metropolitan of the entire Russian-Greek Church,—the highest position obtainable in that church,—has written a history of the Russian occupation of Alaska; and a more bitter arraignment of the Russian government and Russian civilization and the treatment of the natives cannot be found on the pages of history than that written by the highest prelate of the Russian-Greek Church. I know the present Russian-Greek Bishop. He is a good man, the best man they have had in that country for twenty-five years. If he is continued for ten years he will make a complete change in the condition of the Russian-Greek Church among those people; but in the past it has not been a record that the Russian-Greek Church itself has been proud of. They have a very few schools, and the teaching has been largely in the Russian language. Up to within the last three years a large proportion of the Russian priests have opposed English education. They have fought the government public schools right and left. The present bishop is trying to make a change. The priest at Unalaska has a charge that extends a thousand miles, and only gets around once a year, and not always that. It is impossible for one man to take care of all the souls in a group of islands a thousand miles long. The work has to be left to ignorant Aleuts, who read the service in the chapels. The gentleman who has spoken will find in my published maps that the Greek mission stations are printed as well as of all other denominations.

Mr. SMILEY.—We are now without a presiding officer, as Bishop Potter has had to leave to meet engagements in Philadelphia. Dr. Gates, who has served us so well for many years, asked to be excused from acting as president this year. I have therefore selected for your approbation another man, who has had a great deal of experience in Indian affairs and a great and intelligent interest in the Indians; who has been a member of Congress, and was active in carrying every good measure through while there; a man of level head, good, strong will and purpose. I nominate Hon. S. J. Barrows as presiding officer.

Mr. Barrows was unanimously elected, and in accepting the chair made a brief speech, of which the following is an abstract.

Hon. SAMUEL J. BARROWS.—*Ladies and Gentlemen:* I thank you for the honor conferred on me in calling me to the responsibilities of this office. Having known for many years the spirit and purpose of this Conference,—what it has sought to do and what it has achieved,—I appreciate fully what this honor means. But I feel a little embarrassed in taking this position. I am afraid that in following Bishop Potter I shall weaken your faith in the apostolic succession so far as this office is concerned. As a humble dissenter I should have been glad to take orders of the bishop; but he has gone away without leaving any, and I shall be obliged to take, therefore, my orders from the Conference in the usual congregational way. But the bishop has not left us without leaving his benediction.

After a few pleasantries, and after paying a tribute to the eloquence, tact, and wide knowledge of Dr. Merrill E. Gates, who for ten years had presided over the Conference, Mr. Barrows said that, like the Areopagus at Athens, Mohonk had come to be associated with a great message and an impressive personality,—a message of brotherhood, love, and peace. Here the torch had been lighted for the Negro, the Indian, and the needy races of our land, and here the light of peace had gone out through the country and had even been reflected abroad. In closing he referred to some reasons for encouragement in relation to the Indian problem: one was, that in the person of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Jones, they had a man at Washington who, in spite of the manifold difficulties of his arduous office, was earnest and vigilant in applying the principles of justice and righteousness to Indian affairs; the other reason was that we have at the head of the nation a man who stands for civic righteousness, and who has the courage to stand by his convictions. In no place will the proceedings of the Mohonk Conference be received with more respect and more interest than at the White House.

Mr. FRANK WOOD.—It is undoubtedly true that the proceedings of this Conference have helped to bring about the change in public sentiment in favor of Indian reform which has been referred to.

We have annually published a carefully prepared and well-printed report for nineteen years. A copy is sent to every member of the Conference. It is also sent to newspapers, colleges, libraries, and editors, and it is drawn upon for information, which makes public sentiment. The publication of this report is dependent upon the contributions of the members here—the only expense which Mr. Smiley allows us to meet. I shall, therefore, as treasurer, be found sitting at the receipt of customs.

Adjourned at 12.30 P. M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Night, October 22, 1902.

The session was called to order at 8 P. M. by the President, S. J. Barrows.

Mr. BARROWS.—*Ladies and Gentlemen:* The Business Committee has appointed as the subject for this evening the "Educational and Industrial Work among the Indians." It is very interesting and satisfactory to reflect that from the very beginning of the history of this country you find an educational and a missionary movement going on at the same time with those enterprises which were purely commercial, and with other influences which tended rather to degrade the Indian than to lift him up. From the very beginning the forces to crush and the forces to elevate were working together. You see it in New England. The Puritans came charged with the purpose not only of finding a new opportunity for their own special beliefs, but also for educating and converting the Indians. The great historic church, the Roman Catholic Church, had the same idea and the same purpose, and began very early in the history of this country to try to educate and convert the Indians, and very interesting are the records. Mr. Parkman and other historians have given the records of the self-sacrifice with which that work was conducted. When I think of that I think of an experience I had on the plains many years ago when I was with the army, with General Stanley and General Custer, on the Yellowstone Expedition. We were far beyond civilization, in a hostile Indian country, and where we had several encounters with the Indians, I am sorry to say. One day, as we were looking back over the plain, we saw an interesting object in the distance that we could not make out. As we watched it came nearer and nearer, and we discovered that it was a horse and buggy, and over the top of the buggy was a cross. When they came up we found that in the buggy was a Catholic priest, a missionary, who had traveled two hundred and ten miles alone through that Indian country, where hostile Indians were found everywhere, and where we lost at their hands several of our own men who wandered away from the camp. With the cross simply as his protection, this missionary had traveled safely through the land. This priest had before given evidence of his heroism in the Fort Snelling massacre, when in trying to help the garrison he seized an old stovepipe and mounted it to look like a cannon to threaten the Indians,—a sort of Quaker cannon.

Mr. SMILEY.—That is the only good kind.

Mr. BARROWS.—This priest illustrated the self-sacrifice and devotion of the church he represented. We are going to ask a representative of that church to open this discussion. He is not only a conspicuous leader in his own church, but he has been appointed by the President of the United States to take the position upon the Board of Indian Commissioners made vacant by the death of the beloved Bishop Whipple. I have pleasure in introducing Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia.

MISSION WORK AMONG THE INDIANS—SUPER-NATURAL BASIS OF PHILANTHROPY.

BY MOST REV. PATRICK J. RYAN, PHILADELPHIA.

Archbishop Ryan prefaced his address by stating that, having received the invitation to speak only that morning, he feared the address would not prove worthy of the distinguished assembly, and should be, in part at least, of a general character. He then said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I feel very much honored by the appointment of the President of the United States to succeed the venerable Bishop Whipple, of whom I have heard so much. I cannot promise to be as efficient, but I can promise, because I feel it, to be as devoted to the interests of these children of the forest, who have so few friends to minister to them. It is a great honor in this age and land to be a friend to the friendless, and I feel at home among you here, because I know that one feeling unites us.

I was greatly pleased with what I saw and heard this morning, especially by the manner in which you received the opinion that these Indians should, as soon as possible, be made citizens. I do not see why they should not; this will be a great solution of the problem. The colored people have had this privilege granted to them. Many feared at the time for the consequences, but they have done much better than was anticipated. We have some white people who are citizens who know much less about the country than the Indians, who, though not educated as we understand the term, are very thoughtful men. I remember President McKinley saying to me, "I have been struck with the expression of some of these Indian faces, especially those of the chiefs, and with the sentiments that I heard expressed by these men,—not men of education, but of thought and feeling."

I do not see why religion, which should band all men together in good works, should separate us; why Catholics and Protestants should not unite in great works of philanthropy. I have been struck with the fact that when our Divine Lord would select an

example of perfect fraternal charity for the whole world and for all time, he selected, not an orthodox man: the Jews were orthodox; they were the people of God. And yet a Jewish priest passes by, and does not aid the poor outcast, robbed and left wounded by the wayside. And the Levite passes by with the same indifference. Here are the orthodox. Now comes next a heretic a Samaritan, and he attends to the poor outcast whom the orthodox have passed by. And then our Lord says, "Go ye and do likewise." Now, we have our opinions about our own particular church; but why for a moment question what our Lord did not question, that the outsider who disagrees with us may be the good Samaritan and we the guilty orthodox?

I come, Mr. Chairman, the first Catholic priest appointed a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and the first Catholic to address this Conference, but I come with the traditions of centuries of friendliness to the Indians. When the Spaniards came here and oppressed them the Church stood between the Spaniards and those oppressed Indians. Men like Las Casas, and the various religious orders, devoted themselves to the aborigines, and were persecuted by their own countrymen for defending them. They were united by the Christianity they professed. They loved these Indians. So it was also when the Normans invaded England: the Norman bishops sided with the Saxons against their countrymen, because their position as ministers of Christ obliged them to defend the oppressed. Thus from the discovery of this New World until now, the representatives of the Church have been the defenders of these poor outcast children of the desert, and have suffered for this defense. So I feel, as a successor of the bishop Las Casas, and of those lovers and defenders of the poor, persecuted races, that I am at home among the friends of the Indian of all Christian denominations.

Fifty years ago in St. Louis I had the privilege of knowing that most remarkable man and missionary among the North American Indians, Father DeSmet, who came of a wealthy family in Belgium, animated by the purest motives and zeal to work among the Indians. He had lived with them for years, and learned to love them, and always defended them. He frequently visited me. I was very much attached to him, and had the honor of preaching his funeral sermon. His memory is enshrined in my heart. When I first knew him I said to him, on one occasion, "Father, how could you have lived so many years among those savages?" "Savages," he replied; "the only savages that I have met since I left Belgium I met round New York City,—some bad white men, who have known religion and have rejected it. My poor Indians, even in their paganism, are better than those men." He told me, way back in the sixties, that there was gold in that part of the country, where it was afterwards discovered. He said, "The Indians told me, and I told them to tell no one, because the whites would find it out, and they would deprive my poor Indians of that

which is more precious than gold; for these adventurers would go out there and rob them not only of their possessions, but of their purity and honesty. So having learned something of the Indians, and feeling a sympathy which he communicated to me, I have never lost my interest in them. Therefore I have always commended work for the Indian in my own diocese.

In that diocese there is a young girl, the daughter of F. A. Drexel, who inherited an immense fortune. Mr. Drexel left fifteen millions of dollars. Of that sum he gave a million and a half to charity, and to his three daughters the income from the remaining thirteen and a half millions. One of these daughters died. One of them heard the story of the Indians and the story of the colored people, and she said: "I will give all that I have, amounting to nearly \$300,000 a year, to those two races. More than that, I will give myself, until I go down to my grave, in poverty, in chastity, and in obedience. I vow to be the servant of the Indian and colored races." So this large sum of about \$300,000 a year she gives. Not only this, but she has founded an order, called the Order of the Blessed Sacrament; and she has at present a hundred young nuns who, at God's altar, have sworn that in poverty, chastity, and obedience, like their leader, they will devote their whole lives to the Indian and colored races. And this is in our age. This is a child of my diocese, and I glory in having such an example for all my people.

It may be asked, What is the philosophy of such sacrifice? How is it accounted for? What is the philosophy of what is called Christian philanthropy? Philanthropy is the love of man for his fellow-man. Man ought to love his fellow-man. He belongs to his own nature. Great sacrifices have been made by men for their fellow-men; but will such love alone account for all the sacrifices that have been made? There must be a power still stronger to account for them. There must be a higher cause, a universal cause. What is it? Humanity itself is attractive. But back of the human face rises another face, human indeed, beautiful in its suffering: *Ecce homo!* Behold the man. Behold humanity in its highest perfection, with all the beauty of humanity before Adam fell; with the strength, the tenderness, all the high qualities that you find scattered through all those that you admire and love, united as in one mosaic. When that face, beautiful in suffering, is before you and says, "Do it for Me," you have the secret of the philosophy of Christian philanthropy; the only thing that can account for the sacrifices that men make for their fellows. To be sure of this you have only to look at suffering humanity without the Christian religion. Childhood was treated only from the point of utility. Some of the highest lawgivers and philosophers sanctioned the law that put deformed children to death because they were of no use to the state. And they put to death the children they could not support. But this, you say, was under paganism. But, oh, beware! there is a modern paganism infinitely more degraded than the

paganism of Greece and Rome, for they believed in God and hell and heaven, but these modern pagans would destroy even the ethics of paganism in destroying the faith that moved them.

Such was the treatment of childhood, when the voice was heard from Bethlehem of Judea, the feeble voice of a child, but it reverberated through the world. It was the voice that proclaimed that Deity did not find childhood unworthy of its abode, because childhood is made in the image and likeness of God. If he looks into the pure soul of the child he sees himself there.

You know the state of woman before Christianity came. The husband was her master, and she was degraded by polygamy; by polygamy, simultaneous polygamy, and that successive polygamy which again menaces us through divorce. The Mother of Christ, with the child enthroned in her arms, was under the new civilization the symbol of liberated woman. "My soul doth magnify the Lord; my spirit has rejoiced in God my Saviour." "All nations shall call me blessed; for he that is mighty hath done great things for me, and holy is His name." This was the canticle of emancipated womanhood in the person of Mary—the civilization of the new dispensation.

How was it with poverty? You all know. Even the naturally Christian Plato, the most religious of all the pagan philosophers in his republic, would have the poor expelled when they became too numerous for the enjoyment of others. Poverty was almost a crime, when, going back to the cradle of the new civilization at the feet of poverty, we find the royal wealth of the kings of the East. Poverty was enshrined in the poor child in the manger, and from that moment the man who dares to talk against poverty talks against our Lord.

You know how prisoners were treated,—butchered in the Roman amphitheatre "to make a Roman holiday." Brave men who had committed no crime but to defend their country were fastened to the triumphal chariots of Roman emperors; prisoners thrust into dark cells, into which no ray of the white light of heaven could ever enter. Prisoners of war were enslaved. But now, before Pontius Pilate there stands a prisoner. Alone, suffering, patient, from that moment the prisoner became sacred. "I was in prison, and ye visited me." So our Lord identified himself with the prisoner as he identified himself with the child, with the mother of the child, and with the poor. Behold at once the motive, the philosophy, of Christian philanthropy! "If you do it to any of these, you do it unto me."

More than that, he taught a sublime morality of which paganism had no conception; that is, the forgiveness of injury and the love of enemies. The Chinese minister to this country, when recently speaking of the relative merits of the teachings of Christianity and of Confucius, said he saw no superiority in the teachings of Christ except in one respect, and that was the wonderful doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries and the love of enemies; but he said,

"Christians never mind it; no one ever thinks of loving his enemies, and, therefore, practically Christianity is not superior to the doctrines of Confucius." But Christians have acted out this sublime morality. In the third century in the city of Alexandria a plague broke out. The people died by hundreds and thousands. The pagans abandoned the bodies of their own relatives. In an obscure part of the city, poor, but healthy because of their purity, were the Christians. Now came the time for Christianity to leave its obscurity and march out against its enemies. And these Christians did march out. They left the Christian quarter and came and waited on their pagan persecutors. They buried them and died beside their graves. This was their revenge! *Ecce homo!* "For my sake," he says, "be good to those that persecute you; bless those that curse you. Paganism knew no principle that could inspire a sacrifice like this. Such is the teaching of our divine law. Acting for Christ's sake gives to human philanthropy a triple impulse. It intensifies, it universalizes, it perpetuates. It intensifies it by adding to our love of our fellow-being the great love that should fill our hearts for God; for we love our fellow-being for his own and God's sake. Again, it universalizes our love; for every creature is God's offspring, and we are not bounded by pet charities but love all. Again, it perpetuates, because there are men whose philanthropy has been frozen by ingratitude in beneficiaries; but there can be no fear of ingratitude in God, and he who acts from motive of his love, must act so forever, even toward his enemies. Thus man is made to love his brother man more intensely, more universally, more permanently by the introduction of the Christian principle of acting for God's sake.

This is the civilization that the Christian teacher brings to the Indian. That is the highest civilization. Let our missionaries teach these great truths of Christianity to the Indians, that a permanent impression be made upon them. And let me warn you, friends of the Indians, against the greatest danger of our day, and that is the ignoring of the principles of religion for mere ethical axioms. You must have a motive for self-sacrifice, and the motive is found in the belief in positive doctrines. Men seem to say, I wish the flower; I do not care about the root. That is to say, I want the effect, not the cause. Unless a man has the fear and love of God in his heart, he will not be capable of self-sacrifice. But this fear and love are dependent on doctrines, and if you tear up these roots the flowers shall soon droop and die. Disbelief in the existence of heaven and hell takes away the great motives of fear and hope from a man struggling with a great temptation. There is not a great motive of Christian action that has not a great doctrine as its life and inspiration, and our modern disregard for such doctrines is perilous to our Christian civilization, as well as to our personal salvation. Let us then take Christianity as it was given to us, with its doctrines and their offspring, its sublime ethical teachings.

Let us gather together around the same cross; let us love one

another, and work for one another, and know that the image of God is in every human soul. Let us work for humanity, and work through the love of the God of humanity.

The CHAIR.—We are all grateful for this earnest exposition of the faith and philosophy of charity, and for the inspiring illustrations of self-sacrifice which quickened our hearts.

Mr. H. M. Noble, superintendent of the Grand River School, North Dakota, was introduced.

Mr. H. M. NOBLE.—Five years ago the school over which I have control at Grand River had but 42 at the end of the first quarter. Last year the day school opened with 125. This is a sign of progress—the willingness of parents to send their children to school.

In 1900 the Indians received an income from sales of wood and hay and teaming of \$113,000; in 1901 they had \$132,000,—another sign of prosperity. The number of cattle five years ago was 6,693; last year the number in their name was 13,251—an increase of nearly 100 per cent. This is one of the great signs of prosperity, for cattle raising is about their only source of support, owing to the lack of rain.

The reduction of rations has been discussed a good deal. Every able-bodied man has had rations cut off completely this fall. Men who did not work before are working now. It was very difficult to get this started. The Indian is something like a white man. If he sits around for some time and is then ordered out to work he does not feel much like getting at it. The Indian, after centuries of sitting around the camp fire, is ordered out to work, and it was to be expected that he would not want to. But the Government's policy of cutting off rations is reaching him through his stomach, and he is going to work. Some of you have driven across the streams at the Standing Rock Agency, or perhaps have had to wait two or three days for the water to go down so that you could do it. The Indians are now building bridges across those streams. That is one of the actual results of cutting off rations. Roads are also being graded up. When they have to work they do work. They have just constructed a ditch to the river, 1,700 feet long and 6 feet deep.

The CHAIR.—I visited that agency thirty years ago, and remember the need of bridges.

Mr. Joshua W. Davis was next introduced as one of the oldest members of the Conference, but one of the youngest in spirit, and one so familiar with the Indian question that his advice is always eminently wise.

Mr. JOSHUA W. DAVIS.—My visit to Dakota and Nebraska was in part to scrutinize the progress of the Dakota Indians, intellectually and spiritually, as this progress might be evidenced in the conference of the Indian churches of Dakota held at Santee.

With scrupulous care not to overstate, it is due to say that the addresses and discussions upon the variety of topics showed decided increase in breadth of thought, point and strength of argument, fullness and fairness in the summarizing of the sessions' discussions, and a poise and dignity in all, with more marked freedom and dignified confidence in the less educated than would ordinarily be the case among the same number of whites.

In connection with the conference there was an installation of a native minister to succeed his father, the revered Ehnamani, who had been pastor of the Pilgrim Church at Santee for more than thirty years,—he with the original nucleus of the church being converted in prison after the Minnesota massacre of 1862; forming the most progressive part of the Dakota or Sioux tribe.

There was also the ordination of two younger men for the ministry, one of whom I had personally known for seventeen years,—all through his entrance into Christian life, and his becoming deacon and afterwards teacher, on to this his present fuller setting apart to the ministry,—in all these relations modest, strong, and highly respected.

He was one among the leaders who in the councils at the agency and at Washington voiced the unanimous opposition of their people against the recent plan of the Interior Department to lease large tracts of their lands to cattle men in a way that would have swamped their homes and their own cattle industry, and all the best interests of the most progressive section of the Dakota tribe.

A resident in Washington, not at all interested in Indians, witnessing the quiet but firm advocacy by these representatives of their people's rights, said, "What splendid fellows; how simple and how strong."

And another in government service also seeing them there, offered to pay for printing a report of one of their councils on this land lease business for free distribution.

These evidences from the conference, and of leadership in church and civil duties, are simply a few illustrations among many of a thoroughly real collective growth, and also of individual fitness for leadership that, taken together, are a summons to our faith in the capacity and moral stamina of a portion of the Indian race; in the same sense that there is to be a promised remnant of Israelites who are to contribute to the uplifting of the world; not simply to be saved themselves as a remnant, but to be efficient workers for their own and other races; as Rev. Mr. Kilbuck, a Delaware Indian, has been one of the most valued of our missionaries in Alaska.

And the Nez Percés of Idaho, in whose defense against our unrighteous treatment their Chief Joseph was so long a notable leader, are now sending one of their pastors and other helpers to

the Bannocks and Shoshones at Ross Fork, Idaho, who, when I visited them years ago and until recently, were obstinately unprogressive and opposed to Christianity, but are now beginning to advance.

My own creed concerning Indians is a very short one, that "God has a remnant among them." And this affords no ground for the flippant sneers still indulged by some in Congressional circles and elsewhere at this Mohonk Company as being "sentimentalists," "admirers of the *noble* Indian," meaning the race. We say no, not the race, but respecters of God's remnant. And neither does this creed leave any to be judges of who shall compose this remnant, and so set limits for our working. We certainly would not have selected for special regard the band of murderous Modocs, of lava-bed memory, who under the ministry of our revered brethren, the Friends, became a Christian group, and two or three of them preachers; nor would we have chosen those engaged in the Minnesota Frontier Massacre in 1862, out of whom came the strong Christian stock to which we have just alluded, and who are sending some of their own people as missionaries to tribes farther north.

The whole race is small (and, of course, a remnant is smaller), but he is not wise that sneers or neglects a small people among whom God is working and raising up efficient builders of his kingdom. And therefore as a practical point, as a conference and as individuals, our voice ought to go forth in cordial recognition and encouragement of the many native leaders, laymen as well as pastors, who are not only leading many of their own people upward in homely industry and religious life, but are reaching out efficiently to other tribes.

What I have further to report is not individual, but was undertaken as chairman of the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, of which your Treasurer, Mr. Frank Wood, has been a member since its organization twenty-three years ago, and of which Hon. John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy, was one of the originators, and chairman for eight years, and is still a member, as are also Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, Hon. S. W. McCall, and Hon. S. B. Capen, President of the American Board. And our committee greatly rejoices in the assurance that we still enjoy the unabated confidence and respect of the Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, notwithstanding our action in behalf of the Dakotas on the recent land question. And I would be the last to take a step to investigate whether the Commissioner was keeping his word, but the promises of the cattle men are a very different thing; and therefore I went to investigate as to the fulfillment of their agreement to fence their cattle away from Indian farms and hay lands, first inquiring among those gathered at Santee as to the facts.

Coming from the recent anxious struggle for their homes, and still burning in their hearts, they were dignified, self-contained, and extremely careful and restrained in their statements.

They brought word that portions of the stipulated fencing to keep the cattle from Indian homes and hay lands had not been put up,

although cattle had been sent in and were roaming on reserved Indian lands; and that a body of the cattle had been driven across the reserved hay lands instead of over the route leased to the cattle men. I claimed that they should verify every statement by renewed inquiry, and be ready to certify them under oath; and these statements have since been confirmed to me.

One of the cattle-men leaders had the face to reply that the Indians had left the gate open, so that for several days the cattle got out, when, for miles, there was not a particle of fence in sight then, nor for weeks after that.

Thus, at the very outset, have begun the encroachments not only on their rights, but on the very living of the Indians; which encroachments were as sure to happen as night follows day.

The Interior Department put forth the plea that it had a bond from the cattle men to indemnify the Indians for any trespass; to which our committee answered that such a bond had not the strength of a straw to restrain trespass; for the history of the last twenty years shows that not one case in a hundred of encroachments has ever been prosecuted to any real indemnity by reservation agents. And this I assert from our Boston Committee's experience, and also as Secretary of the Mohonk Committee, in whose hands a former Conference placed \$5,000 for the defense of the Mission Indians of California against encroachments.

Are the Indians to spend their time needed for the progress which we demand of them in gathering witnesses and driving with them twenty to thirty miles, it may be, to the agency to complain, and return with promises only occasionally kept?

Does any one believe the agent who worked so energetically to force the Indians to lease their lands will turn and exert himself to secure indemnity for them?

I leave you to study the Senate's Report of this agent's examination by the Senate Committee and give your answer.

Later I went to the Omaha Reservation, from which we have had such sad reports of intemperance blighting the people for years past. And there the better element has been petitioning earnestly, but so far in vain, to be relieved from an agent whom they charge with being himself intemperate, and at least not defending them from a nest of harpies, if he does not favor them; harpies who not only foster intemperance, but, under the new law for the sale of deceased persons' lands, are promoting their sale under conditions that enable them to secure valuable lands at extremely low prices, sometimes at even half price.

First, on the point of intemperance, I wish to unite both an encouraging and pleading word concerning this tribe, of whom at one time we were losing hope.

I ascertained that out of the drink habit some had more than once strenuously endeavored to rise, and were now really longing for encouragement and help to free themselves from it. They have held several meetings to devise ways to stop the sale of liquor on

the reservation; and our friend, Hon. Mr. Garrett, who visited the reservation to investigate, confirms this statement.

But the charge is made that the United States Court at Omaha is simply an instrument to collect fees, but not to stop the traffic; and I have proof from more than one source that this charge is true, but await more details before presenting the case to Washington.

Surely we cannot, we must not, be indifferent to this people's continuing appeal for relief from the adverse example and influence of Government officers who should be their helpers.

But this subject of agents and inspectors I have found to be too vital and burning a matter throughout my journey to be dismissed here with one allusion.

A matron in the Government school, currently reported to be favored by the agent, had a reputation so decidedly stained that petition was made for her removal; but a Government inspector completely exonerated her, and recommended her promotion to another school. But at the new place charges against her life there were very soon made, and another inspector investigated; and, though the agent at the second agency zealously defended her, and attacked honest witnesses in the case, she was promptly discharged not only from that school but from Government service entirely.

The evil reputation was considered to be as indisputably plain at the first agency as at the second, but Western parlance states the case as "whitewashed by two agents and one inspector."

And these several cases are in a small portion of the Indian field. And other workers in this Conference have just been telling me of grievous cases elsewhere; to which I might add our own committee's experience of several years' persistent effort to secure the turning out of a corrupt crew intrenched in an agency, under senatorial influence, where the agent boasted he had turned down three or four investigations, and would turn down the one we were securing under President McKinley's administration; and he well nigh succeeded in doing so through the whitewashing of a Government inspector.

Please understand that it is with the deepest sadness of heart that some of us take up this duty of telling these things. And those in these Conferences, in whom you have the highest confidence, will assure you that the cases mentioned are neither isolated ones nor exaggerated. I will name only one of several here present who can thus assure you, and I am sure he will pardon my naming him for this purpose without previously asking his consent—Hon. Philip C. Garrett. And it is a question for us to seriously consider whether the Mohonk Conference is to content itself with inserting in its platform a few weak words of recommendation that better agents be secured,—words which, if noticed at all, only excite a smile of scorn of the guilty ones and their senatorial protectors.

We boast of millions the Government appropriates for the education of the race, and the communities and churches which we

represent support missions at large cost for the uplifting work which the Government cannot do; and then men are fastened by political influence on these people, who, by example of theft, intemperance, and vilest immorality, blast the governmental and philanthropic work with soul-murdering results on our wards, against which the leaders of these people piteously plead.

And we need to remember that God says he remembereth the cry of the poor, and will make inquisition for blood. He has set this Conference on the hilltop to speak as did the prophets of old to the people. In the language of the morning Scripture, to which our attention was particularly called in the Conference to-day, his call to us is to "Cry aloud and spare not; lift up the voice like a trumpet." And if we do not speak in trumpet tones to the Government and to the whole land, blood guiltiness will be upon us also.

The CHAIR.—In coming to attend this Conference one lady rode a hundred and fifty miles to take a train. If we allowed her one minute a mile to tell us what she knows about the Navajo Indians it would not be too much, but I am going to ask her to tell us what she can in ten minutes.

Mrs. H. G. COLE.—I am glad to be here and say a word of the Navajos. The reservation, which is mostly a desert, with the San Juan River running through the northwest corner of it, from which we have an irrigating ditch—given by the Cambridge, Mass., ladies—that waters several hundred acres of land. Where there can be cultivation we have very fine crops. They are a very industrious people, and are glad to have a chance to irrigate and cultivate their land. They have never before this year on the San Juan River had wagons and farming implements issued by the Government. The Government issued a dozen wagons last year. Mrs. Eldridge has four or five ploughs, which she lends to the people to work with. They have very few seeds given them. The San Juan River is treacherous. It is filled with quicksand, and it is sometimes so high that when you cross you have to put your bundles on the seat of the wagon, or the water flows over the bottom of it, and you are always expecting to upset on the quaking sands.

In the middle of the reservation there is no water; it is like a dry desert. Occasionally near the foot of the mountain we find little springs, and they have worked hard to get water from them on to little patches of ground for alfalfa, wheat, corn, and beans, and they raise a few things for their families. One man I know dug a ditch five miles from a little spring to get water for a half acre of land, and dragged poles ten miles to fence in the same. This last year the Government gave him a wagon, and he has been doing freighting for the traders, but he earns very little. They are glad to work if they can get anything to do. The women own the

sheep, spin the wool, and make it into Navajo blankets, which they exchange at the traders for provisions. The men own the horses, but these they sometimes kill and eat. They own a few cattle, but for the past three years we have had no rain. You can imagine what a state the country is in. When I took my ride of one hundred and fifty miles to get my train I saw scarcely a spear of grass, and the cattle were dying by the hundreds. If they do not have wool to make blankets this winter it is going to be very hard for them. They have always been self-supporting, and never have received rations except once, when there was a drought.

I was sent out there four years ago by the Women's National Indian Association, and later by the Government. I was set down among them without knowing a word of their language, but I managed to understand a good deal because they talk so much with their hands. I had three hundred and twenty-seven calls for medicine, etc., in a week. I was supposed to take care of them when sick, and do for them as if they were my own children. They were very grateful, and I am very fond of them. I have tried to teach them to work and to make homes for themselves, and to make of themselves a moral, Christian people. I had no interpreter, no way of teaching the Scriptures; but they are very quick to notice everything that is done, and if they happened in at prayer time, or at the dining hour, I would always give them a plate, and treat them as well as I would treat the Queen of England. They had never seen knives and forks or napkins before, but they noticed how I would use them, and do the same. When I asked the blessing I told them I was thanking God for food, and they would bow their heads. The temperance question is getting to be a very serious one there, for the whites are bringing in whiskey, and only the Government can put a stop to this.

Rev. F. W. Merrill, missionary of the Oneida Indians, was next introduced.

Rev. F. W. MERRILL.—You have missionaries come here pleading for churches and hospitals and libraries, but the gospel that I preach is the gospel of cows. An old lady to whom I said this once, exclaimed: "I have given my prayers and my tears for the conversion of the poor heathen Indians, and now you tell me they are to be converted by cows and dairies; that is all very strange. It completely upsets my ideas."

Two years ago, when I had the great good fortune to be here, there were some who believed in the gospel of cows, and they encouraged this poor missionary and aided the Oneida creamery. I wanted money then for my creamery and cows, and I had not only help from this Conference, but I had a loan from that society in Connecticut which helps the development of native industries. We began in a very unostentatious and humble way the 15th of May, 1901. Our first customer brought 17 pounds of milk from

two cows. At the end of the first season we were able to say that we had milk from 83 cows, 99,897 pounds of milk, 3,189 pounds of butter, and paid our patrons \$603. We went on from strength to strength, and at the close of this summer we had milk from 128 cows, 989,490 pounds of milk, 7,165 pounds of butter, and paid to our 36 patrons \$1,343—double the work of the last season. But 128 cows will not pay the running expense of a creamery. One young man whom I met at this Conference two years ago presented the creamery with a fine, full-blooded Guernsey bull, so that now we shall have better stock.

Besides the creamery we have developed another industry. Three years ago we started lace work. It seems impossible to enter upon any work among Indians except in a small way, for they have not yet learned the dignity of labor. We began with twelve women making lace; we have now one hundred and fifty; and the earnings of the women for the last year were \$1,200, which represents eight months' work. During the winter we had small-pox, which prevented them from doing it. We have had much encouragement in this work from Miss Reel. We are now going to make bead work and baskets. The bead work is done by the children of the government school. There is nothing so artistic as bead work. The children love to do it, and they really earn a good deal of money by it. We are trying to develop an industrious community. They have always been self-supporting, and have never received rations or annuities. They are farmers, each having his own farm; but we want to turn the reservation into a great dairy farm. It is fine grazing land, and there is so much to be obtained from a cow, but it takes a great deal of money to buy one. An Indian will say: "Buy a cow for \$45! If I had all that money I should not need to work!" That is their idea of wealth. When we have two hundred and fifty cows our creamery will pay its own way.

Miss Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Education, was introduced.

MISS ESTELLE REEL.—I am afraid the last speaker has given me credit I do not deserve. I wish to state that some time ago the Commissioner met Mrs. Doubleday, who spoke on native industries at the Mohonk Conference; so you see the inspiration to have this native work taken up and incorporated into the course of study originated here. The importance of teaching the native industries as a means of self-support cannot be overestimated. A colony of women in an Oklahoma tribe receive \$400 a month for their work, and the Oneidas also have a considerable income from the sale of their lace and bead work. On one reservation I found that over \$1,200 worth of work had been done, and it is possible for the basket-weaving tribes to maintain themselves by this industry alone.

I wish to thank the Commissioner and Mrs. Doubleday for their great assistance, and the devoted missionaries who have helped me in so many ways when I have felt discouraged. Encouraging progress has been made in Indian education during the year. For the instruction of the Indian youth the Government now maintains 249 schools,—25 non-reservation, 90 reservation, and 134 day. These day schools should be increased in number until there is one in every camp, for their influence is exerted not only upon the child, but upon the home.

The enrollment has increased 1,020 over last year's, and a vast change for the better has taken place in the methods of instruction, character of school plants, and facilities for industrial training.

Mr. Charles Joseph Bonaparte, of Baltimore, a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, was introduced.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN RELATION TO THE INDIAN SERVICE.

BY C. J. BONAPARTE.

All that I propose to say on this subject is to call to the attention of this Conference what is meant by the application of Civil Service Reform in the Indian Service. It means this, and nothing more, that the people and Government of the United States shall free our country from one of the gravest reproaches that rests upon its history. I have heard, and I suppose you all have heard, in connection with Indian affairs of a "Century of Dishonor." I fear there is a considerable element of truth in the reproach implied in that term; but the dishonor does not lie in some of the supposed offenses usually imputed to the American Indian. Our national purpose toward the Indians has been uniformly just and humane; but we have intrusted the carrying out of intentions, in themselves good and worthy of a great nation, to most discreditable instruments. I know of no greater crime against humanity than to select for the care of a people in the condition of one of our Indian tribes a man unfit for his office; or even a man whose unfitness not being ascertained is rendered probable by the fact that he is selected from unworthy motives. Too often, as you well know, a man is chosen because he has done questionable work for men who have attained political eminence and influence by questionable means; and to choose a man such as this to take charge of an Indian reservation, is as great an offense against the plain dictates of conscience and honor as it would be to put the like man in charge of an insane asylum, or an institution for the education of youth. The application of Civil Service Reform principles to the Indian service means simply that, having chosen, by the best means we can devise,

so as to exclude favoritism and unworthy motives,—so far as it can be excluded in the choice,—having, as I say, selected by the best means at our command men fit for their position, they shall be retained in those positions as long as they worthily discharge their duties toward the Indians placed in their care and the nation that employs them; and they shall be promptly, surely, and with an absolute disregard of all considerations of personal advantage or political profit, removed from those positions the very moment their unworthiness is ascertained, or even gravely suspected. I say “suspected,” for the nation has no right to experiment upon the Indians by leaving in charge of any of these,—the true and undoubted wards of the nation,—a man whose fitness for his charge is doubtful, or, at least, whose unfitness is probable. I know of nothing more disheartening to those who wish to think as well as we all wish to think of our country, as the difficulty which has been often experienced in securing the removal of men whose absolute unfitness for their position, nay, whose disgraceful conduct and utterly unworthy character and disqualification for any position of trust have been established beyond a reasonable doubt, as politics are with us. They remain there because they are useful to those who have secured them their positions: they have always been, and will ever continue to be, chosen for the public service for those reasons, and they will be retained in their positions for the same reasons which have caused their selection; and while this is so, however this Conference may endeavor to ameliorate the condition of our Indian fellow-Americans, we shall not have done toward them that full duty imposed on us by our position in the world and by our relation toward them.

I have known by personal experience men absolutely unworthy to be trusted in any relation of confidence,—men whose unworthiness has been shown by their own lives and by the standing which they occupied in the communities wherein they lived,—I have known of such men appointed to positions of great importance and responsibility in the Indian service; and though their unfitness was called to the attention of the officers responsible for their appointment, and the facts regarding them were laid, first before one and then before another officer up to the President of the United States himself, yet they remained in their positions; because, as I remember to have happened in a particular instance, a senator of the United States said, “That man must have and keep that place.” And his conduct afterwards was such as one could have expected from his conduct before. While such things are done this country will have good reason to be ashamed of its treatment of the Indians; and they will be done until the true principles of Civil Service Reform, which demand simply the application of common sense and morality to the choice of public servants, are adopted there where most of all it is necessary to the honor of the country that they should be adopted.

Adjourned at 10 P. M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 23, 1902.

The third session was called to order by the President, after prayer offered by Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia. Mr. Smiley asked that the broad principles of charity might underlie all the discussion that was to take place.

The PRESIDENT.—We sometimes think that the Indian is a far-away subject, geographically considered, and then we find that he is very near to us. In taking up the Indians right here in the State of New York, we may be said to be taking up our nearest duty geographically and ethically. It seems curious that there should be five thousand Indians in New York on reservations, under tribal laws. One of the great political economists of France, de Laveleye, has said that what we need in the problem between labor and capital is more light, more truth, more justice. We have needed more light, more truth, more justice for the Indian. We are seeking the light this morning. Let the truth be spoken in love. Let there be light rather than heat in our discussion, which will be opened by Hon. E. B. Vreeland, of Salamanca, who has framed a bill for giving to the New York Indians their land in severalty. Mr. Vreeland will also close the discussion.

NEW YORK INDIANS AND THE VREELAND BILL.

BY HON. EDWARD B. VREELAND.

I have been asked to explain the provisions of the bill for dividing the lands of the New York Indians in severalty, breaking up their tribal relations, and putting them under the laws of the State of New York and of the United States,—a bill which I introduced in Congress last winter. I do not claim that no improvement is possible under any of the provisions of this bill, although it has been drawn with the greatest care. Men who are known as friends of the Indians have been consulted many times in its preparation, and I am especially indebted to members of the Board of Indian Commissioners for the valuable suggestions and advice which they have given in relation to it. It may not be out of place for me to say that when the bill was finally completed and introduced, its provisions received the approbation as a practical proposition of a majority of the members of that Board. Why was this bill introduced? In addressing this body, so familiar with

Indian history and Indian matters, I do not need to go too much into detail. You all know that we have in the State of New York about five thousand Indians living upon reservations, holding their lands in common, and maintaining their tribal relations. Perhaps you do not know that their property and their persons (except to a limited extent for police purposes) are not under the laws and courts of the State; particularly with reference to the Indians about which this bill treats, the Indian courts among them have charge of the property and domestic relations of these Indians. For many years the Commissioners of Indian Affairs in Washington have recommended earnestly that their tribal relations be broken up; that their land be divided in severalty, and the Indians put under the laws of the State. Year after year this Conference has discussed this question, and has favored the allotment of these lands in severalty and the breaking up of tribal relations and putting these Indians under the laws of the State. Sixty-five thousand Indians in the great West, few of whom are as far advanced in civilization as these, have had their lands allotted and are on the road to become citizens of the United States. These were some of the reasons which induced me to introduce this bill. The first provision is, that before the land shall be allotted the consent of the majority of the Indians shall be obtained. That provision is a mistake, as I think, but the Committee on Indian Affairs adopted it, and it is a part of the bill as it now stands.

There are some fifty-six thousand acres in the reservations on which the Senecas and a part of the Tuscorora Indians live. About twenty-four hundred of these Indians are affected by the provisions of this bill. The first provision of the bill is to make allotment of the lands,—a proposition of some difficulty, for the reason that under their tribal custom these lands are in part allotted among different families and members of the tribe. In some instances an individual has much more land than he would be entitled to under allotment, and in many other cases not so much. One Indian, Walter Kennedy, holds more than two thousand acres under tribal customs. This bill requires a *pro rata* division. It provides that three commissioners shall be appointed by the President of the United States to make these allotments. I think all of the members of this Conference believe that such a commission, appointed by President Roosevelt, will be men in whose character we can have confidence that they will carry out honestly and faithfully the provisions for allotment. The bill provides, in detail, just how the allotment shall be made, so that there can be no doubt as to the route to follow. The credit for working out this plan, which was a work of considerable difficulty, is mainly due to Dr. Gates, the able Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

There is a provision in the bill like that found in the Dawes Bill, that the land shall not be alienated within a term of twenty-five years. In connection with this there is also a provision, which

has been criticised by the opponents of the measure, which permits an Indian, one year after the allotment takes place, to go before the county judge, the surrogate, and the county clerk of the county in which he resides, and if all of these officials certify that of their own knowledge and information such Indian applicant is sober, industrious, and capable of managing his own affairs and his own property, and qualified for citizenship, such certificate may be sent to the Secretary of the Interior; the Secretary of the Interior may then send for such further information as he may desire, and if at the conclusion of that investigation he considers the Indian applicant entitled to full citizenship, and the right to manage his property, the Secretary is authorized to issue a patent to such Indian. It must be known to many of the members of this Conference that quite a number of these Indians are as capable of managing their property as gentlemen who are present here to-day. This provision was put in at the request of some of the most intelligent Indians among them. They have already a system of tribal government, are divided into parties, and are familiar with the details of election. They have a president, treasurer, secretary, sixteen councilors, marshals, and other officials. These Indians said to me that if there were no provision in the bill for an Indian to receive citizenship for twenty-five years the bill would be very unjust. "You take away our own government," said they, "but do not permit us, even if intelligent and capable of doing so, to take part in the government under which we live, nor to become citizens for twenty-five years." This argument seemed to me so forcible that I put in this provision, hedging it about with safety so far as I could devise safeguards on that subject. If any further measures of protection against the abuse of this clause can be suggested I shall be glad to adopt them. If it is the opinion of the friends of the Indians that it is an unwise provision I am willing to drop it, although I think it would be a great injustice to these intelligent Indians to make no provision for citizenship for them. I believe that these Indians who can read and write, who take and read papers, and are in every way intelligent and well-informed, are entitled to some provision whereby they can take part in the government of the place where they live and manage their own property.

Another provision is, that payment shall be made for the lands to those Indians who, under the plan of allotment, would be obliged to lose a portion of the land they now hold. Walter Kennedy and his family, for example, would not receive more than sixty-five or seventy-five acres, and would be obliged to relinquish the balance of it, which he has improved in clearing out stumps, building fences, and ploughing and cultivating; and provision is made whereby commissioners shall determine the amount of payment which these Indians shall receive for the improvements which they have made on land which must be surrendered. At the end of twenty-five years all of them are to receive patents to their land and to become

citizens. Some of the friends of the Indians favor a shorter term. Some think a period of ten or twelve years would be sufficient, but I have insisted that the term shall remain at twenty-five years. I have done this, because I was certain that if it were made ten or twelve years it would be charged that the bill was a scheme of land grabbing; that white men wanted to secure the Indians' land; and this charge might prejudice white people against the bill.

There has always been one great difficulty in the allotment of the lands of the Seneca Indians. It was this difficulty which prevented these lands from being included in the provisions of the Dawes Act. I believe, and a large number of the prominent men of New York State who have given sufficient attention to this subject believe, that the Seneca nation does not own the title to these lands. These lands of the Senecas are not in the condition of Western reservations, where the right of pre-emption and the ultimate fee is in the Government of the United States, and where the Indians have the right of occupancy. When the Government desires to make allotments upon the reservations of the West, it has only to give to the individual Indian a patent conveying the title which the Government holds. This, joined to the Indian's title of occupancy, makes a perfect title. But in the case of the land of the Seneca nation the Government has no interest in the property. In this case the Indians have the right of occupancy of land as long as they desire; a right which belongs to them under a long line of decisions in the United States Supreme Court. The right of pre-emption belongs to a company called the Ogden Land Company. As long as these Indians choose to occupy this land as a tribe they have a right to do so,—if it is a thousand years,—and no one can disturb them; but when we attempt to make this occupancy individual, or when we attempt to dispose of the land, then the rights of the Ogden Land Company stand in the way, and they must be disposed of. Therefore, this bill provides that \$200,000 shall be paid to the Ogden Land Company in order to secure full title to this reservation. The Ogden Land Company bought these reservations, with others, nearly a century ago. These particular lands cost that company about \$30,000. If they had put the money at legal rate of interest since that time it would have amounted to as much as they ask to-day for their rights. While we regret the necessity of buying out this company, we believe that allotment cannot take place without it. It stands in the way, and until their title is secured no bill will ever pass for the allotment of these lands. To do so, in the opinion of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, would be to turn the Indians and the white people on these reservations out of doors. These, then, are the provisions of the bill.

Two millions of dollars are coming to the New York Indians, growing out of an old Kansas land claim; and we think it is better to take a portion of this money and extinguish the cloud upon the title of these lands, and put them in such shape that their lands can

be allotted; that their homes may be protected; that their tribal relations shall be abolished; that their persons, their property, and their domestic relations may come under the law; that they may be put on the road to become American citizens.

Bishop F. D. Huntington, of Syracuse, was introduced as the next speaker.

THE PERMANENT PRINCIPLES OF REFORM.

BY BISHOP F. D. HUNTINGTON.

Mindful as I am how much less interesting, to almost any audience, abstract truth is than the concrete, the general than the particular, or ideas than persons and things, I nevertheless have an impression that for a company of men and women such as this company is, it is well to recur often in measures of reform to their permanent principles.

The entertaining address yesterday by the guest from Alaska, brought vividly before us the power of racial and class prejudice in the example of the educator and missionary with the Eskimos.

It appears to be a rule in history that the grade of character in a nation may be fairly judged by the treatment that an inferior race gets from the superior, the weaker from the stronger. Precisely there is found the real difference between what we call the lower, natural, or economic policy in law-making and Government on the one side, and a distinctly Christian policy on the other. Hitherto, for the most part at least, political legislation has conceived its business to be, primarily, economical, financial, and material; secondarily, educational; later, charitable and humane, or altruistic.

In this Republic, now more than a century old, on most of the statute books of the several states there are unrepealed traces of barbarism. A great deal has been written to this day about colonies and colonial administration. In most colonies there is not only the adventuring, immigrating party, but a native population, subject to disadvantage and infirmity, and perhaps finally crowded out. How will the less capable and less equipped race fare while it survives? Here is a chance for injustice, indifference, neglect, and even cruelty. Here is where many a nation has sinned. Here is where any nation on earth, as we know full well when the invading or ascendant element, if it has an aggressive ambition, an expansive instinct, or a keen commercial enterprise, becomes despotic; and despotic it will be unless the spirit of brotherhood, which is the spirit of the Son of man, has penetrated and transformed that brutal passion for empire. Explorers, academic philosophers, statisticians, have ample liberty—and they are apt to use it—to exploit their theories of the social system; but, as the fate of every past civilization shows, neither constitutions nor congresses, neither literary culture nor fine arts, neither armies nor treatises, neither science nor sentimental epigrams, will realize anywhere on the globe a

social state at once lofty and firmly rooted, fitly framed together and enduring, without the inwrought and independent vitality nourished by Him who is the King of nations, because he is the hard-working servant and deliverer of all workingmen. Short of that, your national policy, however clever, however sagacious, however scientifically legal according to the forms of law, will be selfish, overbearing, calculating, materialistic, and unscrupulous—"red in tooth and claw," and so doomed.

It is easy enough, to be sure, to repeat the common-place maxim that the character of a nation depends on the character of the individuals that make up the nation. But that easy generality does not solve the ethnic problem that has faced the migrations and revolutions of peoples since the gate of Eden was shut; it does not explain the phenomenon of the patriotic, national consciousness and conscience, the common, natural sentiment of loyalty, with the sacrifices made for it. There is a deeper generic principle by which the organic life of a state and government has a unity; an integral force of its own, growing out of divine relations in our social humanity. Without it we should not be here where we are, and as we are. You cannot, to be sure, tell beforehand just how such a political organization will behave on a given moral question; for the process is slow. In public the moral principle is apt to be bashful. Happily the clearest thinking and wisest reasons of seers—the men of vision—lead to the conclusion, as scientific as it is evangelical, that a civic community has a kind of personality; that it is not a piece of mechanism, or a construction, made up and put together and operated for mercantile ends or material convenience, but is a far grander and nobler thing. This was the conception that rose in the mind of John Milton, not altogether a poet imagining dominions in the heavens, but statesman enough and Republican enough to write thus: "A nation ought to be as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man." So saw, also, and so said Edmund Burke, more than a royal advocate or partisan opportunist, when he declared, "The nation is indeed a partnership; but a partnership not only between those who are living at one time on the earth, but between those who are living and those who are dead and those who are yet to be born." This may sound familiar and commonplace; so are the Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes, and I meet some fine people who have not outgrown the one or the other. If we look for the outline of a pattern in the marvelous mosaic commonwealth, then while our civil legislature would represent the Hebrew administration, after Joshua, a voluntary parliament like our Mohonk Conference stands for the Prophet, the voice of a Samuel and his successors, the voice of conscience and spiritual inspiration.

There is a singular significance for us white men in the circumstance that Christ gave his benediction and his miraculous mercy to a woman of the aborigines of the soil crowded westward to the sea by strong colonists from Chaldea, blessing her because he had

to teach the world that in all the nations, Jewish like his mother or ethnic like the Canaanite, there is "one blood." The glories of the gospel conquests are very apt to lie along the front margins of the world's settled dwelling-places, in straitened and perilous passes. We shall probably assent to the faith of the Puritans at Leyden, who put on record their hope that "in the western wilderness they might both keep their name and nation, and find that the Lord had a people among the nations, whither he would bring them." That hope was not to be balked, because the civilization they were to plant and nourish in the wilderness was not that of building cities or ships, or writing a literature, or running factories, or stocking a patent office with inventions. It would be enough if it should be a style orderly, useful, and clean.

Hence it follows that an American Indian Rights' philanthropist has to learn as his first lesson, and possibly his last—more comprehensive than the statutes of any law book—that the Indian is a brother by human blood. In the truly refined nation the apostolic principle which leveled the Oriental partition wall between Jew and Gentile by an equally broad catholicity, must extinguish at once the prejudice of race and the petty provincialism of rank, money, or the color of the skin. Therefore I say again what I said here at Mohonk three or four years ago, and was blamed, I believe, for saying it, that the course of law in the Legislature of the State of New York has been faulty and unworthy of its traditions, unworthy of its schools and universities, unworthy of its churches and even its geography, and that the conditions of Indian life and manners are correspondingly disreputable. I have nothing to say of any reservation where I am not personally acquainted, and I must not doubt that Christian missions have had an ameliorating and beneficent effect. I mean to testify, however, from knowledge gained where I have conducted a gratuitous mission thirty-three years in spite of adverse forces and with very little public help, a few Christian women being my chief helpers. So it will continue to be substantially till the people choose officers and lawmakers of such disinterested and impartial statesmanship as to set resolutely about interpreting and modifying fairly the treaty obligations under the screen of which—for it is nothing more than a screen—immorality, corruption, with idleness and ignorance, plead a flimsy excuse, and ply their infamous traffic by red and white malefactors alike. In my judgment the apathy of successive administrations at Albany toward the vicious pagan practices at Onondaga is without defense, as the practices are without decency. There should be, without delay, a thorough and complete investigation of the history of these compacts between the Indian chiefs and the State of New York, not in this case the Government at Washington. If it should prove that the treaty terms have been repeatedly broken by either party, and are only a stumbling-block to reform, then they are a scandal. That searching inquiry should be made by a commission having a heart in the business; and their report and its facts should be seen by the Legislature, the executive, and the newspaper press.

To this Conference financial policy, material thrift, needlework, ploughs, cows, bridges, baskets, nay, arithmetic, grammar, and geography, have importance only as they are signs and means of higher ends and a more lasting life; for which life man is made, society is organized, and nations grow.

Citizenship, severalty in land, it is quite true, will not do everything; it will not create character, but it will yield two benefits, positive and negative,—it will add dignity to manhood in a sense of personal responsibility, a civic consciousness, and it will protect domestic order and just dealing between neighbor and neighbor, and restrain crime.

The reservation is a makeshift—expedient, very likely, but not normal as I have seen it. It fails to foster and guard the home,—that bond of hearts which, next to the church, is God's ordinance for his children from generation to generation. Meantime, here in the center of our Christian civilization is a tract of six thousand acres of soil of average fertility, where wedlock is almost utterly unknown; where sensuality in its two basest forms is indulged and invited without reproach; where agriculture and the mechanic arts limp and lag; where a subtle and conceited pride of ancestry among many adults tries persistently to preserve the pagan traditions in language and religion; and where the Lord's Day is a rest for laziness or a feast for animal appetite. Party craft may issue boastful bulletins of "progress," and churches may send missionaries and Bibles to the other side of the globe to convert Oriental heathen, but God is not mocked; character is one thing everywhere. If the greed of gain pollutes and rots the roots of the country's strength, if moral cowardice emasculates its manhood and womanhood, if the lust of office and its spoils cheat an abused suffrage, if cupidity and fraud are permitted to wait and watch and whisper at the gateway of Senate and Assembly and Courts, how can God's poor red man of the prairies, or the black man of the plantation, hope for food for body or soul, for the bread from Heaven, or the light from beyond the sun? These aliens by race—in Heaven's just and merciful name be it our task and our privilege to help welcome them into a place of adopted citizen-children in a righteous national family! To that end I, for one, like to come while I can to Mr. Smiley's high and open door.

The following letter from Bishop Walker was read:—

BUFFALO, October 16, 1902.

To the President and Members of the Lake Mohonk Conference.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is a sorrow to me that I shall not have the privilege, with you, of enjoying the generous hospitality, and engaging in the earnest discussions, under the roof of Mr. Smiley at Mohonk Lake; only pressing duty elsewhere prevents.

I felt, however, that I would be untrue to duty—a momentous duty—if I refrained from calling your attention to some facts that have come within the scope of my own observation, or that are attested to me by honest and learned experts in the New York Indians' problem.

Let me say, first, that my home is within thirty-five miles of the Cattaraugus Reservation, and within less than fifty miles of the Alleghany Reserve. As a consequence, I am often within the boundaries of one or the other. I am personally acquainted with many of their people. I know their thought; I know their plans and desires; I know their hopes and fears; I know their work and their life.

As a consequence I am constrained to differ with some of my colleagues on the Board of Indian Commissioners on the subject of lands in severalty for the New York Indians *at the present time*. The principle is sound for the West, where the general government has an absolute control by the law of *eminent domain*. But in this State there are several complicating conditions which make the question one of a different tone.

But these legal aspects of the matter I do not intend to discuss here; they will, I know, be ably presented by some gentlemen from this western part of our State who have given them faithful and prolonged study. I however make this contention, that the Senecas, residing on the two reservations named, are not ready for lands in severalty, and that at least five years more should be accorded them for education in that direction before pressure—if that is proposed—be brought upon them to force them into such new conditions.

I think the people recognize that the time is coming when the distribution of their property must be made among them, but with the exception of from half a dozen to a dozen—and these invariably the thrifflless or the indolent among them—they are unalterably and energetically opposed to any such action now. It is true that a few men, last winter, went to Washington and argued for the proposed change. They, however, let me say with emphasis, neither represented the sentiment of their tribe nor their best life. They went with no authority, and would never be the selected spokesmen for their nation, because they are recognized as drones and as some of the failures among their people.

These are facts which I would refrain from mentioning here, but that their attitude and stirring talk—with the latter of which they are gifted if with nothing else that enters into sound manhood scarcely—seemed to impress some. They are of the class whom our Indians in North Dakota, when I lived there, named “big mouth, baby hand.” That is, they were long talkers but no workers.

But, not to indulge in personalities. The second fact I desire to present is this: the Vreeland Bill is obnoxious to every Indian on the two reservations in three of its main provisions. Not a man or woman favors the payment of \$200,000—or of a single dollar—to the Ogden Land Company from the fund, now in the hands of the

Government, belonging to the Senecas. They claim that the whites have no claim to a cent of that money; that for the Government to make any other use of it than to hand it over to them will be simply robbery of the weak by the strong. They have with them the sympathy of a vast number of people in Western New York, their neighbors, their friends. They have the support of gentlemen—very many of them—learned in the law, who have given this question long study and are in no sense sentimentalists.

But I have no doubt that many who are listening to this letter at Lake Mohonk will say, "These Indians know not what is for their real interest."

In reply, I desire to say that they are remarkably intelligent and quick-witted as a whole; that they have generally received a good common-school education. I am speaking of the middle-aged and the young, and that if they have not learned the principles of logic from a school-book, they know how to bring them to bear practically upon the work of their daily life and upon the solemn question now agitating them deeply. Whether \$200,000 of their money shall be taken from them and given to men who have no more right to receive it than I have to forcibly seize—if I could—one of the crown jewels of the King of England. And I desire to say most decidedly that their logic in this matter is my logic too. And I am not ashamed to confess it. I am willing, in a matter so absolutely right, to stand side by side with the despised Red man in demanding that so colossal a wrong shall not be done.

But, again, the Indians are opposed—many of them, not all—to a provision in the aforesaid bill authorizing an Indian, when he shall have received his land in severalty, under certain conditions to dispose of it at the expiration of one year to any white man who may desire to purchase it. The "Davies Severalty Act" makes the Government the custodian of such lands for twenty-five years from the date of division. They would rather have this paternalism for a quarter of a century on the part of the United States, than the pressures and extortions which might come if they were left helpless to the mercy of designing men seeking their property. Some of the so-called business transactions of the past between certain Indians and certain white men have, I understand, been carried on when the Indian was placed under the influence of whiskey, and the white man took advantage—ruinous advantage—of his helplessness.

I wish here to declare, as my unalterable conviction, that when the time comes that the Indians of these two reservations shall give their consent to lands in severalty,—and it all depends upon that consent whether it is done or not,—the minimum period to elapse before one of them should have power to dispose of his property should be somewhere from seven to ten years.

Again, the Indians object to the aforesaid bill, because it proposes that in the villages of Salamanca, Vandalia, Carrolton, etc., any of the present lessees may compel the owners of the town lots—the Red men—to sell those town lots to the present lessees for a ridicu-

lously small price; market value in no way enters into the programme. To have them appraised by uninterested parties who would gauge values by the values of similar lots in similar towns under similar circumstances, does not enter into the plan. This, it seems to me, would be only common honesty.

How does the matter stand to-day? I will present as a type case the village of Salamanca. It is a very thriving town, numbering probably five thousand to six thousand people; every inch of land in it belongs to the Indians. By an act of Congress they were compelled to give ninety-nine-year leases to the people who occupied or secured home or business sites. These lots, I think, are on an average fifty feet front by one hundred and fifty feet deep. The annual ground rent is as follows: for a lot in the residential section \$3.00 per annum as a minimum; not more than \$6.00 as a maximum. In the business portion the highest ground rent paid yearly is \$10.00. I say unhesitatingly that these rates are absurd. But the Indians have no complaint on this behalf; they accept the conditions. But when it is proposed, on such a basis, to rob them of all right, title and interest in their property, and to transfer the fee thereof for so beggarly a compensation, they protest, they unhesitatingly call it robbery, and declare that their fate—I mean some of the Christian of them so declare—that their fate will be that of the man going down to Jericho centuries ago,—“stripped and despoiled, and thrown out by the wayside half dead.”

But let me mention a fact right here which has a bearing upon this discussion at this particular point. I am told—and I believe it to be true—that some of the leaseholds in the village of Salamanca have been sold for as much as \$2,000 and \$2,500 apiece. In other words, men who secured leases of lots from the Indians for ninety-nine years for which they were to pay anywhere from \$3.00 to \$10.00 per annum, sold the privileges thus obtained from the latter—the Red men—for the sums here named. The Indian only receives year by year his three to ten dollars a lot. The speculator got the advantage, as usual, where the aborigines are concerned, and pocketed the bonus. I am also informed that many of the good people who have thus paid a large bonus for the property they occupy are not anxious to purchase it, and so be compelled to gather a lump sum of money for that purpose. The Indians, and many of the occupants of these lots, are satisfied with the present conditions. The annual ground rent is no burden; they know they are secure in the occupancy of their property during the period of their leases, for the Government of the United States is behind them. I therefore am inclined to believe that the people desirous of consummating this plan are a small minority of the residents in these villages,—that they are, in fact, exceedingly few.

Many of the Indians have called my attention to the closing portion of Section 5 of the bill. It provides that the sums of money paid out of the “Kansas Fund” to all Indians under twenty-one years of age, shall be placed in the hands of the general guardian

of the Indian appointed by the court of the county where the minor resides,—or “into some legally qualified depository authorized by the laws of the State of New York to receive and hold in trust the funds of minors, the same to be accounted for upon the arrival of such Indian at the age of twenty-one years.” This is the provision of the bill. Man after man among the Indians has referred to these two points in this section of said bill: first, that there is no provision for the payment of interest to the minors; and, second, that in the county where the Alleghany Reservation lies there is but one financial institution competent to hold such funds, and that is a trust company, formed within two years or thereabouts, which is under the control of those who are the authors and the earnest advocates of this bill. I know nothing of the facts in this case. With great ardor the Indians call attention to these particular conditions, and feel unwilling that the moneys of the little children and the young men and women among the Senecas shall be held by any other than the United States Government, or some other parties uninterested. If all this be true, I look upon this section of the bill as unwise and unjust, and as one to be eliminated therefrom.

In conclusion I desire to say that on the nineteenth day of September last, on the Cattaraugus Reservation, I met 300 to 400 of the Indians from the two reserves. The council of the nation, with its president, was there. All sections were represented. With great eloquence they discussed the Vreeland Bill. Of that large number, only three women and one man voted in favor of that bill. It was the universal testimony of the gathering that there were only three or four others among the 2,700 to 3,000 people constituting these two reserves who give voice in its favor.

I imagine I hear somebody at Mohonk saying that this “Council of the Senecas” is a corrupt body. Possibly so. But bad as the conditions are, the Indians still retain title to their lands, and any man who desires to engage in farming can take land and cultivate it under their own law. I hear another saying, “Notwithstanding their Christian surroundings, nearly one half the people on each reservation are still pagans.” That, too, is true. But I ask whether by compelling them to surrender \$200,000 to white people who have no claim to their money, and by compelling them to sell town-lots for from one sixth to one tenth of their value, we are likely to convince them of the truth of the Christianity which we, who propose to enforce these things, profess. I must confess, as a bishop, that logic like that would never have won me to my religion. And yet to-day what confronts these people is this: that men who are supposed to be their friends are endeavoring to take from Naboth his little vineyard. That, at least, is the way they present it to themselves and to others. You and I, with all the oratory we may choose to bring to bear upon them, can never convince them that any of the provisions of this bill are for their good.

They see only the white man coveting the red man’s little all. They conclude that we are not, as did the Christ, seeking them but theirs.

I have presented these facts in this plain way because I felt that I, who am confronting these people and their desires and their conditions every few weeks, would do them and do my own conscience a grievous wrong if I refrained from speaking with all my might against the proposed legislation.

In the name of God and of his right, therefore, I appeal to the Mohonk Conference to protest against the passage of a bill so fraught with injustice to our wards as a nation—human beings—our brothers—helpless in our hands—God's children.

Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM D. WALKER,
Bishop of Western New York.

Mr. Charles T. Andrews, State Inspector of Normal and Indian Schools, was introduced as the next speaker.

Mr. CHARLES T. ANDREWS.—In a recently published history of the United States, Julian Hawthorne says: "The Indian and the white man might live together if the former would live like the latter. While he does not do this, the only rational thing to do with the Indian is to kill him."

Heartless and brutal as is this assertion, there is reason to believe that it contains a principle as true and as inexorable as the law of gravitation. The humane people who revolt at it are, nevertheless, compelled to admit its truth; and while they try to mitigate its harshness by restraining the killing on the part of the whites, they realize that the only way to save the Indians from the fearful fate impending over them is to induce or compel them to live like the white men. This is the end sought by all missionary effort; it is the object of the schools maintained by private philanthropy or by State aid. My humble efforts among them are directed to this end.

The power to kill includes the power to inflict all lesser injuries,—to rob and cheat, for instance. The killing need not be by bullet, bayonet or halter, by open warfare or secret assassination. It may be by pauperism, alcoholism, the diseases which the vices of civilization bring to the savage, or even by slow starvation, through destroying their means of livelihood. All of these evils accompany the contact of civilization with barbarism; and philanthropists, I repeat, like the members of this Conference, are required to exert their influence in two directions: on the one hand, to stay the rapacity of the whites; and on the other to attempt the rescue of the Indians from the condition in which they are necessarily the victims of this rapacity.

My criticism of the Vreeland Bill is, that while by its title and in some of its sections it seems to provide for advancing the Indians to the safety of civilization, in its other provisions it not only does not restrain the rapacity of the white men, but, on the contrary, boldly legalizes and authorizes the plunder of the Indians. It contains three provisions; two of them are peremptory and immediate. The third is conditional, and may be delayed in its operation.

First, \$200,000 of the Indians' money is to be paid at once to the Ogden Land Company, for the satisfaction of an alleged claim to the Indian lands.

Secondly, certain lands now held by white men under long-time leases are to be sold to the leaseholders at an arbitrary price whenever the leaseholders wish to buy.

On neither of these propositions is the Indian given any voice or choice whatever.

Thirdly, provision is made for dividing the reservation lands in severalty and conferring citizenship upon the Indians whenever a majority of them shall consent to it.

Why is not the consent of the Indian required before \$200,000 of their money—\$75 for every man, woman and child on the reservations—is taken away from them? Why are they not consulted as to the price they shall receive for the leaseholds? It is because this bill is a white man's bill, conceived and advocated on the broad historic grounds that the only rational thing to do to an Indian is to kill him. I am not at all surprised that in accepting the renomination for Congress the author of the bill named its introduction and advocacy as the most prominent act of his congressional career to which he could point with pride; and that his most popular promise to his constituents, in case of his re-election, was the pledge to use his utmost efforts to secure its enactment. His constituents are all white men. The Indians do not vote.

Yet the people of that congressional district are as humane and enlightened as any in the world. But they live in contact with the Indians, and are controlled as you and I would probably be under the same circumstances, by the inexorable rational law which Hawthorne so frankly enunciated.

They find excuse, too, as all humane people do when impelled to inhuman acts; as all just people do when seemingly forced to commit injustice. They say—and most of them believe—that this taking of the \$200,000 is absolutely necessary in order to secure the Indians in a perfect title to their lands whenever, as citizens of the United States, they shall take them in severalty. This excuse involves the assumption that the Ogden Land Company has a lien upon the lands, or some kind of a claim which, in case of severalty ownership, would cloud the title unless it were previously removed. It also ought to involve the assumption that this is the best way to remove the cloud if it exists.

Hon. Charles Andrews, late Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals of this State, who, while a Justice of the Supreme Court, made an exhaustive study of the Indian titles, in a recent letter on the subject of the Vreeland Bill and the Ogden Company's claim, says, "The right asserted by that company should be very clear, as it seems to me, before Congress would be justified in taking \$200,000 out of the fund for the Indians and paying it to the Land Company." I believe this Conference will concur in the opinion of this venerable jurist. Therefore, with confidence that your influence

will be exerted against those who would despoil the Indians upon a mere assumption, I beg your attention to a brief recital of the facts on which the Indian title and the Ogden claim are respectively based as I have found them after painstaking research, assisted by courteous librarians at Columbia and Cornell, and guided by the suggestions of able lawyers in New York, Rochester and Buffalo, whose humane interest in the Indian has led them to give me much of their valuable time.

I have consulted original documents, and on all disputed points will give my authority. The Indian title is based not on aboriginal occupancy, as the Ogden attorneys assert, but upon treaty stipulations. The Ogden claim is based upon rights granted by New York to Massachusetts in 1786, in a compromise settlement of conflicting claims between the two States.

These claims were as follows: Massachusetts under the Plymouth Charter extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but very soon by the treaty between England and Holland lost the part included in the Dutch Colony of New Netherlands, whose boundaries were rather indefinite on the west. When New Netherlands by conquest and treaty became New York, its independence of Massachusetts was further confirmed by royal charter, but its boundaries left unchanged. After the conquest of Canada from the French another royal charter extended New York to the Detroit River and Lake Huron in a grand parallelogram north of Pennsylvania, thus cutting out another piece of the Massachusetts claim, while treaties with Spain and France also restricted it to the lands east of the Mississippi. It is a noticeable fact, however, that all of the New York charters recognized a *quasi* sovereignty in the Six Nations, who during the entire colonial period were valuable allies against the French.

Under the Articles of Confederation all of the public lands belonged to the individual States in severalty, and none of them to the United States in common. West of the settlements the boundaries were indefinite and many of the claims conflicting. Many considerations pointed to the wisdom of conveying all these lands—by a sort of quit-claim deed—from the States to the general Government. New York magnanimously led the way, as early as March, 1781, by conveying to the nation all her claim and title to lands west of a meridian passing through the western bounds of Lake Ontario. Virginia, Massachusetts, and others followed the generous example. These cessions, the treaty with England, the Federal Constitution, and the statutes under it now make the general Government proprietor of the least. Massachusetts quit-claimed all west of New York, but with Yankee thrift insisted that she had certain rights in the territory lying between the Old Dutch Colony and the new western boundary of New York. The treaty of 1783 had in the meantime despoiled New York of all west of Niagara and north of Lake Erie, and New York resisted the claim of Massachusetts. The dispute waxed warm, and it seemed that the general Government would

have to interfere. In fact, Congress did provide for a court of arbitration.

But while these disputes were going on something else took place. The Iroquois, or Six Nations of Indians, who had proved valuable allies to England and her colonies as a buffer against France, had during the Revolutionary War remained loyal to the old empire, and by Sullivan's campaign had been driven out of New York State, were a factor which the statesmen of the period thought worthy to take into consideration. Most of these Indians were sojourning in Canada, but they still had large possessions in Ohio. They were in a sullen, revengeful mood. Other warlike tribes of unknown strength held the great Northwest. Experience had shown that the Iroquois were valuable as friends and dangerous as enemies. The correspondence of that date shows that the leading men of the young republic were fearful of an Indian war, fomented and abetted, if not aided, by Great Britain. For they all realized as Franklin said, that the War of Independence from England had yet to be fought—as it was in 1812. The wisdom of the fathers, therefore, sought the friendship of the Iroquois.

So in February, 1784, a resolution which may be found in the Journals of Congress for that year was adopted, directing General Schuyler to invite the Six Nations of Indians to return to their lands in New York State, assuring them of the friendly feelings of the new republic, and offering to meet them for the purpose of forming a treaty of alliance and friendship with them.

The Indians accepted these assurances and this invitation, and in October, 1784, a treaty was made with them at Fort Stanwix, by which the Indians ceded to the United States all their lands west of New York and Pennsylvania; and the United States on their part guaranteed that the lands in Central and Western New York should be the property of the Indians forever. This treaty may be found in the Journals of Congress for 1785. It was renewed after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and notably in 1794, in a treaty signed by Washington, whose object was declared to be to remove from the minds of the Indians "all cause of complaint, and to establish a firm and permanent friendship with them." The treaty of 1794 was made with the Seneca nation, because New York State, within the ten years, had amicably arranged with the other tribes as to their lands. Its guarantee, however, was quoted from the treaty of 1784, and is as follows:—

"Now the United States acknowledge all the land within the aforementioned boundaries to be the property of the Seneca nation; and the United States will never claim the same nor disturb the Seneca nation nor any of the Six Nations or their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in free use and enjoyment thereof; but it shall remain theirs until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase."

Thus the lands over which New York and Massachusetts were disputing were confirmed to the Indians by treaties which the

courts have since declared gave them "an absolute fee," "an indefeasible title" forever. And it is a fact which the records of the land offices attest that not one foot of this land is now in the possession of a white man, except his title can go back to an Indian deed since 1784.

There remained, however, to the States the right of sovereignty, which carries with it the eminent domain or ultimate title; the right by means of which the State seizes private property for public purposes, as lands for a railroad or schoolhouse site; the right by which, in case of abandonment, as when an owner dies intestate and without heirs, his estate vests in the State. Had the Indians remained in Canada, had they not been invited to return, and had not the title to the lands been vested in them by solemn treaty, this right of sovereignty would have carried with it immediate ownership of the lands. But after the treaty of Fort Stanwix it carried only the ultimate ownership should the Indians again abandon them, or the right of eminent domain become desirable. With this sovereignty and ultimate ownership, moreover, was connected another right which had an immediate cash value and furnished a basis for a happy compromise between New York and Massachusetts. From the earliest dealings between the colonists and the Indians, ostensibly for the protection of the latter, but probably also for the revenue it brought, the governments treated the aborigines as disqualified for making bargains with individuals. This disqualification extended both to real and personal property, and found its expression in intercourse acts and pre-emption charters. These instruments provided for licenses to trade with Indians. These licenses were sold by the Government and carried exclusive rights. They differed in no way in principle from the licenses to trade in liquors which most of the States now issue. They did not carry title to anything more than a saloon-keeper's license gives him—ownership of the beer or whiskey he may handle. The licenses to trade in personal property do not concern this discussion, though they were protected by fines and penalties against unlicensed dealers. The license to buy real estate was called the pre-emptive right to first purchase of the soil from the Indians. Both grew out of the sovereignty which the nations of Europe claimed by right of discovery and superior civilization.

Now, as we have stated, this license to buy the land for speculative purposes furnished an opportunity for a happy solution of the rival claims of New York and Massachusetts. In Yankee phrase, "they made a dicker." Massachusetts, whose right was the more doubtful, said to New York, I will withdraw all my claims to sovereignty if you will in return give me the exclusive license to buy the lands in half the territory under dispute. In 1786 a settlement was made on this basis at a convention held in Hartford. This compact was reported to Congress, and may be found in the *Journal* for 1787. It is a significant indication of the temper of the times that Congress took no action whatever in the matter

except to record the transaction. This compact had various phrases; but it carefully avoided a statement as to the conflicting claims, being in substance a mutual quit-claim of the rights conceded. In this discussion we are concerned only with what Massachusetts obtained, and still further what she received authority to sell; for this last is the only thing which the Ogden Company possesses. As to this, there is not only the language of the compact, but the meaning put upon it by the Legislature of Massachusetts after an exhaustive examination. The declaration of the Legislature is as follows:—

“Massachusetts held the sole and exclusive right to purchase the lands whenever the Indians should voluntarily dispose of them.” “The sole and exclusive right to purchase the lands of the Indians gave no other title or interest in the land whatever.” “Such interest or title could be assigned only by a sale or conveyance thereof by the Indians.”

See proceedings of the General Council of Massachusetts for 1840.

I fully concede that the Ogden Land Company is the legal possessor of all that Massachusetts had the power to sell.

To any fair-minded man the history of these transactions must prove that the claim that the Ogden Land Company has any title or interest in the lands, except the first right to purchase when the Indians voluntarily choose to sell, is totally unfounded. Its claim that New York and Massachusetts divided the lands between them is absolutely false. Neither New York nor the general Government ever conceded the claim of Massachusetts to the sovereignty of any of the lands, and Massachusetts, in the compact, distinctly renounced this claim. Hence it follows that the claim of the Ogden Company that it would succeed to the title should the Indians abandon the lands or receive them in severalty has no grounds for support. It is simply bluff. The fee is in the Indians, and cannot be alienated except by their voluntary action.

We are not, however, left to our own judgment as to the value of the respective titles of the Indians and the Ogden Company. In the witty language of the late William M. Evarts, the Supreme Court of the United States has guessed at it; so also has the highest court in the State of New York; and they have both guessed one way.

At one time the Ogden Company, flushed with its success in bribing Indian chiefs, United States Commissioners, and the representatives of Massachusetts, attempted to try titles with the Indians in the courts. It put forth the same claim which is now asserted in defense of the Vreeland Bill. Indeed, the very words of some of the arguments are found in a brief of the company's lawyer more than sixty years ago.

The Indians, in the winter of 1836-37, cut and sold some logs on the Cattaraugus Reservation, and the Ogden Company sued for trover, claiming that the fee of the land was in it, and the Indians were only occupants. The company was beaten in the Circuit

Court at Buffalo in 1842, and it appealed to the General Term, whose decision may be found in 6 Hills, 546. The whole subject was fully discussed, and the case was decided on the respective merits of the Indian title under the treaties of 1784, 1789, and 1794, and the Ogden title under the grant of New York to Massachusetts. On page 549 the court say:—

“New York ceded the right of pre-emption to the soil of the native Indians. The words which follow, ‘and all the other right, title, and estate which New York hath,’ were not intended to enlarge the grant into an unqualified fee. This point is rendered still more clear by a subsequent clause in the deed of cession. By the tenth article Massachusetts was authorized to grant the ‘right of pre-emption,’ and nothing more; and her grantees were only to acquire ‘good right to extinguish by purchase the claims of the native Indians.’ The two States not only acknowledged the right in the Indians which could only be extinguished by purchase, but they took care to guard the Indians against imposition and fraud in all the negotiations which might be had for the acquisition of their title by the grantees of Massachusetts. The Seneca nation have never parted with their title to the lands on which the timber was cut [the present Cattaraugus Reservation]. Their right is as perfect now as it was when the first European landed on this continent, with the single exception that they cannot sell without the consent of the Government. They are not tenants of the State nor of its grantees. They hold under their own original title. The plaintiffs have acquired nothing but the right to purchase whenever the owners may choose to sell. In the meantime, or until the tribe shall become extinct, the Seneca Indians will remain the rightful lords of the soil.”

This decision naturally did not suit the Ogden Company, and it again appealed, this time to the Court of Errors, then the highest tribunal in the State. The final decision was rendered in 1846, and is reported in V. Denio, 628, as follows:—

“Senators Barlow, Porter, Putnam, and Spencer delivered written opinions in favor of affirming the judgment, on the ground maintained by the Supreme Court that the Indian title to the lands is an absolute fee. The decision was unanimously affirmed.”

The Ogden Company could not appeal further. It had been beaten three times in succession, and was out. So far as I can learn it never again tried titles with the Indians in court. Its agents and attorneys have, however, haunted Washington, trying to realize through Congress on its discredited claim.

The United States Supreme Court also has passed upon this question of title. There are a multitude of decisions in reference to the rights and limitations of the Indians in the various States and Territories, where condition is not parallel to that of the Seneca Indians. The attorneys of the Ogden Land Company quote some of these, unblushingly, claiming that they apply in this case, and thus beclouding the issue. What they do not quote, however, is Chief Justice Marshall in regard to the Cherokees in Georgia. It is found in 6 Peters 515, and reads:—

“The words ‘treaty’ and ‘nation’ are words of our own language, selected in our diplomatic and legislative proceedings by ourselves, having each a definite and well-understood meaning. We have applied them to the Indians as we have applied them to other

nations of the earth. They are applied in the same sense." It is true that President Jackson said, "Justice Marshall has made his decision; let him enforce it if he can"; and straightway proceeded to override it in a manner that would have caused his impeachment had not the sufferers been Indians, whose rational fate it is to be killed.

But the decision stands as authority; and when, in 1866, the respective titles of the Indians and the Ogden Land Company came before the Supreme Court of the United States, this dictum of Justice Marshall furnished the basis of the decision which is found in 5 Wallace's Reports, pages 760 *et seq.* I quote some of its paragraphs, page 768:—

"The rights of the Seneca Indians do not depend upon this or any other statutes of the State, but upon the treaties, which are the supreme law of the land. It is to these treaties we must look to ascertain the value of these rights and the extent of them."

The Court then quotes the clause of the treaty of 1794, which I have already given, stating that the United States will never claim the lands "nor disturb the Seneca nation in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but it shall remain theirs until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase"; and adds, "These are the guarantees of the United States, and which by her faith she is pledged to uphold."

On page 769 the Court, referring to the compact between Massachusetts and New York, say:—

"The two States possessed *no power to deal with the Indians' rights or titles.* They were dealing exclusively with the pre-emption right after the Indian title was extinguished."

Further on, as to the extent of the rights granted to the Indians by the treaty of 1794, the Court, on page 771, say:—

"All agree that the Indian right of occupancy contains an indefeasible title to the reservations that may extend from generation to generation, and will cease only with the dissolution of the tribe, or their consent to sell to the party possessed of the right of pre-emption."

To a person who understands plain English these decisions of the courts are conclusive that the Ogden Company has no rights whatever, except the right to purchase of the Indians when the latter choose to sell, and therefore that their claim is neither a lien on the lands nor a cloud on the title. But the attorneys of the Ogden Company are equal to anything. They bring forward a decision of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, which they say, being later, is better law.

This is the Christie case found in 126 New York Reports, page 128 *et seq.* Mr. Vreeland quoted from this case to convince the Indian Commission that if the Indians should abandon their lands, or if the tribe should be dissolved, the title would at once pass to the Ogden Land Company. He made the plea with so much appearance of candor that he frightened the Commissioners into acquiescing in his scheme of robbery.

I took the case to an able New York lawyer. He examined it carefully and said that there was no ground whatever for Mr. Vreeland's claim. Hon. John J. Van Voorhis, of Rochester, also wrote a brief showing that no such deduction could be made from the decision.

Let me give you this case in a nutshell. In 1826 the Indians sold a tract of land in Erie County to the Ogden Land Company, took the pay and gave possession. About fifty years afterwards some lawyer induced the Indians to attack the title on the ground that the sale was illegal, a violation of the Intercourse Act and of the Federal Constitution. The Court gave its decision in an elaborate opinion by Justice Andrews, afterwards Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals. There was an exhaustive investigation of the respective rights of the Indians to sell, of the Ogden Land Company to buy, and of the manner of the sale. In the decision, page 146, the Court found

"that the grant of August 31, 1826, was a valid transaction, and was not in contravention of the Federal Constitution, or of the Intercourse Act of 1802, and vested in the purchasers a good title in fee simple absolute to the lands granted."

That is, the court decides that the deed which the Indians signed gave a good title in fee simple absolute to the lands purchased. Does it need a lawyer to understand that this finding does not convey title to land which was not purchased?

As I have already remarked, the Ogden Company has very carefully kept away from the courts ever since the adverse decision of the highest courts in this State. It has not, however, ceased its activity; and a little sketch of its history will indicate whether its claim contains an equity, and also will throw some light upon its success in securing by deception the acquiescence of some friends of the Indians, in its propositions to rob them, "for their benefit."

The value of the Massachusetts grant was simply the profit that could be made by buying of the Indians and selling again. It was purely a speculation. The profit would depend on two things: the relative price of buying and selling per acre, and the number of acres which could be bought and sold. Neither Massachusetts nor any of her grantees had a right to expect that all of the land would ever come into market. The Indians would certainly need some of it for their subsistence even should they become civilized and be made citizens of the United States. The price paid for the license to buy proves that this was taken into consideration. Moreover, and this is an important point, this use of a portion of the lands for the support of the civilized Indians was one, and the first named, of the objects of the Plymouth grant under which Massachusetts claimed her rights. The first, or Virginia, charter to the Plymouth Company granted lands only one hundred miles westward from the coast. The patent for New England issued in 1620 is the basis of all the further Massachusetts charters. It was granted soon after information had come, as it recites, that "By God's visitation there

had raigned a wondefful Plague, together with many horrible Slaughters and Murthers . . . to the utter Destruction, Devastacion and Depopulacion of the whole Territory.” Now, the very paragraph, nay, the self-same sentence that grants the land, gives the reasons therefor, the king expressing his pious gratitude for having the first chance at it. After reciting this woeful desolation the charter says: “In Contemplacion and serious Consideracion whereof, Wee have thought it fitt accordingly to our Kingly Duty, soe much as in us lyeth, to second and followe God’s sacred Will rendering revered Thanks to his Divine Majestie for his gracious favour in laying open and revealing the same unto Us, before any other Christian Prince or State, by which Meanes, without Offence and as We trust to his Glory, Wee may with Boldness goe on to the settling of soe hopefull a Work which tendeth [note the three objects] [1] to the reducing and conversion of such Savages as remain wandering in Desolacion and Distress to civil Socitie and Christian Religion; [what we would call civilization, citizenship and severalty ownership] [2] to the Inlargement of our own Dominions, and [3] the Advancement of the Fortunes of such of our Good Subjects as shall willingly intresse themselves in the said Imployment. . . . Wee therefore, . . . do . . . grant the Territories,” etc.

Now I submit, as a legal proposition, that the first-named object, no less than the third, carried with it such land as might be necessary for its attainment. This proposition, it seems to me, is conclusively proven by the persistent limitation of all the grants to such lands as “the Indians may voluntarily choose to sell”; and also by the declaration of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1840, that these grants carried “no rights or title whatever,” except such right to purchase; demonstrating that the pious object of King James has always been kept in view. Retained rights are as firmly established by limitation of those granted as by actual reservation. Thus if a man sells twenty-five of his one hundred acres it is not necessary for him formally to reserve the other seventy-five in order to prevent the buyer from taking possession of his entire farm. The original Massachusetts charter provided for the subsistence of the Indians as following God’s sacred will, and every one of these grants has recognized this provision by its self-limitation to “such lands as the native Indians voluntarily choose to sell”; thus by implication reserving the other lands which the individual Indians will need for this use when, as the old charter said, they are “reduced” to a state of “Civil Societie.” I believe that if the question ever comes before the courts they will sustain this contention.

The earlier grantees, Phelps and Gorham, Robert Morris and the Holland Land Company, while driving close bargains with the Indians, still treated them honorably, and there was little cause for complaint. Finally, the unpurchased land was reduced to 196,335 acres, and the pre-emption right to this was sold at fifty cents an

acre to David A. Ogden. Now, neither the Holland Land Company which sold, nor Mr. Ogden who bought, had any right, as we have shown, to believe that he would have an opportunity to speculate on all of this land. They all knew that the nearly three thousand Indians who owned it would never voluntarily sell all of it. Where would they live if they did? If they sold half of it the pre-emption right would have cost one dollar an acre, and the profits on that would have been worth a fortune. Let one incident prove: after a large portion of the tract had been bought at sixty cents an acre the Tonawanda band refused to leave their ancient homes, and so bought them back of the Ogden Land Company at twenty dollars an acre. Other lands brought still more, and the company has actually bought and sold about one hundred and forty thousand acres, leaving less than thirty thousand to the ownership of the Indians.

But Ogden was a scheming, crafty man. He organized not a company, though it is so called, but a trust—the first in the United States (and it had all the revolting, rapacious, conscienceless features which have been ascribed to the modern Octopus; but only Indians were its victims). This trust conceived the idea of exterminating or removing from the State all of the Indians, so that it might speculate on all their lands. It was Ahab and Naboth's story literally repeated. Some of the men in the trust made arrangements for purchasing the fertile lands of the St. Regis and the Oneidas. It was a great scheme. All of the Indians of the State were to be removed so as to fatten the Octopus with the rich land of their ancient heritages. The scheme nearly succeeded. Congress was induced to grant lands in Wisconsin to be exchanged for the New York reservations; thus the whole nation was made to contribute to the "trust." The Oneidas and a part of the St. Regis fell into the trap, and the trust reaped a rich harvest. To-day not an Oneida owns a foot of their valuable reservations in the State; some two hundred of them are homeless, living on the charity of the Senecas and Onondagas. But the Senecas could be neither bribed, cajoled, nor forced into the trade. The growing settlements in the Northwest crowded upon the reserved lands, and the Ogden trust had influence enough to secure the gift of a large tract in Kansas with which to prosecute its nefarious scheme. The Senecas were, however, resolutely opposed to the transfer. Then came the blackest page in the history of dealings with the New York Indians. This Ogden trust bribed the superintendent sent by Massachusetts to look after the interests of the Indians; it bribed the commissioner of the United States appointed for the same purpose; and both these men aided it in debauching and bribing the chiefs to sign a treaty which exchanged the New York lands for the wilds of the desolate Kansas plains—and sixty cents an acre; the latter sum being the cost to the Ogden trust, while the Kansas lands were to be donated by the general Government. The bribery of the chiefs was so flagrant that, as it was stated on

the floor of the United States Senate, every chief who signed away the homes of his people had a written agreement from the Ogden trustees to deed him in fee simple a tract of land in New-York State.

I have used strong language, but it is no stronger than the case demands. If you wish corroboration read the two reports of the Committee of the Society of Friends appointed to look after the Six Nations, published about 1835 and 1843. Read also the Congressional record from January to April, 1840; and particularly Senator Sevier's speech of March 11th, and the documents he presented. The offense was so rank, however, that it defeated itself. Congress intervened in 1842, and saved to the Indians their present meager reservations, but with all their old rights and privileges.

Neither Congress nor public sentiment, however, could change the character of the Ogden trust. The spots of the leopard were too deep. Its next move was attempted seduction of the leaders of the tribe. In 1880 it induced a respectable Indian—Harrison Half-town—to make a proposition, giving him, as he said to the council, written authority to sell the "claim" for \$50,000. The council spurned the offer, and the Octopus took a nap.

About 1890 it became evident that nearly \$2,000,000 would be coming to the Indians from the Kansas money, and the Octopus awoke.

There are always in this wide-awake country of ours bright, conscienceless men who are looking for chances to make money, and care not how or at whose expense they make it. A little sub-company of this kind was formed, and it undertook to realize on the Ogden claim. The terms between this company and the parent trust were not known at the time; but Mr. Appleby, the sole surviving trustee, acknowledged the contract in a conversation with Hon. Darwin L. James, Chairman of the Indian Commission. Moreover, the authority from Appleby to the representative of the speculators is on record. This sub-company undertook to work Congress for a portion of the Kansas money. When Mr. Dawes introduced his bill providing for citizenship and lands in severalty, it raised such a hue and cry about the half-forgotten Ogden claim that Mr. Dawes, having no time to investigate the merits of the case, dropped the New York Indians from his bill.

In 1895 these speculators prepared to strike Congress for a large sum of the Indians' money. They found a complaisant Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and secured from him a report entirely in their interest. The unfairness of this report is evident from these facts:—

First: It gives equal importance to decisions of the courts in favor of the Indians and claims of attorneys in favor of the Ogden Company.

Secondly: In quoting the decisions in favor of the Indians it does not quote the vital, decisive portions.

Thirdly: It publishes as an appendix the brief of the Ogden

Company's lawyers, without any counteracting statement of the Indians' side of the question.

To the meanest criminal—even to the despicable assassin of our martyred President McKinley—our courts assign learned counsel. Had Commissioner Browning even desired to be fair, he would have employed an able attorney to defend the rights of the Indians, and would have printed his brief by the side of Maxwell's.

These are the facts. I say nothing of the motives that influenced the Commissioner; yet this report and the accompanying brief have been quoted to me as final authority by men whom I believe honestly to be, and whose official position certainly should have made them, friends of the Indian. It did not, however, as we shall see, convince Congress.

Armed with this report, the speculators secured the introduction of a bill appropriating \$300,000 to be taken out of the Indians' money and paid to the Ogden Land Company. How much of the sum would have reached the Ogden Company no honest man knows or cares; although it has been admitted that the speculators were to have all above \$200,000.

The bill failed to become a law. Hon. Charles Daniels of Buffalo, afterwards made Judge of the Court of Appeals, Hon. John J. Van Voorhis of Rochester, and Gen. Daniel E. Sickles of New York City were among those who having examined into the matter became satisfied that it was unmitigated robbery, and succeeded in defeating it; although it once passed the House of Representatives by a dastardly trick, which General Sickles exposed so vigorously that the vote was reconsidered.

During the debate on the measure another who had investigated the subject, Hon. William S. Holman of Indiana, long known as "the watchdog of the treasury," one of the ablest and most upright men that ever served in Congress, said:—

"The decision of the Court of Appeals in the State of New York settles the question beyond all doubt that the title in these two reservations was in the Seneca Indians absolutely; and that the Government would acquire nothing by the payment of this \$300,000."

Mark Judge Holman's conclusion, "would acquire nothing."

This ended the matter until 1902, when the Vreeland Bill came in backed like the others by a powerful lobby, employing able and unscrupulous attorneys,—men skilled to "make the worse appear the better reason," who for the retainer in hand or fee in prospect will argue that black is white; will falsify history, garble court decisions, and strenuously maintain as true what they know to be false. The Apostle Peter speaks of those who "wrest the Scripture to their own destruction." These men wrest the law and the facts to the destruction of the Indians. They would deceive the very elect. In fact they have deceived them. Some most excellent men, anxious to place the Indian in a condition where it will not be the rational thing to kill him, and believing that citizenship and ownership of land in severalty furnish that condition, have

been so alarmed lest the Ogden claim should bar the citizenship or cloud the title in severalty that they have been willing to consent to the payment of \$200,000 (of the Indians' money) to get rid of this claim. They are needlessly alarmed. Let them consider Judge Holman's deliberate conclusion, that nothing would be acquired by the payment of the money.

The Indian title is in no danger. In other States and in the Territories the change from common ownership to fee in severalty has already taken place. Able jurists declare that it would in this case, and no court has ever decided otherwise. These jurists say that the absolute fee now held in common by the tribe, when distributed by the paramount authority of the United States, would be as absolutely unimpaired as is the title of heirs to an estate when they become of age and receive from the court their individual shares. The individual Indians would be the heirs of the tribe; suffering now the disqualification of minors, they would by the conferring of citizenship be lifted to the majesty of manhood, and enter at once upon their rightful inheritance. Any other conclusion is absurd in its unrighteousness.

As to the speculative option of the Ogden Land Company, two able lawyers have expressed to me their opinion that, inasmuch as it was based upon a disqualification imposed on the Indians by the Government, whatever part of the option remained unexercised when that disqualification was removed would be destroyed forever; as if a father had sold to a neighbor an option on such of his land as his heirs while minors might choose to sell, upon their becoming of age the option upon unsold portions would expire by its own terms.

But even if the option remained it could work no injury and little inconvenience. It could apply only when an Indian wished to sell to a white man, and lawyers tell me that a simple method could be devised by which, through the County Clerk's office, the Ogden Company could have a chance to exercise its option on each sale.

There is another consideration. The value of this Ogden right, this option to purchase, depends upon the ability to buy for less than the land is worth. It is a value that continually decreases as the intelligence of the Indian increases. In 1820 it was worth \$20 an acre. In 1880 it was offered for eighty cents an acre. No one knows how much the Ogden Company would realize out of the present proposition to pay \$3.50 an acre; probably the fifty cents, while the \$3.00 would go to the speculators and the Congressional lobby. Again, if an Indian should never desire to sell his land, but wish to keep it for his heirs forever, he would have no use for the Ogden right, and it would be unjust to make him pay for it.

As to the provision for the sale of the leased lands, I have but two things to say: first, it is not fair or honorable, and I doubt if it be legal, to give the Indian no voice in fixing the price of his property or deciding whether he will sell or keep it.

Secondly, it is not honest to fix the prices on the basis of the rentals made years ago. Would Trinity Church renew its leases or sell its property on the basis of the rentals at the beginning of this century? Yet the Trinity corporation has had but little more to do with increasing the value of land in New York City than the Indians have had to do with the same thing in Salamanca.

In consideration of all these things: of the arbitrary terms for the sale of the leased lands; of the absolute fee and indefeasible title of the Indian ownership of the reservations as declared by the highest courts of the State and Nation; of the simply speculative character of the Ogden rights conveying no title whatever but simply an option, and the fact that in equity they have long ago been satisfied; of the utter impossibility that this option can act as a bar to citizenship or a cloud upon individual title, or even as an inconvenience except, perhaps, when an Indian desires to sell, and in that case can be satisfied in some inexpensive manner; of the exorbitant price proposed in the bill to be paid for this option, being one fifth of the Kansas money of the Indians interested, or \$75 for every man, woman and child among them; of the opinion of Judge Andrews that Congress ought to be very sure of its ground before taking the Indians' money for this purpose; of the deliberate conclusion of Judge Holman, that the Government or the Indians would acquire absolutely nothing by the purchase of the claim,—in view of all this, I confidently ask this philanthropic body to set the ban of its disapproval upon these provisions of the Vreeland Bill, and to exert its great influence to secure their defeat.

Most of you believe that citizenship and individual ownership constitute the condition in which the Indian can best live like the white man, and thus be lifted from the unfortunate estate where his rational fate is to be killed. Let me tell you that the enactment of the Vreeland Bill with these obnoxious provisions will postpone that result until all of us lie in forgotten graves. The Indians know that the bill is robbery; they know that the price is four times the offer which they rejected. The might which though national power may take the money from them will never be *right* in their eyes. The fact that it is coupled with the proposition of citizenship will make the latter hateful to them. Indians have long memories; and I warn you that the resentment bred by this robbery will be cherished for generations and render them forever hostile to the boon you offer. The men who expect to divide the \$200,000 among them do not care for this, but I trust you do.

I have been among this people; I have heard them individually and in general council discuss this measure. Their deep-seated hostility is to these two provisions. On the question of citizenship, without preliminary robbery, they were divided, those favoring being a fair minority. Now you can count on your fingers those who favor citizenship, while every man, woman and child of them opposes the other provisions of the bill. It is pathetic to hear them talk; they cling with blind faith to their constitutional guarantees

in the treaties, but they realize continually their powerlessness against the rapacity of those who covet their lands or their money. They feel within their heart of hearts that in the final contest the Indian has no rights which the white man is bound to respect. When we tell them that citizenship will cure these disabilities, yet couple our prescription with a fee of gigantic plunder, is it not natural that they should doubt either our medical skill or the sincerity with which we proffer our advice? They know what we also know, that every transaction, whether sale or lease, has diminished their holdings until of all their broad domains,—half of the State of New York,—to which they returned on our invitation, making alliance of friendship with us, less than 70,000 acres remain to them; and they know, too, and feel, members of this Conference, that in the eyes of the white man these meager lands and the little money which is due them are a Naboth's vineyard, with plenty of cunning Jezebels, like the promoters of this bill, to suggest means of seizure to the Ahabs, who have the power to take.

In ancient times in the old pagan world the Roman master crowned his slave before he freed him. If, in this twentieth century of the Christian era, in this republic which boasts its generosity even to conquered foes, we are to free our Indian wards from the inferiority and disqualification of the tribal state, let not history record that our last preceding act was to rob them.

Judge Charles Andrews, of the Court of Claims, followed.

THE VREELAND BILL.

BY JUDGE CHARLES ANDREWS.

I have been asked to say a few words upon some of the legal aspects of the "Vreeland" Bill for the allotment of the lands of the Seneca Nation. It is impracticable to enter here at large upon the subject, but, preliminarily, I desire to express my cordial concurrence in the able and thoughtful address of Bishop Huntington's this morning, and in the view that the moral aspect of the questions involved should control the purely legal ones if the two are irreconcilable. Unless the allotment of the lands in severalty is justified by the strictest considerations of equity as applied to the dependent race, the proposed legislation ought not to be enacted. The primary and fundamental question, therefore, in my view is, whether the best interests of the Indians as well as the general interests of civilization require that the tribal relations of the Indians should be weakened, if not dissolved, and that they should become incorporated into the body of citizens. The proposed bill, if enacted, will abrogate the system of local government by the tribes, and go far to destroy the distinctive character of the Senecas as a *quasi* nation. I do not think that the bill can be justified upon the

assumption that the proposed allotments will furnish to the individual Indians adequate means of support out of the allotted lands, in view of their training and their inexperience in agriculture. The twelve or fifteen acres of land to which each Indian would be entitled will, in my judgment, be insufficient for this purpose. But the Indians do not now, as a rule, derive their support from their lands. They find employment as laborers, and this is supplemented by the small annuities received from the Government. I repeat, therefore, unless the interests of general civilization, including not only the interest of the white race, but the interest of the Indians also, justify this measure, which, in effect and in its main purpose, is to dissolve the tribal relation and subvert their right to local self-government, and the control which they have hitherto exercised over their civil and domestic affairs, then this bill ought not, in my judgment, to pass. I shall not dwell upon this branch of the discussion, which has been so ably presented by others, but content myself with affirming my conviction that the general principle of the bill, which is the allotment of the lands in severalty, is justified by public considerations and the best interests of the Indians. I favor, therefore, the general purpose and motive of the bill, and the principal question as to its justice and equity relates to the provision that \$200,000 or thereabouts of tribal money, out of \$2,000,000 held for the New York Indians, shall be applied to the extinguishment of the alleged title of the Ogden Land Company to the lands in the Alleghany and Cattaraugus Reservations. The opponents of the bill contend that the Ogden Land Company have no title to these lands. If the Ogden Land Company have no title or no right, the relinquishment of which is essential to the carrying out of the allotment policy, then I think every fair-minded man would say that such an appropriation, although it might be within the power of the Government, would be arbitrary and unjust. The crucial question, therefore, is whether the Ogden Land Company has anything to sell; if it has not, then the appropriation ought not to be made; if it has, then it is within the discretion of Congress to determine whether on the whole the interest of its Indian wards would be promoted by the appropriation.

The rights of the Ogden Land Company depend primarily upon the nature of the Indian title to lands on this continent. It became the settled principle of public law among the nations of Europe, that discovery vested in the government by whose subjects the discovery was made, the ownership of the soil and the ultimate fee of Indian lands, subject to the Indian right of occupancy during their national or tribal existence, which possessory right might be extinguished by a sale or cession thereof by the Indians to the sovereign or his grantees. The right to acquire the possessory title of the Indians inured exclusively to the owner of the ultimate fee, and came to be known as the right of pre-emption. These general principles as to the nature of Indian titles have been firmly established, and are now generally recognized. If any question might

be raised as to the justice of the principle upon which the European nations acted, it is now too late to attempt to disturb it. It is embedded in the law of nations, and is irrevocable.

At the time of the American Revolution the title to the lands in the western part of the State occupied by the Seneca Indians was either in Massachusetts, which claimed jurisdiction over that territory under a prior and earlier charter, or in the colony of New York, whose charter limits embraced a portion of the same territory which it was claimed had been previously granted to Massachusetts by the Crown. This led to a controversy between the State of New York and the State of Massachusetts in respect to the ownership of this territory, and it was terminated by a voluntary compact made between those States in 1786, which was afterwards ratified by Congress, as required by the Federal Constitution, whereby Massachusetts ceded to New York the right of government and sovereignty over this disputed territory, and New York relinquished to Massachusetts the right of pre-emption of the soil from the native Indians, and all right, title, and interest possessed by the State of New York other than that of government and sovereignty. So that it left, as I understand it, in the State of Massachusetts, as the result of that compact, the fee of the Indian lands subject to the Indian right of occupation according to the rule of international law, which had been settled for more than a hundred years. This compact also conferred upon Massachusetts the right to convey to its grantees the pre-emption right to the lands ceded to Massachusetts by the State of New York. And it is under that provision that Massachusetts, in 1791, conveyed to Robert Morris 5,000,000 acres of land, including nearly the whole territory ceded to Massachusetts by the compact of 1786, which grant vested in him the rights which Massachusetts had in and to these lands by virtue of that compact. The Ogden Land Company, in 1810, through mesne conveyances from Robert Morris, acquired, as I understand the law, the ultimate fee to 196,000 acres of these lands, subject to the Indian right of occupancy, including the present Alleghany and Cattaraugus Reservations, with the sole right to purchase the Indian title, and, by treaties made from time to time, the right of the Seneca Indians to the 196,000 acres of land so conveyed to Ogden and Troup in 1810, was so reduced that to-day the once powerful tribe of the Senecas are confined to a territory of about 50,000 acres of land, the only remnant of their ancient patrimony.

Now the question is, if allotment takes place, can it be effectual so as to confer absolute title upon the individual allottees among the Indians with the right of alienation of the fee if, after the probation period has expired, they may wish to sell their title to the whites or to whomsoever may become the purchaser? While there is some divergence of view upon this question it follows, I think, from principles which have been judicially settled, that the grantees of the State of Massachusetts, including the Ogden Land

Company, are substituted in the place of that State as the owners of the ultimate, although it may be a mere technical fee, with the sole right to acquire the Indian right of occupation. If this is true, it is apparent that until the title of the Ogden Land Company is extinguished, neither the original Indian allottees nor any subsequent grantee of such allottees can ever acquire a perfect title to these lands; there never could be an alienation of these titles which would convey complete ownership. And, moreover, if the other view obtains, that the Indians have the absolute fee to these lands and the Ogden Land Company merely the exclusive right to purchase, and that an allottee would take an absolute fee which the Indian nation as such possesses, and that a grantee of an allottee would take the same title, it would nevertheless be subject to the compact between the States of New York and Massachusetts, by which the Ogden Land Company as successors was invested, with the exclusive right to purchase these lands from the Indians. If, on the other hand, the absolute ultimate fee is in the Ogden Land Company, then assuming that the dissolution of the tribal relation would not result as a mere consequence of allotment, and that the possession by the allottees in severalty would not constitute an extinguishment of the Indian occupancy, nevertheless no white person could buy from such an Indian, because the very moment this occupancy was terminated by the Indians' own act the right of the Ogden Land Company would accrue, and their fee would be made perfect by the union of the right of Indian occupancy and the ultimate fee which that company possessed. The question is not whether these Indians are to be "robbed" of \$200,000 of their money, or whether it is a "colossal" fraud to make the proposed appropriation. If this money is applied toward the extinguishment of the Ogden Land Company's claim, the Indians will receive compensation in the increased value of their property, because as allottees they would then take an absolute title alienable like that of the title of any white person in the State to his lands.

Hon. John Van Voorhis was invited to speak.

Hon. JOHN VAN VOORHIS.—Bishop Walker's letter, read before this Conference this morning, shows that the Seneca Indians are not the miserable, cursed, wicked, terrible things that Bishop Huntington finds the Indians to be on the Onondaga Reservation. The charges against the Senecas are not new. They were made many years ago. The Presbytery of Buffalo, ten or twelve years ago, investigated these charges, and its report, favorable to these Indians, which I have in a pamphlet here, shows how false these charges are. The Indians, as Bishop Ryan stated, have no friends. This is strictly correct as to Cattaraugus County.

At the opening of this Conference this morning our host, Mr. Smiley, expressed the hope that no personalities would be indulged in in this debate. That was proper. This is no place for per-

sonalities. But the truth should be stated. To characterize the Vreeland Bill as it deserves is not a personality. In opening this Conference yesterday morning Mr. Smiley read the fifty-first chapter of Isaiah. That indicated his opinion of the freedom of this discussion. The first words he read were, "Cry aloud and spare not. Lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgressions."

Where such a command as this is made by the Almighty, and indorsed by Mr. Smiley, it is orders to me to speak of the measures now pending, affecting these friendless Indians, as they deserve. I look upon the Vreeland Bill as an infamous bill, promoted by the enemies of these Indians to destroy the Seneca nation, and make these Indians pay two hundred thousand dollars, which they don't owe, for the privilege of being destroyed. Mr. Vreeland claims that they are incapable of self-government; that they have no sense of justice; and are incompetent to be citizens. The Vreeland Bill declares in thunder tones that they are not fit to be citizens. It says they shall not exercise the right to control their own property for twenty-five years after the passage of the bill. Can you conceive anything stronger than this to show that they are not fit to be citizens; not fit to have their property in severalty; not fit to take their chances against the land grabbers that infest their borders? It is a bill, the effect of which will be that the Indians and their land will part company as soon as they get the power to get rid of them. In twenty-six years after the passage of this bill very few Indians will have any land. It is a bill to make it easy for the Indians to exchange their land for whiskey.

The Indian problem is a great one, and no experiments should be made at the expense of the Indians, and without their consent. In the ten minutes allowed me I cannot enter into an analysis of this bill. I have only time to refer to one or two things.

There is a provision in the bill that the bill shall not take effect unless the consent of the Indians be first obtained. That is a provision to be remarked upon. Mr. Vreeland says it ought not to be there. But it is there, and I cite Mr. Vreeland as authority, that in his opinion there is something wrong in the bill; and Mr. Vreeland ought not to support it for that reason, and the bill ought not to pass. Of course it is wrong to let the Indians have anything to say about what shall be done with them or their property, in Mr. Vreeland's estimation. How, and in what manner, is the consent of the Indians to be obtained? The bill is silent on that point. No *modus operandi* for obtaining that consent is provided in the bill. Mr. Vreeland stated in his speech that the bill provided that the Secretary of the Interior should canvass the Indians for that consent. But he is mistaken; there is no such thing in the bill. I will thank Mr. Vreeland to refer me to any such clause in this document. I think it is intended to get that consent by the aid of three machine politicians in Cattaraugus County. The bill has a provision, to the effect that if any Indian desires to get rid of his land without wait-

ing twenty-five years, he can do so by making terms with these three machine politicians, and when he has done so they will certify to the Secretary of the Interior that he is fit for citizenship, and he can get rid of his lands at once. Thus all the Indians on the reservation are to be placed in the hands and power of these three machine politicians, and they are to decide when each Indian may sell his land. These three politicians are county officers of Cattaraugus County; enemies of the Indians, every one. It is a terribly shocking, bad bill. Of course the men who promote the bill don't know it. Mr. Vreeland don't know it. There are a great many things in heaven and earth that Mr. Vreeland hasn't found out yet. I think he will be wiser when he comes to take a vote on this bill in the House of Representatives.

He says the distinguished men of Western New York favor this bill. He should, and doubtless intended, to confine that statement to Cattaraugus County. In the little town of Rochester, with 170,000 people, probably ten men are not to be found who favor this bill.

Mr. Vreeland told the Committee of the House that 100,000 of his constituents want this bill. He says he offered the bill at the request of citizens. That means citizens of Cattaraugus County—all unfriendly to the Indians. That means white people who are hostile to the Indians, and are grabbing their lands wherever and whenever they can, and getting them away from the Indians. That is what that means, and all it means.

What about the Seneca Indians' oil lands? I listened in vain to hear Brother Vreeland, in opening this discussion, tell us how the Standard Oil Company came to own all the valuable oil rights in the lands of the Seneca nation. I have heard it rumored how that corporation got these rights. I should prefer that Mr. Vreeland, who knows all about it, should tell us all about it in his closing speech. He can tell us what syndicate it was that got these oil lands away from the Senecas, and turned them over to that company. He can tell us who organized that syndicate, and how much that syndicate made out of the Indians or their oil lands, and whether anyone who supports this bill in Congress got rich out of that transaction. I make no charge. I only call upon the man who knows, to tell us all he knows concerning that matter.

I have examined the Ogden Land Company's claim, and assert that that company has no existence, and never had. It is the shadow of a shade. There was never a corporation with that name. Three men, claiming to have a pre-emption right to the Indian lands, called themselves the Ogden Land Company. They are all dead long ago. It is their descendants—their children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren—who have succeeded to their rights. Not one of these, so far as I can learn, has ever applied to Congress to pass the Vreeland Bill. There are said to be over one hundred and twenty of these heirs scattered all over the country. Other parties than these heirs are pushing this bill. The Bank of England, I am

told, has an interest in it. The Ogden Land Company has never established any interest in these lands in any court. It has no title in these lands to be extinguished. It only claims the right to be the first purchaser, if it is the highest bidder, when the Indians want to sell, and not till then. The title of the Indians is original, absolute, and conclusive.

Don't let us pass any bills against these Indians in a doubtful case.

I indorse every word that Bishop Walker and Charles T. Andrews have said in their able papers presented to this Conference.

Mr. J. S. Whipple was called upon.

Mr. J. S. WHIPPLE, Clerk of the New York Senate.—Let me say, for the benefit of the ladies and gentlemen present, that I have lived near to and upon the Alleghany Indian Reservation for forty-five years, having moved there with my father's family in 1857. Necessarily I have some personal knowledge of the Indian question, at least as much as our good friend the bishop, at Buffalo, who has known something of the reservations for two years. The greatest question for this Conference to consider and for Congress to consider, in my judgment, is the social and moral question. The legal questions Congress will take care of. Our American Congress does not do things half way or illegally. I have faith in the intelligence of the men who make up the Congress of the United States.

The Indian situation in the State of New York challenges the attention of every lover of good government, every respecter of the home. The home conditions among the Indians challenge the close attention of every woman in the Empire State. A condition that will prostitute motherhood and debase infancy, that will start youth always on the wrong way, is worthy of your attention, and should receive the earnest attention of this Conference. There can be no excuse offered for the present conditions among the New York Indians. My old friend the bishop, from Syracuse, sends forth the right tone in his speech. It has the true ring in it. I remember when I made an investigation in 1888, as chairman of a legislative committee, that we took 35,000 folios of evidence, going over every phase of the subject.

Dr. M. E. GATES.—May I interrupt to say that the speaker is Clerk of the Senate of New York, and he was chairman of the Special Committee appointed in 1888, and made the only exhaustive report on the condition of the Indians in New York which has ever been printed. It is still a standard document for facts. I thought the hearers this morning ought to understand that they are listening to one who has made a very full study of this subject.

Mr. WHIPPLE.—In that report of 35,000 folios we had the evidence of Bishop Huntington, Chancellor Simms, and of hundreds and hundreds of other witnesses, not confined to white men, but of Indians, who testified to the fact that stands uncontradicted to-day,

that the condition of all of the reservation Indians, Senecas, as well as Onondagas, was intolerable in a social way, and that great question is the thing to deal with.

I intended to say something about the Ogden Land claim, because that is the stone upon which everything strikes and stops. The splendid legal statement of Justice Andrews is so clear and so true that no man need try to better it. Necessarily I have studied that question because it was part of our business. He states the history of the claim and the law, and he also stated the law in "126 New York," in the case known as the Christie Case. If he had not made this statement I might have said more, but I will take Judge Andrews' opinion against that of Mr. Van Voorhis' as to the legal proposition in the case.

The letter which was read from the good bishop at Buffalo is to me funny in some respects. He charges that under no circumstances should we try to make these Indians citizens within five years, because they are not prepared for citizenship; that they are not qualified; and then he goes on immediately to state that they are intelligent, quick of perception, have good common school education, and that qualifies them for citizenship.

The Indians upon the Alleghany Reservation, as a whole, are intelligent people. They have had common schools for years. The trouble is they are not kept in school long enough, but they are as capable of being citizens, on the whole, as the naturalized population of the State of New York, and know much more about our system of Government. Some gentlemen hesitate a little about the amount of land each Indian would have under the allotment. The truth is that they will have every foot of land that they have now, and they don't farm the half of what they now have; so you need not stop to think about that a great while. It is said that not one third is farmed now, and that indifferently. If one third will support them now, then three thirds will take care of them when they are citizens. The amount each one will have is nearer twenty acres, but they will have all that they now have. There are 55,000 acres and 2,300 people; you can divide it for yourselves.

Mr. Van Voorhis insinuates something about oil land. We ought not to stop even for insinuations when there is a great moral question up of such importance. If you will look into it, you will find that they get rentals annually of something like \$10,000 a year from leased lands, and one eighth royalty on their oil lands, that has run from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year; and that is all any white man gets, so there is nothing wrong about that.

If I had time to go into details about this whole proposition and let you understand it as I understand it, by having been to school with Indian children, known all about them, know the names of a great many upon the reservation, you would not stop one minute, or hesitate over the mere technical question as to how this money is to be paid or where it is to be taken from. The great thing is to do it. Can any man tell me why the Seneca Indians should not be citizens when 70,000 Indians, with a hundred years less of civilization about them, are made citizens? Stop and think of it. They cannot, un-

der this bill, be deprived of one cent or one inch of land. It is an insult to the intelligence, the patriotism, and decency of men to charge that any man interested in it is interested for some unlawful or illegal purpose. Are there no philanthropists except those who live far away from the reservation? There are good men in Cattaraugus County, and every decent-minded man wants to see the condition of things improved. This must be done, and the Vreeland Bill is a just and feasible way. This Ogden claim must be disposed of, or you endanger every inch of land forever. If you were the guardian of a child and he had a farm and there was a cloud, even a small cloud, on the title that prevented him from disposing of it as a man, and he had money with which you could do it, would it not be your duty to clear off this cloud from the title and enhance the value of the land? The fact is that this Indian land would not bring \$10 an acre, as a whole, at present. If the title of the Ogden claim were united with the Indians' right of occupancy, then it would be worth \$30 an acre, and the Indian would benefit that much. That is the fact stated by business men who know the situation. This bill is just; and not only this, but it is imperative if you want to make anything out of the Indians. It is the only way by which it can be done. The men who accomplish things do not stop at technicalities; they go forward; they do as President Roosevelt did,—they march on and accomplish things.

Rev. W. S. HUBBELL.—For twenty years I have been familiar with these reservations, and for fifteen years it was my duty to make an annual report to the Presbytery of Buffalo on the condition of these Indians; and from constant correspondence during the last five years with the men interested there, I feel that I know more about this problem than many who discuss it freely. The Chairman will pardon me for saying that the first Indians who were taken away from the New York Reservations to government schools, were taken in a car by myself, and at private expense, to Captain Pratt at Carlisle; and the first permission from Washington for these Indians to attend school at Hampton and Carlisle was secured by me from President Harrison. It was revoked by President Cleveland, and was restored by President McKinley. In all, about three hundred have been educated at Hampton and Carlisle. I have lived to see and rejoice in this.

I made a figuring of the amount of land each Indian would have in case of "severalty." Much of the land is rented to whites, and much besides is unfit for cultivation. My calculation was that if all the lands rented and unrented, good, bad, and indifferent, were divided, the Indians would have about fifteen acres each. If only such land as is available should be divided, they would have about eight acres each.

There are other conditions to be considered. Some of these Indians are married to Mohawk and to St. Regis wives, and the mother carries the title, so that these families will have less land under this distribution, because the children are not accounted Senecas.

My opinion is that the time has come for the division of the New

York Reservations in severalty. The Indians are as ready now as they ever will be to become citizens. This bill is as fair a measure as they can expect to secure. Some of the statements made in Bishop Walker's paper would seem to show that those astute and clever Indians have misled him. He will need more than two years of experience there before he can draw safe conclusions as to what should be done for the Senecas. If the financial objection could be taken out of the way; that is, if, instead of paying \$200,000 out of the Seneca funds to extinguish the Ogden Land Company's claim (which I regret to believe is a good claim), the United States Government should pay this \$200,000 out of our treasury surplus; then nine out of every ten Indians would doubtless approve of the Vreeland Bill. I think that is the way to settle this matter; otherwise the Indians will refuse their consent. One of the most prominent lawyers in New York holds that it is not morally proper and not legally right to take the Indians' money to pay this claim. The Senecas are agreed in considering that such an act would be robbery.

I fought you in this Conference with all my might ten years ago with regard to the alleged debased condition of the New York State Indians: I am with you to-day in favoring the Vreeland Bill with this financial change.

Mr. PHILIP C. GARRETT.—I wish to call attention to two or three points from some notes that I made.

As regards the question of the Ogden Land Company's claim, without going into the legal aspects of the case in detail, I am rather disposed to differ from the last speaker as to the legal point that the Ogden Land Company does hold the fee. But suppose it does. Mr. Whipple asserts that while the land would not bring more than ten dollars an acre now, if that claim were settled it would bring thirty dollars an acre. The increment resulting from the expenditure of this \$200,000 would be a million dollars. The Indians would make a net gain of \$800,000. Whether it is right or not from a moral point of view to take this money from the Indian Trust Fund, my way of looking at it is this: while I would personally prefer that we should take it from the United States funds, it would pay the Indians to take the money from their own funds in order to remove the flaw from their title, and make the consequent profit of \$800,000. I think they should advocate it from the motive of self-interest; that is the point of view from which I favor that part of the bill. I think, nevertheless, that it is right to take it from the Indian Trust Fund, if Congress so decides, as any guardian would take money from the other property of a ward to discharge a blot upon the title to the real estate he held for that ward.

If one of us had a piece of land with a cloud resting on its title such as this, our conveyancer would not pass the title, and no purchaser would accept it; and we would therefore make haste to wipe out the blot. In this case, although in point of mercantile value I think the claim worthless, I would recommend the Indians or the United States to buy the claim for the lowest price at which it can be bought. This, Mr. Appleby says, is \$200,000. I believe it would be money in the pockets of the Indians whether they or the

United States pay the money. It is sometimes cheaper to pay out money than to keep it.

As regards the validity of the Ogden Land Claim we need not inquire too closely whether it is a fee simple to the land or merely a pre-emption right; we may leave that to the casuists. Its history is before us; and whichever theory is correct, it is an undoubted cloud upon the title of these lands which has been recognized for one hundred and fifty years. The Indians have sold large tracts at low prices under the compulsion of this claim. The holders of it aver that it is a fee simple, but subject to the Indians' right of occupancy. They claim that this is only their right as a tribe; and if the tribe cease to exist, or cease to occupy the land as a tribe by dividing it, the Ogden Company will become absolute owners, which is doubtful. No way has yet been found of bringing this simple question before the United States Supreme Court for final adjudication. If it is neither more nor less than the right to buy when these Indians want to sell, the claim is a misty one, without much merchantable value. The Indians so regard it, for, say they, we never will want to sell; and if they do not want to sell even for twenty-five years, the interest for that time is enough to eat up the principal of the claim.

Again, the United States should perhaps assume its payment. A treaty between the United States Government and the Senecas, proclaimed Jan. 21, 1795, provides, "The United States acknowledges all the land within the above-mentioned boundaries" (being the land in question) "to be the property of the Seneca nation; and the United States will never claim the same nor disturb the Seneca nation, or any of the Six Nations, nor any of their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but it shall remain theirs until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States who have the right to purchase." By this treaty the United States would seem to have perpetually bound itself to defend their title, and therefore perhaps to pay for the expungement of the Ogden Land Claim. But that is for the courts to decide.

Now as to this bill. I advocate this bill. I believe it is the right legislation to enact. The criticism has been made that it will not give each Indian enough land to live on. Very well; it neither increases nor diminishes the amount that they have now. If they are able to live on it now, they will be still more able to live on the same amount of land when held by them in severalty whether it be 100, or 160, or 200 acres per family.

It is said the Indians do not advocate it; but the crucial question as to this bill is not merely whether it is what the Indians want or what they need; it is not that primarily; it is what is best for the country; and that country is composed mainly of whites,—say seventy million whites, eight million negroes, and a quarter of a million Indians. What is best for all these? Is it better for this mixed eighty million that there should be several heathen nations festering as cancers in the midst of the body politic, or should they be removed? The Indians want communal land because they

want barbarism and not civilization. They do not want law, nor marriage obligations, nor Christianity; they do want heathenism.

When the white man came among them they did not own the land any more than the air, the water, and the game. Now they claim that their tenure of land is communal, and they resist the steps necessary to their acceptance of the laws of their state and country. If we return to their ancient order of things, they have no ownership at all of land. But they want to hold a part of the white man's way and not the whole, clinging to heathen usages as far as they please. They resist citizenship so as to keep immorality, indolence, and lawlessness. Why should the nation make this easy? Are we not then to be loyal to our country, to our laws, and Christianity? We all believe, and are sure, that the white man's way is the best. Then let us give it to the Indian, without asking his leave, for his country's good, and for his own, too; his prejudices are to his own hurt. If civilization is better than barbarism for us, it is also better for him; if not, we had all better study New York reservation civilization and adopt it. If it is better, let us adopt it as the law of the land. It is high time for the farce of recognizing Indian nationalities with other laws than ours to cease. It is time to stop all distinctions in point of rights, privileges, and immunities between Indians and white men. They are men, and capable of obeying our civilized law. There is no reason why the residents on these reservations should be exempt from the laws of the State of New York. One hundred years more, five hundred years, will not change their character unless the reservations are broken up and they forget that they are Indians. "God hath made of one blood all nations of the earth for to dwell on the face thereof." Let the whites and Indians hereafter be of one blood, and let the eighty million people enact this.

The Indian formerly lived by the chase; buffalo and deer then abounded. Since he began to become a white man his days as an Indian are numbered, and soon every vestige of the old order of things will have vanished. The more we hasten this revolution the better it will be for the Red man.

The object of this bill is to make the New York Indians citizens of the United States, and to abolish so far as they are concerned, reservations and separate laws and governments for them. Whether looked at from the Indians' point of view, or that of the people of the United States, or that of the people of New York, or the people of Salamanca and Red House, it is expedient to pass it. The mistake, in my mind, is in saddling it with the amendment making it null and void unless it has the support of a majority of the Indians. They are handicapped by their prejudices, and want to remain heathen. The country needs their civilization, their enfranchisement, their enrichment by severalty ownership; and they need it, but do not know it. Oblige them to take these inestimable blessings in spite of themselves, and hereafter they will forever bless you.

Mr. Charles Joseph Bonaparte was invited to take part in the discussion.

Mr. BONAPARTE.—I rise as a neophyte, knowing nothing about this subject except what I have learned to-day, but I want to ask two questions: First, whether I am right in my understanding of the report of the committee, which I read this morning, that the only matter in controversy regarding the claim of the Ogden Land Company is whether it is a claim to the fee or a claim to the right of pre-emption? In other words, whether it is a concession that they have either one or the other? My reason for asking this question is, that I think Justice Andrews has made it perfectly clear that, for the purpose of affecting the title to the Indian lands, it makes very little practical difference whether they have the fee or merely a right of pre-emption. In either case the effect would be to cloud the title to any lands that might be acquired in severalty, as it would certainly serve to deter any probable private purchasers.

There were some statements made in the course of the discussion to the effect that the company had no claim at all, but that does not seem to be what is alleged in the report of the committee; it is there stated that they have an admitted claim either to the fee or to the right of pre-emption.

The second question which I wish to ask is, if it has been considered by those in charge of the bill whether it would be practicable to obtain a judicial determination of the validity of this claim? It appears to me that it ought not to be very difficult to provide in the bill for a proper proceeding to clear the title; and if that could be done, if it could be determined by the proper court of last resort what was the extent of this claim on the land, that fact probably would go far toward removing some of the opposition which seems to have been aroused to the measure by those who think that it provides for using the Indians' money to buy up a claim of very doubtful value. I make this suggestion as an inquirer, not as a critic.

Andrew John, a Seneca Indian, was the next speaker.

ANDREW JOHN.—I would like to show the real object of the bill before this Conference. My people are almost unanimously opposed to it. We have a reservation of fifty thousand acres of very good land, and the white men are scheming to get it out of the hands of the Indians. It is the same old story from the time of the discovery of America by Columbus. Once we had the whole domain; where are the Indians to-day? We have to fight all the time to keep the little reservations that we have left. The white men get on the reservations. We could not help it, because the railroads cross it from all points. The Indians always come out at the smallest end of the horn of anything.

The discussion was closed by Mr. Vreeland.

Mr. VREELAND.—To me this has been an occasion of the highest interest. I have been particularly pleased to hear the venerable Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, out of his great learning and long experience on the bench, verify

the claims which we have made based on the decisions of the courts, that the Ogden Land Company stands as a rock in the road which must be removed before we attempt to allot the lands of the Seneca Indians. The people who live on the reservations, in the villages laid out by act of Congress (about 8,000 in number), are required by this bill to pay something like \$20,000 toward the purchase of the Ogden title. They pay their just proportion according to the amount of land they occupy. They would love to see this bill pass, and they will work for its passage, but they want to see nothing done that would do injustice to the Indian in any way. I stand here to say that in my judgment, nowhere in the history of dealings with the Indians of this country have they been treated more fairly and honestly than they have in these reservations, occupied by these villagers. Bishop Walker says they are paying mere pittance for these lands, and cites the case of the value of land in Salamanca. When the railroads were built through the reservations, and these lands were occupied by the whites, they were swamps. No one would think of valuing the land as it then stood at more than \$10 an acre, and this would be upon the assumption that title could be given. Under the provisions of this bill these lands in Salamanca are paying on an average one hundred times more for the land than it was worth when the whites took it; some of it which was worth \$10 an acre, pays under the provisions of this bill \$5,000 an acre to the Indians. The leases already in force run for more than ninety years, with the right at the expiration of that time of renewing them. The bishop would hardly argue that these Indians should be kept in their present condition for nearly a century in order that the term of these leases may expire and a higher rate be obtained.

Under this bill the white lease-holders are to have the right to buy the lands which they hold by paying such a sum of money as put at interest at four and one-half per cent would produce the present rental. This means that they are paying about \$180,000 for the title to these lands besides the \$20,000 which they pay toward the Ogden Land Company's claim. The whites, then, who keep this little portion of these reservations, pay in for the benefit of the Indians a sum sufficient to buy of the Ogden Land Company the title to their whole 56,000 acres.

I wish to state to this Conference that no man on earth has a dollar's interest in passing this bill; that no man outside of the Ogden Land Company is to receive a dollar if it does pass, not even for expenses, not even for taking witnesses to Washington, not even for the drawing of a paper. The agreement with the Ogden Land Company is, that they furnish a deed to the property, and aside from that, they are not to pay a penny to anyone on earth for any purpose whatever in the passage of this bill. This is only my statement, but I can show to you that if it is not true all the world must know it. If this bill passes, the check goes from the Secretary of the Interior to the trustee of the Ogden Land Company, Mr. Appleby of New York City, now an old man, over eighty, with a long and honorable business record behind him: a man of wealth, reputa-

tion, and character, if we may believe those who have known him all his life. This check goes to him for the benefit of the hundred or more tenants in common that make up the Ogden Land Company. Many of these will be represented by administrators and executors, to whom the money will be paid by the trustee for the benefit of the heirs. The reports of these administrators and executors will be spread upon the public records of the Surrogates Courts of New York, and if there is any leakage, if any of this money is lost or stolen, the public records will show it. I have been president of a bank in the county where I live for the past fifteen years. When my term in public life has expired, I intend to go back to the bank and again become a respectable member of society. Under the provisions of this bill I am requiring my customers and neighbors to pay \$20,000. They are willing and glad to pay this, because after many years of examination they know that the Ogden claim must be got out of the way before they can get title. But suppose they should find out after the passage of this bill that there was a vulgar steal in it; suppose they are made to pay more than they need to, and the excess goes into someone's pocket: what would my neighbors and friends think of me? what would become of my business? I hold myself responsible for every detail of this bill, and I say that no one has any interest in its passage; no one receives any pay for its passage, even to the value of a postage stamp. I think it must be evident, even to the type of mind carried by my friend from Rochester, that considered as a matter only of self-interest, I could not afford to profit, nor permit others to profit in any illegitimate way by this legislation. Two hundred thousand dollars has been the price asked by the Ogden Land Company for many years. Occasionally claim lawyers have thought they would like to get this bill through Congress and get the money from the National Government. The Ogden Land Company has always said to them that their price was \$200,000, but if anyone could get more, he could have the difference. When I went to Washington, three years ago, I found that some lawyers had a contract with Mr. Appleby by which they would have all over \$200,000 that they could get from the Government for the claim and title. Their contract did not run out until last winter. Mr. Appleby let the contract run out, and until that time I refused to introduce the bill. Mr. Garrett and Mr. James went with me to see Mr. Appleby, and we asked him for the lowest cash price he would sell the claim for, and after consulting with the members of the company he stated the price named in this bill. I want you to understand that in supporting this bill you are supporting a bill to which no breath of scandal can ever honestly attach; no secrets or surprises can be sprung in relation to it. It is as clean as a hound's tooth from beginning to end.

Two million dollars will soon be paid to these Indians by the United States. What will they do with it? Let me tell you what the missionaries say about it. They say that in the majority of cases this money will be a curse to the Indians; that the reservation will be a Saturnalia of debauchery until the money is spent, and the reservations will swarm with fakirs, sharpers, and blackguards. A

million dollars of that money belongs to Indian children. What will become of their part of the money? It will be paid to their parents, and will be squandered. Under the provisions of this bill the Indians are put under laws of the States in which they live; the money of these Indian children will come under the protection of the Surrogate's Court, where it must be put on interest, and bonds given for its security until these Indian children shall become of age. There will be about \$1,500 for each average family—more money than they have ever dreamed of. If they were to pay their proportion of the Ogden claim it would amount to about \$300 per family, leaving about \$1,200 to each Indian family, which we hope will be spent by them in making a home and improving a piece of land for themselves and their children forever. We believe they are much more likely to spend it for this purpose if they own their own land than they are if they do not own it in severalty, and it belongs to the tribe as a whole. That is what we propose to do under this bill; take \$200,000 of this money and extinguish that claim, that all these blessings may flow from it, and we are sustained by the highest courts in this position.

These Indians are intelligent enough to know that they have no title to their lands. Thousands of acres of rich river bottoms have not been taken up and cultivated because of this uncertainty. Uncertainty as to the future has the same effect on these Indians that it has upon the business of the white man; and their young men will not take up and cultivate these lands without knowing whether they are to receive the benefits of their labor; and yet Bishop Walker proposes that we shall continue this state of uncertainty for at least five years more.

The gentleman from Rochester has expressed his opinion that this is an infamous bill. I will express my opinion, and I do it candidly and honestly. The most deadly enemy that these Indians have in the world can do them no greater injury than to defeat the legislation proposed in this bill. They would live in the stagnant pool of the reservation with no chance to become American citizens, with no protection for their homes and their property, with no courts worthy of the name, treated not as individuals but as a tribe,—a relic of barbarism and savagery set down in the midst of a high civilization.

I am asked whether it makes any difference whether the Ogden Company has the fee or the right of pre-emption. The gentleman was right in saying that it does not matter whether it is the fee or right of pre-emption. In either case it must be removed before allotment can take place. My claim is, that the right of pre-emption and the ultimate fee must always go together, that the one would be practically worthless without the other.

In the treaty of 1842 the Seneca nation of Indians conceded that the right of pre-emption is in the Ogden Land Company. We contend that no matter if, as some of the opponents of this bill claim, the Ogden Company has only the right of pre-emption without the ultimate fee, this legislation then cannot take place, and such claim will forever stand as a rock in the road until the good people of this country who are interested in the Indians roll it out of the way.

The condition of the Indians is just as our good friend Bishop Huntington has stated. Their domestic relations are a disgrace to the State of New York. Talk about the Sultan of Zulu and his many wives; we have a hundred sultans of Zulu on the reservations of this State. No people have ever advanced along the lines of civilization until they had a home, and until womanhood was respected. These Indians advance along intellectual lines: they are better educated than they used to be; they know more of geography and more of the white man's way, but they are not advancing along moral lines. A missionary—a faithful man who has lived among them twenty-five years—told me within a few days that he was never more discouraged during that time than he is to-day.

We send these Indian girls to Carlisle to be educated; we send them to schools maintained by the Quakers. What happens to those girls that come back from school? I would like to present to this audience a list of names which I have of Indian girls who have been sent to these schools and come back on the reservation. There are few legal marriages among them. There is no public opinion, no responsibility to the law. The girl comes back from school, is ruined, and nobody pays any attention. The conditions along these lines are horrible. They are unworthy of a Christian civilization. The laws of property are little better. Their so-called courts are corrupt.

Where does the Indian opposition to this legislation come from? It comes from the pagans among them, of whom Andrew John, who has just addressed you, is credited with being the leader. It comes from those pagans who resist every advance, who are opposed to schools, Sunday schools, to anything leading toward civilization. That is one element. The other element is among the young and thrifty: the intelligent Indian, those who hold office, the president, secretary, treasurer, sixteen councilors, the marshals, those who handle the money of the nation and do its business. They do not like to be legislated out of office any more than white men do. I believe with all my heart in this legislation. I have lived thirty years where I have seen these Indians; I would not harm a hair of their heads. In considering the facts of which I speak I know of my own knowledge. I have filed with the Indian Committee at Washington more than a hundred letters from prominent men in Western New York, from judges, priests, ministers, editors,—those who know about what they write, and are interested in the welfare of all concerned; and these letters are in favor of the passage of this bill and the legislation that will grow out of it.

Mr. SMILEY.—As I understand it, Mr. Appleby is an old man, and if he were to die we could not secure the title.

Mr. VREELAND.—He is over eighty, and holds in his hands all the threads of this Ogden title; he knows the location of all the heirs who are scattered over the world; the Bank of England has two shares. It would be a very difficult thing if he were to die for anyone to gather up this information.

During the last winter I received a communication signed by eighteen of these Ogden heirs, drawn by a young lawyer in New

York City who is one of them, in which they professed to be indignant at selling this claim for \$200,000, and saying that they would not be bound by the price given us by Mr. Appleby longer than the present Congress. As the years go by the difficulty of securing legislation on this subject will increase in every direction. This great sum of money coming to the Indians will be distributed and squandered. The time to pass this bill is *now*.

Mr. HUBBELL.—What objection is there to paying \$200,000 out of the United States Treasury?

Mr. VREELAND.—You will find that Mr. Cannon and other watch dogs of the Treasury will oppose it. They will inquire, Why should the people of the United States pay this \$200,000? The benefit goes to the Indian, and a large amount of money will be squandered and wasted if it is used for that purpose.

John Sherman once said that in all his years in the Congress of the United States he never introduced a bill which was passed just as he wanted it. We cannot enact this legislation just as everyone wants it in every particular. If we wait until a bill can be drawn which will suit everybody we will wait forever.

The PRESIDENT.—This has been one of the most interesting discussions in the history of this Conference. It has dealt with ethical and legal questions. We have had the light which the bishops could furnish, and we have had the light of the law. I think we have made some progress.

Mr. SMILEY.—When we began this discussion my mind was not made up. The discussion by such eminent men has cleared the sky of all clouds in my mind, and I am fully persuaded what is best to do.

The CHAIR.—So am I.

Adjourned at 1.15 P. M.

57TH CONGRESS,
1ST SESSION.

H. R. 12270.

[Report No. 2591.]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

MARCH 7, 1902.

Mr. VREELAND introduced the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and ordered to be printed.

JUNE 18, 1902.

Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to the Indians in the State of New York and extend the protection of the laws of the United States and of the State of New York over such Indians, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That after the consent of a majority of the Indians hereinafter mentioned shall have been obtained to such allotment the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized to allot the lands upon the Allegany and Cattaraugus Reservations, within the State of New York, in severalty to the Indians who are located on said reservations, or are entitled to share in such allotments; and in determining who shall be entitled to share in such allotment of land the rolls of the Seneca Nation of Indians (excluding the Tonawanda band), according to which annuity money is paid, shall be controlling; but any error in such rolls may be, for the purposes of allotment, corrected by the commission hereinafter appointed, such corrections to be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

SECTION 2. That for the purpose of making the allotment provided for in this Act a commission of three men shall be appointed by the President (one of whom may be recommended to the President by the president of the Seneca Nation of New York Indians, provided such nomination be made within thirty days after the date of the approval of this Act), the appointment of such commission to take effect and the duties of said commission to begin immediately *after the consent of a majority of said Indians to said allotment has been obtained*; and said commission shall make their final report as soon as practicable, and certainly within two years of their appointment, and all their functions as a commission shall cease and determine at the time of the submission of their final report. All allotments as made by said commission shall be certified by such commission to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in duplicate, one copy to be retained in the office of the New York Indian agent and the other copy to be transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior for his action, and to be deposited in the General Land Office. It shall be the duty of said commission, in making said allotments, to appraise the value of all the lands upon said reservations which are not explicitly excepted from allotment in the succeeding sections of this Act, but such first appraisement shall not include the value of buildings, orchards, or other improvements on such lands; and such lands shall be appraised in lots sufficiently small to secure a fair uniform valuation per acre in each lot thus appraised, and when the entire value of the land subject to allotment in said reservations shall thus have been appraised and estimated, said amount so estimated shall be divided by the number of Indians who are entitled to allotment at the date of allotment; and the result of such division shall be regarded as a "full share" or "unit of value" in the proposed allotting of lands; and each Indian shall be entitled to an allotment of land of the value of one such "full share." In assigning allotments to individual Indians each Indian shall, so far as practicable, receive the allotment upon which are situated the buildings and improvements now owned by

such individual. The area of the allotment made to any individual shall not be diminished in consequence of the value of any improvements thereon which belong to the allottee; but the area of an allotment to any individual shall be diminished in proportion to the value of any improvements thereon when such improvements did not at the time of allotment belong to the Indian to whom the land on which they stand is allotted. Wherever any individual Indian, at the time of allotment, holds and occupies any of the lands of said reservations which he has acquired by purchase, descent, or devise, in conformity with the laws and usages of his nation, he shall be reimbursed to the extent of the reasonable value of his improvements on and interest in all such land so belonging to him which shall not be allotted to him. The compensation to be made to any Indian as aforesaid for improvements on and interest in land theretofore held by but not allotted to him, as aforesaid, shall be assessed and determined by the commission appointed by the President to make such allotments, and shall be paid upon the certificate of such allotting commission by the Secretary of the Interior from any money in his hands derived under the provisions of Section 4 of this Act.

SECT. 3. That upon the approval of the allotments hereinbefore provided for by the Secretary of the Interior, he shall cause allotment patents to issue therefor in the name of the allottees, and upon receipt of said patents of allotment each of said allottees shall be and become a citizen of the United States and amenable to the laws of the United States and of the State or Territory where he may then reside; and said patents of allotment shall declare and be of the legal effect that the United States does and will hold the lands thus allotted in trust for the sole use and benefit of the Indian to whom such allotment has been made, or his heirs, according to the laws of the State of New York, for a period of twenty-five years, and that at the expiration of such period the United States will convey the same by patent to the said Indian or to his heirs, as aforesaid, in fee, discharged of said trust and free of all charge and incumbrance whatsoever; and if any conveyance shall be made of the lands set apart and allotted as herein provided, or any contract made touching the same, before the expiration of the time above mentioned, such conveyance or contract shall be absolutely null and void: *Provided*, That in taking an allotment and becoming a citizen under the provisions of this Act the right of any Indian to tribal or other property shall not thereby be affected or impaired. *Provided further*, That at any time after the expiration of one year after such allotments have been made the Secretary of the Interior, upon presentation of a certificate signed and acknowledged by the county judge, the surrogate, and the clerk of the county in which any such allottee may reside, stating that such allottee, in their knowledge and opinion, is temperate, industrious, competent to manage his affairs, and qualified for citizenship, may cause such patent in fee simple to issue at once to such allottee under such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

SECT. 4. That none of the lands upon the Allegany Reservation within the limits of the villages of Vandalia, Carrollton, Great Valley, Salamanca, West Salamanca, and Red House, as surveyed and located pursuant to an Act of Congress entitled "An Act to authorize the Seneca Nation of New York Indians to lease lands upon the Cattaraugus and Allegany Reservations and to confirm existing leases," approved February nineteenth, eighteen hundred and seventy-five, and none of the lands of the Seneca Nation of New York Indians on the Cattaraugus or Allegany Reservations outside of said villages which have been leased and are now legally held by the lessee or grantee thereof pursuant to authority of Congress (other than the lands leased for oil purposes) shall be allotted. Each lessee of such lands, his assigns or grantees, may pay a sum of money, four and one-half per centum of which equals the annual rental upon the lands so leased by him, and a further sum, bearing the same proportion to the two hundred thousand dollars hereinafter specified as the area of the lands so leased by him bears to the total area of the lands to which the claim of the Ogden Land Company attaches on the Cattaraugus, Allegany, and Tuscarora Reservations, to the Secretary of the Interior for the benefit of said Indians; and when such lessee, assignee, or grantee shall have fully paid said respective sums as herein provided, the Secretary of the Interior shall cause a patent to issue vesting in such lessee, assignee, or grantee the full and absolute fee to the lands so leased by him, subject, however, to all valid liens and incumbrances existing thereon at the date of such patent.

That the lands now used and occupied by the Thomas Orphan Asylum on the Cattaraugus Reservation, not to exceed one hundred and sixty acres in area, *and also the lands used and occupied by the Presbyterian Board of Missions*, and the lands upon either of said reservations now used and occupied as cemeteries, church, or schoolhouse sites, not exceeding *two acres* in area, respectively, shall not be subject to allotment under this Act so long as such lands are actually used and occupied for said purposes.

That nothing in this Act contained shall in any manner affect the payment of royalties or rents under any oil lease of lands upon either of said reservations, but such royalties shall continue to be paid the same as heretofore.

SECT. 5. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and hereby is, authorized and empowered to purchase, in the name of the United States, in trust for the benefit of said Indians, as provided in this Act, for a consideration not exceeding the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, all the right, title, claim, and demand of the Ogden Land Company, and of the various individuals constituting such company, in and to the lands on the Cattaraugus, Allegany, and Tuscarora Reservations; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay, upon the requisition of the Secretary of the Interior, from and out of the funds hereinbefore appropriated by Congress for the payment of the judgment of the Court of Claims, as finally

determined by the Supreme Court in favor of the New York Indians against the United States, in case numbered seventeen thousand eight hundred and sixty-one on the docket of said Court of Claims, such part of said sum of two hundred thousand dollars as may be necessary with which to make such purchase, the same to be deducted from the portion of the said judgment belonging to the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians in proportion to the area of the lands of their respective reservations to which the claim of the Ogden Land Company attaches. The balance of said moneys so appropriated and now remaining for distribution, together with the balance of the moneys derived under Section 4 of this Act not expended in accordance with Section 1 hereof, shall be divided among the several beneficiaries thereof as soon after the passage of this Act as the census or rolls of the New York Indians, now being prepared by direction of the Secretary of the Interior, are completed and filed. The portion of such fund belonging to any Indian under the age of twenty-one years shall be paid to the general guardian of such Indian, duly appointed by the court having jurisdiction in the county where such minor resides, or to some legally qualified depository authorized by the laws of the State of New York to receive and hold in trust the fund of minors; the same to be accounted for upon the arrival of such Indian at the age of twenty-one years.

SECT. 6. That this act shall not take effect, except for the purpose of purchasing in the interest of the Indians the claim, title, and interest of the Ogden Land Company in and to such lands as above specified, until such purchase has been consummated, but shall take effect in all respects directly after such purchase has been made.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Night, October 23, 1902.

The Conference was called to order at 8 p. m. by the President, who introduced Hon. Wm. A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as one of the few politicians who have recommended the abolition of his own office.

Commissioner JONES.—I had sincerely hoped in coming to this Conference that I might be permitted to visit you in peace and not be asked to talk. Your business committee has decreed otherwise, and I am expected to say something in connection with the policy of the Indian Office in its dealings with Indians other than those residing in New York.

Before I begin on that subject, I would like to add my hearty endorsement of the provisions of the Vreeland Bill, which was so intelligently discussed this morning. There is one feature of it that I think has been criticised and I have heretofore felt that I did not care to support; that is, the taking of \$200,000 from the Indian funds and applying it to the payment of the Ogden Land Company's claim, but after listening to the statements made here this morning I am convinced that that is a proper thing to do. There is another provision of the bill which I think ought to be amended, that which submits it to the tribe for ratification. If the enforcement of this bill, if it should become a law, depends upon the consent of the Indian tribe, it will be fifty years before you see any change.

Bishop HUNTINGTON.—Undoubtedly it will.

Mr. JONES.—I know from what the most intelligent members of that tribe have said that they are as much opposed to it as their ancestors would have been a hundred years ago. I believe that that feature ought to be eliminated from the bill before it becomes a law.

Bishop HUNTINGTON.—Yes, it ought to be. We take not an atom from the Indians. We simply prescribe how they shall have their money. The community has a grievance against that reservation, and it has a right to demand that the land shall be divided.

Commissioner JONES.—We have an illustration of what we may expect of these people in the Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory. These tribes have opposed any change to their condition, and they refused to consider any proposition looking to the dissolution of the tribal relation until the passage of the Curtis Bill in 1898, when it was arbitrarily proposed by the Government to

abolish their tribal government and to allot their lands in severalty. The conditions are almost precisely the same in the Seneca Reservation. The fact is that until last year the most intelligent of the five civilized tribes, composed largely of men and women who are almost as white as the people here, almost as intelligent, were the last to enter into negotiations with the Dawes Commission, and that is the Cherokee nation. Two thirds of this tribe are as competent to take care of their own business as I am, and until last winter they refused to consider any negotiations. The same will be true in fifty years of the Seneca Indians of New York.

Miss DAWES.—May I interrupt? Had there not been voluntary agreements made by three of the five tribes before the Curtis Bill was passed?

Mr. JONES.—Yes.

Miss DAWES.—Isn't it somewhat unfair to say that these tribes were forced into this measure by the Curtis Bill when they had already made agreements, and some of them once or twice over; and is it quite fair to the Dawes Commission that it should be said here and put on the records that the Curtis Bill arbitrarily forced the Cherokees and Creeks to accept allotments? Does the United States wish to stand in that light in the official record as represented by its Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and as saying that the tribes were forced to take the wishes of the Commission?

Mr. JONES.—If it had not been for the passage of the Curtis Act I am of the opinion that conditions in the Cherokee and other nations would be to-day what they were twenty-five years ago.

Miss DAWES.—The Choctaws and Seminoles had not only completed their agreement, but had voluntarily made application for allotment before the passage of the Curtis Bill. The condition is extremely like that of the New York Indians in some other respects. The Conference will, I hope, excuse my interruption, but I thought the Commissioner himself would like to qualify what had been said.

Mr. JONES.—The only point that I intended to make is that the intelligence of the tribe has nothing to do with their willingness to give up their old ideas. The most intelligent tribe in the Indian Territory—the Cherokee—was the last to complete an agreement with the Dawes Commission, and they did it because the passage of the Curtis Bill compelled them to accept allotments.

I have been asked by your business committee to discuss the "new policy" of the Government toward the Indian. There is nothing new about this so-called new policy. It is a policy that was imposed on the human race about six thousand years ago, and we are now trying to put it into force in the Indian service. You will remember that in the beginning our ancestors were told, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread." I believe that the red man, the white man, and the black man came from a common ancestry, and that the edict ought to apply to the red man as well as to the white.

The present movement began some two years ago, and arose out of a communication from chiefs and headmen of the Sioux Indians

of the Rosebud Agency. About October, 1900, they addressed a letter to the President, representing that they were headmen of the Sioux Indians of Rosebud Agency and represented the tribe; that under the "Black Hills Treaty" of 1876 they were to be given certain rations; that these rations had been cut down from time to time until they were getting much less than the amount stated in that agreement; that they were hungry most of the time, especially the old and crippled, and that before the winter was over they would suffer very much; that in former years they could make some money by freighting, but as their annuity goods had been taken away, a large part of their freighting had fallen off; that in years past they got the hides from the beef cattle killed for issue, which were a great help in procuring things to eat; that they would obtain more benefit from the hides if issued to them direct than if they were sold and the money paid to them once a year; that they needed the hides to make moccasins and covering for their beds, etc.; that as they got little freighting and no beef hides, and were unable to raise much on their land, they had to depend on the rations issued by the Great Father; that while they wanted to obey his orders, yet they could not sit down and see their people starve; that they had talked many times with their agent, who was powerless to do anything without the authority of his superiors, and that they would like to have some assurance that something would be done for their relief. They therefore asked the President to answer them through their agent, and tell them if he could help their people.

Recognizing that the tone of that letter was probably symptomatic of the feeling then pervading the Sioux people generally, and that the conditions at Rosebud were similar to those existing at other Sioux agencies, and further that the action taken with regard to the Sioux would have an important bearing upon other tribes similarly situated, the office, with a view of contributing to the better understanding of the matters referred to the office, submitted to the department, along with the Indians' letter to go to the President, a communication treating of the Sioux nation as a whole. That communication, after reciting the substance of the Indians' letter, took up the consideration of the Black Hills Treaty, the true intent and meaning of which has been the subject of so much contention, and quoted the articles of that agreement relating to the matters under discussion as follows:—

ARTICLE 5. In consideration of the foregoing cession of territory and rights, and upon full compliance with each and every obligation assumed by the said Indians, the United States does agree to provide all necessary aid to assist the said Indians in the work of civilization; to furnish them schools and instruction in mechanical and agricultural arts, as provided for by the treaty of 1868.

Also to provide the said Indians with subsistence consisting of a ration for each individual of a pound and a half of beef (or in lieu thereof, one half pound of bacon), one half pound of flour, and one half pound of corn; and for every one hundred rations, four pounds of coffee, eight pounds of sugar, and three pounds of beans, or in lieu of said articles the equivalent thereof, in the discretion of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Such rations or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be continued until the Indians are able to support themselves.

Rations shall, in all cases, be issued to the head of each separate family; and whenever schools shall have been provided by the Government for said Indians, no rations shall be issued for children between the ages of six and fourteen years (the sick and infirm excepted) unless such children shall regularly attend school.

Whenever the said Indians shall be located upon lands which are suitable for cultivation, rations shall be issued only to the persons and families of those persons who labor (the aged, sick and infirm excepted); and as an incentive to industrious habits, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may provide that such persons be furnished in payment for their labor such other necessary articles as are requisite for civilized life.

The Government will aid said Indians as far as possible in finding a market for their surplus productions, and in finding employment, and will purchase their surplus, as far as may be required for supplying food to those Indians, parties to this agreement, who are unable to sustain themselves; and will also employ Indians, so far as practicable, in the performance of Government work upon their reservations.

It was then shown that the rations provided for the Sioux at the time were sufficient, unless the Indians were improvident, to prevent want. The letter then went on to say that the Sioux rations, as well as rations for all other tribes, had been gradually reduced; that this was in accordance with the policy of the office and the spirit of the Sioux agreement of 1877, and that the true intent and meaning of that agreement was forcibly expressed by a former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, nearly ten years before. In writing to the Secretary of the Interior at that time in relation to the subsistence supplies issued to the Sioux, Commissioner Morgan quoted Articles 4 and 5 of the agreement, and then said:—

This agreement is still in force, and the questions now raised are questions as to how far the Government has kept its obligations.

It is worthy of special note that the end aimed at in the agreement was the civilization of the Indians. They were to settle down permanently; their children were to be educated; they were to live like white men, and the rations issued to them, or so much as might be necessary, were to be continued until "the Indians are able to support themselves." It is clearly evident that the Government never intended that the Indians should look to it for continuous support; that no promises of this kind were ever made, and that the Indians themselves did not expect it, and apparently did not desire it. The object of the rations was not that the Indians might be fed by the Government, but simply that they might be assisted and kept from want during the period of the probation while they were learning the art of self-support.

No one will question the wisdom of this policy. No intelligent man will doubt that the welfare of the Indian demands that just as soon as possible he shall be rendered self-supporting, and that any help in the way of food or other supplies furnished him by the Government in excess of his absolute needs so as to remove from him the spur and stimulus to labor is not a kindness, but an injury.

The only serious question which can be raised in this connection is, How long a time are these rations to be continued, and under what circumstances the Government shall reduce or discontinue them?

It should be noted that the agreement expressly stipulates that:—

"Whenever the said Indians shall be located upon lands which are suitable for cultivation, rations shall be issued only to the persons and families of those persons who labor (the aged, sick and infirm excepted); and as an incentive to industrious habits the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may pro-

vide that such persons be furnished in payment for their labors such other necessary articles as are requisite for civilized life."

It certainly will be accepted as a truism that the Government had a right to demand of the Indians that they put forth for self-support whatever efforts might reasonably be demanded of them considering their nature and surroundings. It will also be admitted that, considering the end in view, it would be a humane act on the part of the Government to decrease the rations even though such decrease should bring temporary hardship, provided such hardship should serve as a stimulus to labor and self-help. Of course no one would urge that the Indians should be starved. In fact, all that can be demanded, either in fulfillment of treaty obligation or as an act of justice or humanity, is this, that the Indians shall put forth all proper exertion in the way of gaining a livelihood by their own labor, as other men are forced to do, and that in connection with such effort on their part food supplies shall be issued to them in such quantities (not exceeding the amounts named in the agreement) and for such length of time as a sincere regard for the highest welfare of the Indians shall dictate.

This was forwarded to the President by the Secretary of the Interior in a letter dated November 26, 1900, which is referred to and partially quoted in his last annual report, the conclusion of which was that the time had come for Indians either to support themselves or at least to furnish a part of their own support; and this conclusion was heartily approved by the President.

It then being winter, it was not considered judicious to make any immediate change in the prevailing policy, and so the issue of rations was continued as usual the remainder of that fiscal year. Before the next fiscal year opened, however, steps were taken to carry out the views expressed. On June 20, 1901, a letter was addressed to the Sioux agents, which, as it is the first enunciation of the future policy to be pursued, is given in full:—

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, June 20, 1901.

SIR: As the next fiscal year is approaching, when new arrangements will go into effect for the support and civilization of your Indians, it is a proper time to address you on the subject of the issuance of rations to the Indians on the Sioux reservations.

As you are doubtless aware, this subject has had the earnest attention of those who are actively engaged in the Indian Service as well as those who, though not connected with it in an official capacity, sympathize in the work, and the almost universal opinion is that the indiscriminate issue of rations is a hindrance rather than a help to the Indians.

The fact is recognized that a majority of your Indians, perhaps a large majority, are unable to support themselves, even if they would, except only partially, and therefore must be subsisted wholly or in part as contemplated by the agreement of 1877. On the other hand, it is a well-known fact that a large number of persons classed as Indians have profited by the assistance they have received from the Government, and are now not only beyond want, but in many instances are prosperous and often affluent. How many of these there are is not known to this office, but it is certain that having reached the stage of self-support they are no longer entitled to the ration prescribed by the agreement referred to.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the meaning of this, the earnest attention of your Indians is invited to a correspondence that took place last fall. In October, 1900, the office received a letter signed by Sioux

Indians of the Rosebud Agency, addressed to the President, relative to their condition, their prospects and their needs. They referred to the Black Hills agreement of 1877, the reduction that had been made in the ration prescribed thereby, the loss of income by reduced freighting, their inability to raise much upon their land, and asked the President to answer them through their agent and tell them if he could help their people.

This letter was forwarded to the honorable Secretary of the Interior with a brief report as to the number of the Sioux, the benefits and meaning of the so-called Black Hills Treaty, the rations provided for the current year, the disposition of hides, the income from their trust fund, the number of cattle they were able to sell the Government to be issued back again, and other particulars relating to their welfare.

The Secretary of the Interior transmitted the Indians' letter to the President on the 26th of November last, together with the report of this office, and after referring briefly to the several items of that report referring to the Rosebud Indians in particular, became more general and said :—

“Article 5 of the treaty of 1876, known as the Black Hills Treaty with the Great Sioux Nation (of which the Rosebud Indians are a part), which was ratified by the act of Congress approved February 28, 1877 (19 Stat., 254), provides for assistance for the said Indians in the work of civilization; to furnish them schools and instruction in mechanical and agricultural pursuits; also a certain prescribed ration, which ration, ‘or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be continued until the Indians are able to support themselves.’

“From the representations made by the writers of the communication referred to it does not seem that they or the other Indians of the Rosebud Agency are any nearer the goal of self-support than they were twenty-four years ago, when the treaty was made. Regardless of the provisions in the treaty looking to the reduction in the ration as they become able partly, if not wholly, to sustain themselves, which they appear to be able to do, and notwithstanding the facts stated by the Commissioner that individual Indians of this band own nearly 20,000 head of cattle, and that more than 1,500 head were purchased from them last year, at a cost to the Government of more than \$50,000, which cattle were afterwards issued to and eaten up by the band, they still claim full benefits under the treaty named.”

He concluded his letter by saying—and this is commended to the serious consideration of your Indians :—

“From the facts stated, it does seem that the time has come when individual Indians who are so well qualified to at least furnish a part of their own support, as some of these Indians seem to be, should be required to take upon themselves a portion of the burden of their own care. The Government has faithfully and well fulfilled its obligations to them, and as the treaty of 1876 is mutual in its provisions, I respectfully recommend that such individuals as are known to be able to do so, be required to furnish their own support, or at least to contribute toward it, so that the Government may be relieved of their care, and the spirit of the treaty of 1876 in that respect carried into effect by them as well as by the Government, and that answer to this effect be communicated to them through their agent, as requested.”

It is understood that this matter received the earnest attention of the President, and that he gave the Secretary's letter, just quoted, his unqualified approval.

In the face of this, the indiscriminate issue of rations to all alike must stop.

It therefore becomes your first duty to go over the ration rolls of your agency and erase therefrom all those who are wholly self-supporting. Your next duty will be to regulate the ration issued to the necessities of the recipients. As now practiced, it is understood that rations are issued to all alike—that is, they are distributed equally among the Indians of your reservation without regard to their worldly possessions. This should not be continued longer. Many families are, perhaps, partially self-supporting, but in different degrees. In such cases the ration should be issued according to the particular needs.

In determining who shall receive rations one important consideration must not be overlooked. Rations must not be issued to those who have no disposition to attempt to support themselves. The law and regulations to this effect are old, but in many cases seem to have been honored more in the breach than in the observance. Nevertheless, they are good, and should be enforced so far as conditions will allow.

The office is unable to lay down any particular rule for the guidance of agents in arriving at correct conclusions in these matters. Indeed, an arbitrary rule would not work satisfactorily. In some cases it will not be a difficult task to determine who is self-supporting, in others it undoubtedly will. Neither will it be easy at all times to determine just to what extent a family or an individual should be assisted. In all cases it will be a matter of judgment in which that of the agent will or should largely predominate.

The duty herein prescribed is an onerous one, and affecting as it does so deeply the present and future welfare of those under your charge, you will recognize the propriety of bringing to its discharge the most impartial, conscientious care. If the assistance of this office is needed, it will be given for the asking.

It is possible that some of those who are able to support themselves may voluntarily withdraw from the ration roll, and thus contribute to the cause by their example. To the knowledge of this office there have been instances of this, and doubtless if the object to be obtained were properly presented there would be others.

It is admitted that perhaps progress will be slow, but the time to begin it is here, and the object of this letter is to bring the Indians to a realizing sense of the attitude of the Government.

At the proper time it is proposed to send you, as was done last year, a statement of the quantities of subsistence purchased for your Indians for the next fiscal year. They are believed to be ample for the needs of all who should receive rations if the spirit of this letter is observed.

There is another class of Indians to whom the issue of rations would seem to be uncalled for. I refer to those drawing a salary from the Government. The number of these is large, many of them holding desirable positions, with very liberal salaries. A hasty examination of the salary list of the Sioux agencies shows that over one hundred and fifty of the agency employees alone are Indians receiving salaries from \$840 per annum down to \$120, very few, however, of the latter. The majority of these earn as much as, if not more, year in and year out, than the average laborer of the country. There is no question in the mind of this office that the issue of rations to these should stop.

There are also a large number employed in the schools with salaries from \$300 down, besides quarters and other conveniences. The impression prevails here that many of these, if not all, draw rations. If so, the office can see no reason for the continuance of the practice.

These two classes, therefore, should be eliminated from the ration roll.

The Indian police are excepted from this ruling, as their salaries are very small and their duties are peculiar. There may be other exceptions to the rule; if so, the office will consider them on their merits.

It is the desire of this office to have this new departure go into effect as soon after the beginning of the new fiscal year as possible.

This letter has been addressed to the agents in charge of the Sioux of different tribes, except Santee.

Later on, in September, 1901, a similar letter was sent to all other ration agencies on the ground that what was good for the Sioux was good for all, so that by the fall of 1901 all of the ration agencies were on the same basis with respect to the self-supporting.

While this was a step in the right direction, it did not remove the great evil to be overcome, which was the support of Indians in

idleness. The extent and demoralizing effects of this evil were generally recognized and universally condemned, except, perhaps, by a mistaken philanthropy which ignores the natural law that man must earn his living by the sweat of his brow. Much had been said about this evil, and sporadic attempts had been made to check it, but with little avail. For years the Indians had been fed and clothed and allowed to spend their time in the devil's workshop.

It was felt that it was time for a change. Heretofore the dealing had been with the tribe; it would now be with the individual. He would no longer be looked upon simply as one of a dependent community to be dealt with as a whole, but would be considered independently and treated as one capable of developing those qualities which would lift him above the level of a pauper and fit him to become a useful member of society. His manhood would be appealed to. An attempt would be made to teach him self-reliance and self-respect. He would be induced to acquire habits of industry and to forsake the ways of idleness. Necessity, and necessity alone, would do this. He must want before he would work; he must come to the bitter realization that idleness and hunger go hand in hand, and understand that he must put his hand to the plow if he would live. His rations would therefore be stopped and he would be offered work instead,—work that he could do, not aimless work, but work with an object; not made to dig a hole one day and fill it up the next simply for the sake of doing so. That would deprive labor of the very essence of its worth,—a definite purpose. He would be put at something which would give him not only a present living, but which he could see would bring him benefit in the future. He would be paid fairly and promptly for his work, and then left to provide for himself.

Accordingly in the early part of January of the present year agents were advised that rations would no longer be issued to the able-bodied, but that the money thus saved would be used to pay them in cash for labor in building roads, dams, or reservoirs for storage of water, or any other work that would give them profitable occupation for the present and lead to their self-support in the future. Men were to be paid \$1.25 a day of eight hours, and men with teams \$2.50. Not only were the agents to employ the Indians to the fullest extent themselves, but they were to use all of their influence in finding employment for them in the surrounding country; and it was suggested to them that they should devote the greater part of their time to the civilization of their Indians, leaving the minor details of administration to subordinates, and that an Indian agency should be a bureau for employment of Indians rather than a center for the gratuitous distribution of supplies.

As this has been the subject of considerable animadversion, and been stigmatized as a plan for the encouragement of contract labor, it is proper that some particular notice should be taken of these strictures and the false charges refuted. As to the assertion that

the plan is to hire out adult male Indians as contract laborers, nothing can be further from the truth. In all the correspondence there is not even a hint of such a thing. It was simply suggested to agents that they should circulate the information in the surrounding country that laborers could be obtained at their agencies, if such were the fact. If they could not give the Indians work themselves, they were to find it for them if they could. And that was their plain duty. If reference is made to the Black Hills Treaty, already quoted, it will be seen that the Government obligates itself to aid the Sioux Indians in finding employment. The agents, therefore, in publishing the fact that there were Indians willing to work, were simply carrying out both the letter and spirit of that agreement. In all of this there was not the slightest suggestion of hiring the Indian out under contract. That implies coercion. There was not a thought of such a thing. He was to be given an opportunity to work, that was all. If the Government did not have it, it was to find it for him. He could work or not as he chose. He was as much a free agent with respect to this as anyone else. Only if he were given the opportunity to work and refused, he was not to expect to be supported by the Government.

The new policy was received with much discontent in some quarters, and passive, if not open, opposition in others. There were a few mutterings and a good deal of talk about vested rights, some sympathetic expressions over the hard lot of poor Lo, and here and there a prophecy of an "uprising." Interested parties endeavored to create a sentiment against it, while self-constituted conservators of the Indian either cast aspersions upon its authors or damned it with faint praise.

In spite of these and other adverse influences the office persevered with its policy, and is now in a position to form an intelligent idea of its effect. Everywhere the results have been favorable even beyond expectation. Misgiving in some quarters has given place to confidence, and while, perhaps, the experimental stage has not been passed, there is every reason to believe that the final success of the plan if carried out judiciously is assured.

As a first result over 12,000 have been dropped from the ration roll, being wholly self-supporting. As a second result a large number of Indians have been put to work, or work has been found for them. As to the effect of this let others speak.

One agent writes :—

The Indians are eager for work; even some of the older ones, classed by the physicians as physically unable to work, insisting on having work. . . . These Indians are working as faithfully and intelligently as could be expected of people who have never had occasion to work for their support, and there can be no question as to the wisdom of the new policy and its good effect on these people.

Another says :—

The results so far are very gratifying. . . . As soon as the fact that work could be secured was known by the tribe, applications came faster than they

could be employed. One man, over fifty years of age, when drawing his pay for a few days' work, acknowledged it was the first money he ever earned, and seemed pleased that it was possible to secure money without waiting for annuity or lease payments. . . . There is no question but that the time was ripe for the adoption of the present policy.

Another :—

I think this new policy has had a very desirable and stimulating effect upon these Indians to look for employment, while a great many of them are always ready to work when they can see that they are to be compensated for it; yet they seem now to be more anxious for work than ever before.

These extracts could be multiplied, but those given are sufficient to show the trend of sentiment of those having an experimental knowledge of the situation.

During the progress of the change in policy an incident occurred which is only noticed now because of the importance attached to it at the time by the public, and because it affords a striking illustration of what great matter a little fire kindleth. About the time the orders were issued to cut off rations and pay the Indians for labor instead, the office, realizing that the Indians could not continue to observe some savage customs and be industrious too, called agents' attention to these customs in a letter, and urged that they be discouraged. The letter became public, and the effect was immense. For awhile it was the talk of the town. No official notice of it was taken at the time, but that the office was not altogether indifferent the following letter will show :—

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, February 19, 1902.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Some references of yours in a recent conversation afford me an opportunity, of which I avail myself, to offer some expressions upon a matter which has occupied the public mind for some little time past. Although comparatively trivial in my estimation, it seems the entire press of the country considered it otherwise, for it has thought it important enough to give it extended notice, and make it the subject of unfavorable comment on the one hand, and some wit and much good-natured badinage on the other; the latter, according to my observation, largely predominating. Indeed, the principal object of the papers seems to have been to get out of it all the fun they could. And it must be admitted they have succeeded very well. With all of this I find not the least fault. But now that the excitement has subsided and we have had our laugh, let us put on a sober face and indulge in a reflection or two on the serious side.

The innocent cause of all this agitation was a letter written by this office in the usual course of business to agents having charge of Indian tribes, in the latter part of December last and the early part of January.

Here it is :—

"SIR: This office desires to call your attention to a few customs among the Indians which it is believed should be modified or discontinued.

"The wearing of long hair by the male population of your agency is not in keeping with the advancement they are making, or will soon be expected to make, in civilization. The wearing of short hair by the males will be a great step in advance, and will certainly hasten their progress toward civilization. The returned male student far too frequently goes back to the reservation and falls into the old custom of letting his hair grow long. He also paints profusely, and adopts all the old habits and customs which his education in our industrial schools has tried to eradicate. The fault does not lie so

much with the schools as with the conditions found on the reservations. These conditions are very often due to the policy of the Government toward the Indian, and are often perpetuated by the agent's not caring to take the initiative in fastening any new policy on his administration of the affairs of the agency.

"On many of the reservations the Indians of both sexes paint, claiming that it keeps the skin warm in winter and cool in summer, but instead this paint melts when the Indian perspires, and runs down into the eyes. The use of this paint leads to many diseases of the eyes among those Indians who paint. Persons who have given considerable thought and investigation to the subject are satisfied that this custom causes the majority of the cases of blindness among the Indians of the United States.

"You are therefore directed to induce your male Indians to cut their hair, and both sexes to stop painting. With some of the Indians this will be an easy matter; with others it will require considerable tact and perseverance on the part of yourself and your employees to successfully carry out these instructions. With your Indian employees, and those Indians who draw rations and supplies, it should be an easy matter, as a noncompliance with this order may be made a reason for discharge or for withholding rations and supplies. Many may be induced to comply with the order voluntarily, especially the returned student. The returned students who do not comply voluntarily should be dealt with summarily. Employment, supplies, etc., should be withheld until they do comply, and if they become obstreperous about the matter a short confinement in the guardhouse at hard labor, with shorn locks, should furnish a cure. Certainly all the younger men should wear short hair, and it is believed by tact, perseverance, firmness, and withdrawal of supplies the agent can induce *all* to comply with this order.

"The wearing of citizens' clothing, instead of the Indian costume and blanket, should be encouraged.

"Indian dances and so-called Indian feasts should be prohibited. In many cases these dances and feasts are simply subterfuges to cover degrading acts, and to disguise immoral purposes. You are directed to use your best efforts in the suppression of these evils.

"On or before June 30, 1902, you will report to this office the progress you have made in carrying out the above orders and instructions."

To my surprise this letter created considerable excitement, outside of the service at least, and the impression seemed to prevail that the Government intended to accomplish its desires by main strength and awkwardness, and there was some silly talk about "revolt" and "uprising." To counteract any mistaken impression, the following was written on January 21 to those to whom the former letter was addressed:—

"SIR: From criticisms that have appeared in the newspapers, and from information that has reached this office from other quarters, it appears that the recent circular letter issued, directing the modification or discontinuance of certain savage customs prevailing among Indian tribes, has been misunderstood. This letter is therefore written to remove any doubt on the subject.

"The circular letter referred to was simply a declaration of the policy of this office, and indicated what should be carried out by those having charge of the Indians, using tact, judgment, and perseverance. It was not expected or intended that they should be so precipitate as to give the Indians any cause for revolt, but that they should begin gradually and work steadily and tactfully till the end in view should be accomplished. Let it be distinctly understood that this is not a withdrawal or revocation of the circular letter referred to, but an authoritative interpretation of its meaning."

This is what is known as the "short-hair" order, and this is all there is of it. From beginning to end there is not a single suggestion of force as applied to the untutored Indian, but, on the contrary, patience, tact, perseverance. With the case of employees and returned students the case is different. The former is a salaried servant of the Government, employed because he is an Indian, while the latter has been the recipient of bounteous favors. In both cases the Government has a right to expect a proper observance of rules established for their good. The letter, it will be observed, deals with

several objectionable and immoral practices, long hair, painting, dancing, feasts, etc., but curiously enough the press has noticed only that part which advocates the cutting of the hair. In it there is nothing new, nothing but what has been according to the precept and practice of twenty years and more. In 1882 Senator Teller, then Secretary of the Interior, who perhaps was, and is, as well equipped, both by observation and experience, as any other person to speak intelligently on the Indian question, addressed a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, which I would like to quote as extremely pertinent to the subject under discussion, but refrain on account of its length. He presented in vigorous language what he regarded as hindrances to civilization; he named the continuance of the old heathenish dances with their degrading influences; he spoke of the laxity of the marriage relation; he included the medicine men and their practices in his category of obstacles; he urged the inculcation of the value of property as an agent of civilization, and concluded by saying:—

“It will be extremely difficult to accomplish much toward the civilization of the Indians while these adverse influences are allowed to exist.

“The Government having attempted to support the Indians until such time as they shall become self-supporting, the interest of the Government as well as that of the Indians demands that every possible effort should be made to induce them to become self-supporting at as early a day as possible. I, therefore, suggest whether it is not practicable to formulate certain rules for the government of the Indians on the reservations that shall restrict and ultimately abolish the practices I have mentioned. I am not ignorant of the difficulties that will be encountered in this effort, yet I believe in all the tribes there will be found many Indians who will aid the Government in its efforts to abolish rites and customs so injurious to the Indians, and so contrary to the civilization that they earnestly desire.”

Upon this the office, with the approval of the Department, organized the court of Indian offenses, with a code of regulations the purpose of which was to suppress the practices the indulgence in which was fatal to Indian progress. The judges of these courts (always Indians) are appropriated for by Congress. The rules governing their courts will be found in the regulations of the Indian Department. It is true long hair and painting may not be specifically mentioned, but it is not necessary, as they are merely concomitants of the demoralizing practices proscribed. It may be interesting to note that although these rules are stringent to a degree beyond anything suggested in the recent letter which has created so much excitement, and have been enforced all these years, yet they have not received, so far as I can learn, any adverse notice from the press, if they have been noticed at all.

But, whether there be a precedent for the late letter or not, I have no apology to make. I still think, with all due deference to the opinions of others, that it is not only in the line of sound public policy, but it is in the interests of decency and justified by practices which are still too prevalent—practices which are too often encouraged by white spectators, sometimes, I regret to say, in the name of science, who are either actuated by a morbid curiosity or impelled by a desire to gratify the longings of a depraved taste.

It was only a few years ago that issue day at some of the ration agencies partook somewhat of the character of a levee. Visitors would come from a distance to see the animals, wild by nature and frenzied by their surroundings, turned loose to be hunted down over the prairie by the whooping and yelling Indians in imitation of the savage methods of buffalo days. This has been done away. But other and worse things remain. Dances that are degrading, and so-called religious rites that are immoral, though gradually disappearing, still prevail. It is these, and similar practices, and the customs that are incident to them, that the Indian must relinquish if he is to succeed, and it is against the encouragement of these that the letter was aimed.

It is a familiar saying that error lies at two extremes and truth in the middle; and a striking illustration of the truth of this is found in the Indian question. At one extreme there is a cold brutality which recognizes the dead Indian as the only good Indian, and at the other a sickly sentimentalism that crowns the Indian with a halo, and looks up to him as a persecuted saint.

Between the two will be found the true friends of the Indian, who, looking upon him as he really is, and recognizing his inevitable absorption by a stronger race, are endeavoring in a practical way to fit him under new conditions for the struggle of life. With these I desire to be numbered.

A year ago, and again recently, in the annual reports I had the honor to make to you, I took occasion to make some observations upon the obstacles in the way of the Indian's progress, and to offer some suggestions looking to their removal and his becoming an independent factor in our civilization. It is not necessary to repeat them here. It is enough to say that the central idea was that the Indian must work out his own salvation. To do that he must learn to labor. He must put aside all savage ways that are inimical to that. He must adapt himself to the ways of the civilization around him, and cease to be a mere curiosity and a show. It was ideas like these that led to the writing of the letter under discussion, and others in the same direction. There was no idea of interfering with the Indian's personal liberty any more than civilized society interferes with the personal liberty of its citizens. It was not that long hair, paint, blankets, etc., are objectionable in themselves—that is largely a question of taste—but that they are a badge of servitude to savage ways and traditions which are effectual barriers to the uplifting of the race.

Let me say in conclusion that I have no objection whatever to any legitimate criticism of any action taken by this office. In fact, it is invited. In the multitude of councilors there is wisdom, and I cannot help feeling that if the Indian question were more closely studied, and better understood, any honest effort to elevate the race would meet with better entertainment than a sneer.

Very truly yours,

W. A. JONES, *Commissioner.*

Hon. E. A. HITCHCOCK,

Secretary of the Interior.

This incident is now almost forgotten, and may be closed with the statement that the reports of agents on the subject are now all in, and the concensus of their opinion, as expressed by one of them, is that "the order, while it has been bitterly denounced in the press, appealed to me as a step forward and in the right direction."

Dr. Merrill E. Gates was then introduced and invited to give an outlook of the next step to be taken in behalf of the Indians,—the breaking up of the great tribal funds into individual holdings.

THE NEXT GREAT STEP TO BREAK UP TRIBAL FUNDS INTO INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS.

BY DR. MERRILL E. GATES, SECRETARY OF THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS, OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

When the invitation from the Board of Indian Commissioners came to me in Europe asking me to succeed our honored colleague, General Whittlesey as Secretary of the Board, at Washington, the invitation was to me commanding and decisive. I felt that there was reason to hope that one who had been a member of the Board for fifteen years and its chairman for more than half that time, by his familiarity with the questions involved, through a few years of residence at Washington in such semi-official relations with the

Government as are involved in this position, might reasonably hope to be useful in bringing general principles to bear in shaping regulations and helping to shape legislation upon Indian affairs. The Board of Indian Commissioners was designed to stand between the American public and the Bureau of Indian affairs in such a way as to interpret each to the other, and as far as possible to strengthen the efforts of the thoughtful Christian American people to bring to bear steadily upon the problem of Indian affairs the light of Christian principle and of non-partisan love of justice and righteousness. It seemed not too much to hope that, looking out over the field from the position of Secretary of the Board, and trying to bring to bear upon Indian affairs certain of the principles of political science and ethics which had for years been the subject of his own study and teaching in college work, one who was freed from the pressure of the details of administration which always throng upon and sometimes embarrass the office holders of the department might make some helpful contributions toward that solution of the Indian problem by the incorporation of our Indian population into the great body of intelligent American citizens toward which we all look.

It is with the hope of helping in the attainment of this end that when I speak to you, friends of the Mohonk Conference, who have so often listened to me with friendly and reassuring interest, I take as my theme a view of *that general line of progress* which ought to mark the dealing of our Government with its Indian wards. If the frequent changes in Indian agents, and the quick succession of Indian Commissioners (never until this last year have we had a Commissioner of Indian Affairs who has remained in office for five successive years); if the pressure of "practical politics" and the disturbing influence of partisan changes, make it difficult for the Government to formulate in thought, and to carry out successfully in detail, a uniform, helpful policy toward the Indians,—certainly a permanent board of philanthropic citizens such as the Indian Commissioners, and a body of public-spirited citizens such as the Mohonk Conference, can in no way be more helpful than by seeking to mark out those lines of policy and those measures in the treatment of Indians, which experience has proved tend most helpfully and most rapidly to Americanize our aboriginal Americans.

Somewhere Emerson says in substance, "If I can voice in my thought and speech eternal justice, why need I trouble myself about the last statute passed by Congress?"

In certain moods this is an attractive presentation of that "omnipotence of a principle" to which we all love to yield. But, after all, the point of view of the student of social problems and of the statesman is, that if principles are to triumph, it is necessary that by well-planned legislation, by well-organized administration, these principles be linked in living union to the daily life of men and women in the actual world about us. Principles that bear upon life should be a living force in the laws and customs that make up the life of a nation. And we know well that admiration of abstract principles is not enough for the betterment of society. The function

of law and of organized government is "to make definite what has been indefinite, to make certain what has been uncertain, and to render to every man his due."

RADICAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN AMERICAN LIFE AND INDIAN LIFE.

When we ask ourselves what radical principle marks and determines the essential difference between the life of the Indians as they have lived it, and the life of our American citizens, all thoughtful persons are inevitably brought face to face with the fact that our American citizenship emphasizes the *value of the individual*, and of the individual living *in the family*, which is God's unit of social life. In Indian life, on the other hand, *the individual is lost in the mass of the tribe*. Individual property, with its educating effect upon the man who holds it and manages it, Indian life disregards; merging it in the mass of tribal property. The personality of the individual—and *most sadly the personal value of woman*—the Indian life does not recognize. The individual is merged in the tribal mass.

Is it not reasonable to suppose that in educating and guiding Indians out of their savage tribal life and into the enlightened social life of American citizenship, this radical difference between tribal life and citizenship in *the responsibility of the individual*, and the *value placed upon strong personality*, should be a guiding principle in determining laws and measures which are likely to be helpful?

GRADUAL EVOLUTION IN OUR INDIAN POLICY OF EMPHASIS UPON THE VALUE OF PERSONALITY.

Experience in practical administration teaches the same lesson which the study of other savage, barbaric, and nomadic peoples has taught other generations of thoughtful men.

First, Congress became convinced in 1871 that "no more treaties should be made with Indian tribes as tribes"; and in reaching this decision erected a notable milestone at a turning point in the history of our Indian policy. We were beginning to see that *we must deal with the individual* if we were to make the most of manhood and womanhood in Indians.

Then came the prolonged effort on the part of wise friends of the Indians to secure the General Allotment Act. Its significance lies in the fact that this law is a mighty pulverizing engine for breaking up the tribal mass. It does not deal with the tribe. It shatters the tribe that it may act directly upon the family and the individual. By providing a homestead for every family, an individual holding of land for each Indian person, and grouping these holdings in family groups, and by making every Indian who comes under its provisions a citizen of the United States, it puts a new allegiance and loyalty to our Government in place of the old allegiance to the Indian tribe. It has given a mighty impulse toward family life and the cultivation of home virtues. Already more than 70,000 Indians, by its provis-

ions, have been made citizens of the United States, and as such are now subject to the laws of the states and territories where they reside. What this means was made vividly clear to my mind in a conversation about Indian affairs with that impersonation of high principle, clear thinking, and incarnate energy who (with far more of measured deliberation than those who do not know him attribute to him) in the White House embodies so much of what is best in our American life. President Roosevelt, a short time after he entered upon the duties of the presidency, in speaking with me of Indian Affairs, said with great glee: "At a political meeting in one of our Northwestern states in the last presidential campaign, a candidate for Congress took me aside before I was to address a large meeting of voters, and said, 'Be careful what you say upon this particular question' (naming the point), 'for there are several hundred Indian voters in my district, and they feel very strongly on this matter, and I want their votes.'"

NEED OF LICENSED MARRIAGES AND FAMILY RECORDS.

With 70,000 Indians already admitted to citizenship in the United States, until within the last few months there has not been at any agency an authentic official record of the family relationship of these citizens (if we except the work done by Miss Alice Fletcher, perhaps the best work in allotting Indians ever done). Yet you can see at once that only a permanent record of family relationships among these Indians can prevent the grossest confusion as to legal title to allotted lands, when the period of twenty-five years of protected title expires, and deeds are to be given in fee simple by the United States to "the allottee or his heirs" in each case. How shall our courts determine who are the heirs of deceased allottees? Some years ago I raised my voice in warning in this Conference as to the confusion that would result when speculating lawyers should begin to buy up titles to the allotments of deceased Indian allottees. Already hundreds of such claims have been bought up by speculators. During this last year the difficulties that attend upon the question of the disposal to be made of the land of deceased allottees, have been among the most annoying which have come before the Indian Office. A permanent system of registration of Indian families is absolutely necessary.

VAST LANDED INTERESTS ARE INVOLVED.

Again we are face to face with the white man's greed of land and the Red man's need of law. We often hear Indians referred to as "the vanishing races which have been dispossessed of all their lands." There is much which is unlovely and unjust in the history of our dealings with the Indians. But we need not exaggerate what is wrong; nor should we forget that upon the whole the dealings of the Government with the Indians for the last thirty years have been dictated by principles of justice, and have been more considerate than the history of the world elsewhere can show in the relations of a conquering to a conquered race. The census of 1890 gave the

number of Indians in the United States, exclusive of Alaska, as 259,000; the census of 1900 gives the number as 270,000. While pure-blood Indians are less in number than they used to be, those who are classed as Indians, and seek the tribal rights and privileges of Indians, are more numerous. The Indians are about one three hundredth of the population of the United States. While we have taken from the Indian reservations much which we had assigned to them when our supply of Western land seemed inexhaustible, the reservations which are still held for them are greater in extent than the combined territory of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and half of Pennsylvania. *One thirtieth* of the entire acreage of this country is held for the Indians, who are *one three hundredth* of our population. That is, the average Indian occupies about ten times as much land as the average white person. Let us not forget this fact. Much of the land in these reservations is worthless for agricultural purposes. Three years ago, by correspondence with all Indian agents, I tried to ascertain how much of the land of our Indian reservations, in the opinion of agents, is fit for agriculture. Replies gave me a body of statistics imperfect, but, such as it was, more encouraging as to the amount of tillable land than I had expected. I have just sent out letters of inquiry to all the Indian agencies asking further information upon this subject, and upon allotments, leased lands, etc.

CATTLE RAISING AS A FIRST STEP TOWARD CIVILIZATION.

Much of the land on these reservations which is not tillable is well fitted for cattle raising. If you visit one of the Western reservations from three to six thousand feet above the sea, where there is not a month in the summer without a killing frost, it is pathetic to see the efforts made by the Indians, under the advice of careful agents, to raise vegetables in gardens which are hit by the frost once or twice in each summer month. But upon many of these reservations all the conditions favor the raising of cattle or of sheep. Not all of the Indians can be made farmers. Many of those in our Western tribes will be successful cattle breeders before they become agriculturists. From savagery up through successive stages of barbarism, as breeders and herders of cattle, into civilization,—this is the course which many nomadic tribes have taken in other countries; and cattle raising on our Northwestern reservations is not a continuance of savagery or of barbarism. In Montana and North Dakota, where Indians learn to store the wild hay of the prairie to feed their stock through the winter; where the cattle are herded in sheltered spots through the winter, and are fed by the hay which has been cured and stacked by the provident labor of these Indian men in cutting the wild grass of the prairie during the summer; where herding cattle through the summer months takes the men away from their homes, to be sure, but makes possible a home for each family upon allotted, tillable land along the river bottoms, with a little garden for each family,—a home to which the husband and father returns several

times during the summer, and where he lives with his family during the winter; in this kind of cattle raising you have the natural pathway into civilization for the men who used to live by hunting the buffalo, but who now live by breeding and herding the tame representative of the buffalo in the form of beef cattle. Often I see the faces and hear the voices of those young Indians—returned students from the East—who came to me at the close of a long afternoon council which I had held with several hundred Indians on a Montana reservation. In this council these returned students had offered the wisest and most helpful advice to their people, until one of the chiefs had said at the close of the meeting: “A light has come from the East. Our *young men who have been East to school* have seen it. We must follow them. The buffalo are gone. The white man’s way is the only way for us.” These young Indians came to me and said in substance: “Please carry a petition to Washington. They have been sending us rations and clothing which we do not need, and agricultural tools which we cannot use. Ask them to send us mowing machines to make hay of this prairie grass, and men to teach how to take care of stock cattle, and to send us good breeding cattle instead of rations; and we can make our own way at once; and we can teach our fathers and our older brothers how to make their way by raising cattle.”

Individual holdings in land strengthen the family. Individual ownership in cattle, and the successful breeding of cattle, will strengthen the personality of the Indian men who engage in it, and will lead them toward civilized ways. But several of the great tribes which might be most successful in cattle raising, are kept from doing anything for themselves by *the communistic system of great tribal funds*, which belong not to individuals but to the tribe, and by the division, to idle and industrial Indians alike, of payments from these funds, and of money payments from the leasing of great sections of tribal land to *white cattlemen who work, while Indians sit still in barbarism* subsisting upon the rentals of these tracts of tribal land.

THE TRIBAL ORGANIZATION MUST GO; THE RESERVATION AND
NEEDLESS AGENCIES MUST GO; THE GREAT TRIBAL
FUNDS SHOULD BE BROKEN UP.

The American public is convinced that upon the whole the reservation system for Indians is thoroughly bad. It has some mitigating features when the agent is a good man, and teachers and missionaries are experienced, faithful, and helpful. But the general principle of isolating savages from civilization, and keeping an inert mass of savagery segregated from American citizens and cut off from all the life-giving currents of civilization and Christian life, is thoroughly bad. We cannot speak in public of all the iniquities that our eyes have seen on these reservations. If Christian men and women, who know what reservation life means for Indian women and for Indian men, sometimes lose patience with the lovers of the picturesque and the admirers of the exceptional in anthropology, it is because

admiration for the exceptional and the picturesque in Indian life sometimes becomes a serious obstacle to the efforts of teachers, philanthropists, and patriots who wish to make useful American citizens of this quarter of a million of our population, and not to maintain them in a picturesque paganism for the sake of perpetuating the exceptional for purposes of study! There is danger in the half-romantic willingness to sacrifice the souls of men and women, to shut out from enlightened and civilized life the descendants of these American savages, because of a desire to see perpetuated grotesque and unclean dances, and debauching practices which are practiced by pagans, but should not be tolerated on the territory of a civilized Christian nation.

To get through the mass of the tribe to the individual; to break up the mass of reservation land into individual and family holdings; to lay hold of the life of men and women, of boys and girls, one by one, and bring them into the civilized life of American citizens, should be the object of all our efforts for the Indian. And this work cannot be effectively done until we begin to *break up the great tribal funds*, as we are breaking up tribal government and the great tribal reservations. Pagan practices which are distinctively immoral; so-called tribal "councils" and "governments," which are notoriously schools for political debauchery, and the vices of "ring government" methods imported from our worst city centers, must give way; and the people who are kept in ignorance by them, must be brought under the strong and helpful tuition of the local life of the American people, political and social. The teaching which comes to Indians when they begin to share in the local affairs of the town, the county, the state; when their children take their places in the public-school system of the township and the county where they live,—is a transforming influence from which we have too long shut them out.

In past centuries when the white people on this continent were so few in number that they were compelled to make treaties with tribes of the aborigines, we began a system of recognizing the local authority of the tribe. Then for a century or more this great nation excused itself for the absolute lawlessness and unchecked crime of white men and Red men upon the Indian reservation, by affirming that it had turned over local government on these reservations to the authority of tribal chiefs and the sway of tribal Indian law. The utter lack of law and the folly of treating petty bands of savages as if they were civilized nations—sister states in the great international family of civilized states—became so evident, more than a generation ago, that Congress decided in 1871 to make no more treaties with Indian tribes. This was the first step toward the disintegration of the tribe; toward the "Americanizing" of the Indians. Then we turned our attention to these great masses of land held by tribal tenure. They had to be broken up in the interest of the Indians themselves. The Dawes Bill—the General Severalty Act of 1887—struck at this vast mass of tribal land. Friends of the American Indian should never forget the debt the Indians owe to Senator Dawes of Massachusetts. We have never had in Congress at Washington any man who has

devoted so much of legal learning, so much of that strong common sense and sound practical judgment which a New England constituency demands in its Senators, and so much of high Christian principle, convincing eloquence and persistent and long-continued effort to securing wise legislation for the Indians, as did Senator Henry L. Dawes. We miss his influence for the Indian at Washington. In the Senator who stood nearest to him in wise interest in the Indians, Senator Platt of Connecticut, the Indians have always had a friend of the same type; and if he were not heavily loaded with duties in our colonial affairs, we might expect from him the same persistent and efficient help for the Indian. Many other members of Congress are wisely thoughtful for the interest of the Indian, and absolutely staunch in their devotion to righteous measures of law and administration for the Indians. The first severalty bill was drafted in 1869 by the Board of Indian Commissioners; but it was nearly twenty years before a measure for allotting lands in severalty became a law—in 1887. And, humanly speaking, that law could not have passed Congress then, or for years afterward, had it not been for the strong personality and the unfailing energy of Senator Dawes. But we got the law in 1887; and that law began to pulverize the reservation system.

There still remains a third mass in which the Indians are isolated from civilization, and behind which the personality of the Indian hides itself, and eludes the civilizing effect of American citizenship. That mass, too, we must break up! It is the mass of undivided tribal funds.

UNDIVIDED TRIBAL FUNDS STAND IN THE WAY OF THE CIVILIZATION OF THE INDIANS.

An undivided interest in such a fund tends to keep an Indian from leaving his tribal relation and taking his place as a citizen of the United States. Three years ago a boy of seventeen, from one of the Southwestern reservations, came to me in our office at Washington to ask how he could get free from the reservation life and get into an Eastern college, which he was nearly prepared to enter. We can always secure the help of a free scholarship at some reputable college for such a deserving youth, and I assured him of such assistance. There was nothing in his manner or his speech to indicate Indian blood. Everything in his appearance argued his readiness to take his place among the youth of our land who are fitting themselves by a college course for intelligent leadership in the life of American citizens; but his half-breed mother, who was with him, said, "I think a great deal of my boy, and if he stays at home he is sure of his undivided share of the tribal funds in the territory; if he goes to college and leaves us he will lose his share." She forced him back to reservation life.

Not only by disposing Indians to hold fast to the tribe rather than to enter upon citizenship do these huge tribal funds work injury;

they have a debasing effect upon the white people who come into relation with them. The fact that money is to be received and paid out to the tribe in large sums through an Indian agency leads multitudes of white people in the neighborhood of these agencies to object to seeing the agency discontinued and tribal life broken up. When the House, by its action on an Indian appropriation bill, has followed the suggestions of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior, and has reduced by eight or ten or a dozen the list of Indian agencies to be continued; when the House has decided that these needless agencies shall cease, and has made no appropriation for their continued support, and the bill thus amended goes to the Senate, the conservative effect of these tribal funds is shown in many ways. Some senator, who is known as a man of the highest character and as right in his convictions upon Indian subjects, goes before the Senate Committee and says: "You know that I am all right in my convictions upon the Indian question; but you ought not to strike out this agency *in my State*. You will cripple my influence in the State if that agency is discontinued. It will make me unpopular; *my people are not willing* to have it given up." And he makes it a matter of senatorial courtesy that this particular agency be put back upon the list; so it goes back. And perhaps at the next meeting of the committee comes another senator who may be uniformly opposed to what is best for the Indians, and he says in substance, "You have put Senator ——'s agency back upon the list, and now you must put back the two or three agencies you discontinued in my State, or I shall see to it that your bill has trouble!" And so, one after another, almost the whole list of discontinued agencies is restored to the bill.

This is one result of the indirect influence of these tribal funds. The people about reservation centers wish that this money shall continue to be spent—squandered—by the Indians in this way.

While these tribal funds remain undivided, we cannot get legislation that is needed to do away with unnecessary agencies. The influence of such funds tends to perpetuate the Indian Bureau and a separate Indian administration; and we stand committed, as a Conference, to the view that the Indian Bureau should have for its aim its own destruction. We hope that not many years may pass before the Indian Bureau and the Board of Indian Commissioners shall cease to be needed. We ought to break up these great tribal funds, and in the interest of the Indians themselves to recognize the debt which the United States owes to these Indian tribes as *a debt on the part of the United States to the individual Indians* who make up the membership of the tribe. With proper safeguards to secure the welfare of the Indians, we should recognize in them individual creditors; and as fast as is consistent with their own welfare, the Government should pay the interest and the principal of these great funds to the individual Indians to whom this money properly belongs.

TENTATIVE DRAFT OF A BILL TO BREAK UP TRIBAL FUNDS.

Not with the hope that the first attempt at such a measure may prove altogether practicable, but for the sake of bringing forward a definite proposition for consideration and discussion, the following bill has been drafted and criticised and considered by some of the wisest friends of the Indian in the Senate and in the House. It is presented here not with the thought that in its present form it is a measure likely to be enacted as law without any modification; but following the suggestions of some of our wisest members of Congress in both Houses, the measure is brought forward for discussion, and is offered in its present form in the hope that it may be made the basis of a "campaign of education" upon the important question, "What shall the United States Government do with the immense tribal funds which it holds in trust for the Indians?"

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE DIVISION OF INDIAN TRIBAL FUNDS INTO INDIVIDUAL SHARES, AND FOR THE PAYMENT OF SUCH SHARES TO INDIVIDUAL INDIANS AS THEY BECOME FIT TO RECEIVE AND USE THE MONEY.

Be It Enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:—

SECTION 1.—That on January 1, 1904, each Indian Agent, or Superintendent or Clerk in charge of an Agency, shall file at the office of his Agency a list duly authenticated, of all the persons of Indian descent in his Agency or under his care, who are entitled to share in the undivided tribal funds or lands which on that day may be in the custody of the United States Government; and on that day shall send a copy of said list duly attested to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington. Each such list shall give the Indian name and the English name of each such Indian, so far as possible where both names are known and used, and so far as is practicable shall conform to the manner of making records of names and relationships now in force at Indian agencies, under regulations already prescribed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

SECT. 2.—No child born after January 1, 1904, shall have any right in his own name to an undivided share in Indian tribal funds or lands or other tribal property; but each such child shall have such rights, and only such rights, as may belong to him (or her) through inheritance of a part or the whole of a share or shares from father, mother, or other relative, under the laws which on that date (or thereafter) shall govern the inheritance of citizens of the United States in the State or Territory where said child resides, or where the will of said Indian relative deceased shall have been duly probated, or where such real estate so to be inherited is situated.

SECT. 3.—As soon as practicable after January 1, 1904 (and in case of every tribe before January 1, 1905, unless such tribe be explicitly excepted until a later date by executive order of the President of the United States), there shall be opened at the Treasury of

the United States an account with the Indians who were entitled on January 1, 1904, to share in each fund held in custody by the United States Government for the benefit of each such tribe; the principal and accrued interest due to each such tribe shall be divided into a number of equal individual holdings or shares, one share to each Indian who on January 1, 1904, was entitled to share therein; and the individual Indians thus entitled to share in this fund shall be credited each with his or her own share on the books of the Treasury of the United States.

SECT. 4.—In case of payment of annuities or of interest from any Indian tribal fund after January 1, 1904, such payments of annuities or of interest shall be made *pro rata* by Treasury check to each of the individual Indians whose name appears upon the books of the Treasury as being thus entitled on January 1, 1904, to a divided share in said tribal fund. And in case of the decease of an Indian thus entitled to a divided share, his or her part of such principal, or annuity, or interest, so payable, shall belong to, and be duly held for and be paid to his or her heirs, under the laws of the State or Territory where such Indian resided at the time of death.

SECT. 5.—In case of each tribal fund thus divided into individual holdings upon the books of the Treasury, as soon as the President of the United States shall be clearly of the opinion that the Indians of such tribe, or the great majority of them are capable of managing their own money or will be benefited, by learning to manage their own money, he shall by executive order fix a date on which the individual shares of such tribal funds, principal and accrued interest (if any) shall be paid to the Indians entitled to receive it; and such payments shall be by Treasury checks to individuals on said lists who have survived to receive such payments; and payments due to any Indians deceased shall be held for or paid to the heirs of said deceased Indians, in accordance with the laws governing inheritance from deceased citizens in the State or Territory in which said deceased Indian resided at the time of his death.

MISS ANNIE BEECHER SCOVILLE.—Twenty years ago we worked for the Indian only to relieve suffering and still the cry of pain; to-day we work for him because we believe there is something in his life and character which can add to our national power and which should be conserved.

This position has both its helpful and its dangerous side. When you know the old Indians who have cut out their lives for themselves, you see that the Indian has something besides vice and laziness to give us. Take old Thunder Hawk for an example: as a wild and painted savage he rescued Father DeSmett from his own people and took him safely through the Indian country. When years after Thunder Hawk was taught of God at the Congregational mission he said, "I cannot be a Christian because I have three wives, and now that they are old it would not be right to put them away, but my sons shall marry but one woman and be Christians." And now an old man he came East last winter to plead for

his land. Such a man demands our respect; yet much of his life, its customs and conditions, must be swept away, and the danger is that we shall save the curious customs and picturesque dance at the expense of character.

This love of Indians as artistic objects is to-day a "fad" with us, but there are material elements of his civilization, such as the basketry, which are bound to live for their essential beauty, and which we should cultivate for their educational value to the people.

There has been too much teaching the Indian to work because he did not like it rather than for its future value to him. There is little good in teaching a man who lives in a pueblo to be a plumber. Work which a man neither enjoys nor sees the value of is a waste of time and strength, while work that he loves, that he can teach us or excel us in, builds both character and purpose.

I remember a shy, indifferent girl in one of my classes; she was a faithful student, but never one that we expected to see lead. Yet a year ago when I was in a hard place on the reservation an Indian wrote me: "Why don't you send for A? She is more of a woman than any Indian girl I know." And again this summer when there was a time of need in my own home a teacher at Hampton sent word, "If you can get A, you'll be all right."

This testimony aroused my curiosity, and when she came I found that the passive girl had developed into a quiet, capable woman, keenly alive to the world about her. With much interest I asked of her life since we had parted three years before. She had graduated at Hampton, gone to her own home to study their arts, and is now teaching pottery and basketry at Hampton. She told a simple story of her home life, of walking five miles a day to teach a district school, of taking basket lessons of an old man and woman who alone know all the stitches once used by the Cherokees, and of going to the only woman in the mountain who could make pottery and learning her trade. She told me how much interested her home folk were in her doing this work, how surprised they were that an educated girl should care to know these things, and how several others have followed her example.

She saw that this work was a direct appeal to her people to use that which they had at hand; but I saw that it had also been the best appeal to her own womanliness, that it had given her that higher education which the school can only prepare for and life give. It is thus we should conserve Indian life,—not by the Wild West Show which degenerates, but by the handicraft and activity which regenerate.

MISS MARIE IVES.—My work has been educational, in the line of educating white people to be interested in Indians. For twelve years I have been in charge of the young people's work in this direction, trying to educate them in such a way that there shall be no Indian problem by and by. I worked through the Sunday schools, King's Daughters circles, and similiar societies. Last

January I took charge of the *Indians' Friend* for spreading information about Indian matters. A literary woman recently married and I went to visit her. She had written on a great many topics, and I asked her husband one day what his wife thought on such a matter. He replied, "I never ask her about such things because she always says, 'I refer you to my published utterances.'" The *Indians' Friend* is for subscription, and there you can read my published utterances, so that I need say no more here.

The CHAIR.—Miss Ives has the honor of having made the shortest speech in the Conference.

Dr. Henry G. Ganss, financial agent of the Roman Catholic schools among the Indians, was invited to speak.

Dr. H. G. GANSS.—During my last visit to our Catholic Indian reservations I met one of our Jesuit missionaries from Alaska (which geographically, if not jurisdictionally, is in Dr. Sheldon Jackson's diocese), who told me a story that strongly suggests this ten-minute limit for speeches. He was preaching in the native tongue to the Alaskans, when he came to the text, "The devil goeth about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour." The zoölogy of Alaska, although somewhat enlarged by Dr. Jackson, is naturally limited and restricted. To make his illustration effective and vivid, he had to substitute the bear for the lion, and his remarks were to the effect that "the devil goeth about like a roaring bear seeking whom he may devour." One of the natives interrupted him: "Father, does the Great Spirit say that?" "Yes," was the reply. "Is it so written in the Great Book?" continued the Alaskan. "Yes." "Well, if that is so, both are wrong. The bear never goes about; he makes straight for you." On this principle, I suppose, I must go straight to my subject.

To give you a history of Catholic missions in the New World would be to give you the history of the country, because the history of Catholic missions is coexistent with the discovery of the country, whose inspiration was, to use the words of Columbus, that "great deeds might be done for the glory of God and the exaltation of the church." On his second voyage Columbus already brought the Catholic missionary. With the banner of Spain was planted the standard of the cross. From that moment the church has labored incessantly for the conversion of the Indian. The hopes and disappointments, the difficulties and privations, the successes and failures, of that mission are matters of history, fully recounted by our historians Bancroft, Parkman, Prescott, and Fisk. They may at times have misapprehended the doctrine they taught, the discipline they inculcated; their motives may at times have been misinterpreted, and their lives misunderstood, but all concur with a singular unanimity that these missionaries were men of the true

heroic type, of dauntless courage, tireless energy, a consecrated devotion to duty, urged on by an insatiate love of humanity and quenchless thirst for the salvation of souls. On the beadroll of Catholic missionaries we have no less than the names of thirty who have crimsoned the American soil with the blood of martyrdom, not to mention those unknown heroes whose deaths are unrecorded, whose graves unmarked, whose very names no record or epitaph commemorates. Our very geography ineffaceably perpetuates these men and their labors, so that Joliet, Marquette, Champlain, St. Augustine, Santa Fé, St. Paul, Sacramento, are names inseparably linked with the missionary spirit as well as the history of the nation.

However, our national movement inaugurating work among the Indians began when General Grant established his Peace Policy in 1869. By this policy, as you know, different tribes and reservations were allotted to the various church denominations. We agreed to take up the working field apportioned to us, and threw into it our best efforts. In twenty-five years, on the presumption that the Peace Policy would continue until the last Indian would be a Christian and a citizen, we expended no less than \$1,500,000 in the erection and equipment of schools and missionary stations. As a result of this work and that preceding it, out of two hundred and sixty-seven thousand Indians given in our last census, one hundred and six thousand are members of the Catholic Church. This estimate, we believe, is not large enough.

But our work was suddenly interrupted, our schools seriously handicapped, if not jeopardized. The work on the scale of magnitude mapped out, the lavish expenditure of money for the erection of schools, the concentration of our best efforts, was perfected, with the assurance of the Government in view that it would support the schools. We recall the unfortunate condition which brought about the abrogation and downfall of that plan when the appropriations by Congressional enactment were revoked.

Still, the work was not discontinued; and since 1895 has been going on with undiminished zeal, but a somewhat diminished enrollment. We have two thousand children in thirty schools—if memory serves me right—which are supported by the church in part, but mainly by the munificent charity of Mother Katharine Drexel, who, in addition to devoting her fortune, has consecrated her life by a religious vow to the uplifting of the red and the black man.

Our schools cost us \$140,000 annually,—allowing about seventy dollars for each child educated,—this including, of course, food, clothing, books, tuition. Our missionaries and four-fifths of our teachers are priests or nuns; consequently never receive a cent for salary.

Our future prospects are encouraging; in fact, most hopeful. Catholic charity never exhausts itself in its help to the poor and oppressed; and the more the status of our Indians is known to them the more liberal is the response. But a still more hopeful

condition prevails in the fact that under the broad, enlightened, and charitable policy of His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ryan, who control the destinies of our Indian work, the most amicable and helpful relations exist between the church and Government schools; between ecclesiastical and State authorities. And why should they not?

Why should we not sink all difference, religious, political and social, in the one supreme act of Christian humanity; silence the voice of an accusing conscience and smarting rebuke by a concerted act of national reparation; prove to the nations of the earth that the republic which staked its very life to strike the shackles from the enslaved black man is not reluctant but eager to mete out the fullest justice to the red man?

In this policy you can count upon the fullest co-operation of the Catholic Church. It will have the heartiest endorsement of our zealous Commissioner of Indian Affairs; and I am equally confident of a man whom I bitterly antagonized at one time, but whom I now feel proud to call my friend,—Colonel Pratt, of Carlisle. The Chief Executive of the United States expressed himself to the same effect, and the future of the Indian never looked more promising if all Christian and philanthropic bodies sink their non-essential differences and espouse the cause.

Rev. H. B. Frissell, D.D., of Hampton, was introduced.

Dr. H. B. FRISSELL.—I am very glad that the Catholic Church is continuing its work; it is a reason for thankfulness. It seems to me that we must all be thankful that we have come as never before into close co-operation with the men who are trying to do this good work. I am sure we all felt this sense of thankfulness as the Archbishop led us in prayer this morning. We in Hampton for many years have been glad to welcome Catholics and Protestants alike. Very often the Catholic priest has led our morning devotions. Our Catholic students have been among the best workers in the churches to which they have returned. It seems to me that instead of having jealousy between Catholics and Protestants they should work together for the coming of the kingdom. I have been called once or twice by Miss Reel to preside at gatherings of the workers in the West, and the thing which has struck me has been the desire which these men have that some religious life should go into these schools, and yet the feeling that they did not quite dare to put religion into the front.

Now I think we ought to put religion into the front. We have fought out here the question of State and Church; certainly we do not want the separation of the church and religion; we do not want the separation of the school and religion. We do want religion, and the most earnest sort of religion, put into our Indian work in the schools. Some time ago when the Indian Committee from Washington came down to Hampton, I remember that one

of them was a member of the Roman Catholic Church, and after looking over Hampton he said, "I shall vote this year for the appropriation for Hampton because it is religious." It seems to me that the time will come when we shall have to put religion into our public schools, into all our schools, and that both Protestants and Catholics will unite in seeing that this is done. I am sure that we have, as we gather here, reasons for encouragement. Mr. Smiley has done a great many things for us. He has helped to make us friends and to see the best that is in one another. Every year we are coming into closer co-operation; we are working more and more hand in hand, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile; the church school and the boarding school are understanding one another better, and that is one of the good things which this Conference has brought about.

Something was said this morning in regard to those who had gone back from Carlisle and Hampton. There are often those who fail; neither Colonel Pratt nor I would deny that. When these young people have gone back to those agencies with all the conditions against them, some of them have not stemmed the tremendous tide; but both he and I can tell of students, boys and girls, who have stood by the principles taught at these schools. I have heard of those who have died in their struggle to live in the white man's way. Those of us who know of Harvard and Yale and Princeton know that there have gone out men from those universities who have done a sort of work much worse than that referred to this morning. Everyone who knows the history of a large institution for whites knows that there are many students whose records we should be glad to hide. But we do need to remember the saintly men and women who, in these last years, have been pioneers for better things in our agencies. I wish I had time to tell you to-night of those who have stood for the right and the true.

The outgrowth of this work at Mohonk is felt in many ways, and it has had great influence upon public thought. I will speak only of one of its indirect effects. There was established a few years ago, upon the plan of Mohonk, a similar conference down in Virginia, out of which has grown the Southern Educational Conference, which last year numbered nearly a thousand members. This new conference met year before last in North Carolina, and last year in Athens, Georgia. It has tried to do for the South just what Mr. Smiley is trying to do for us in the Indian work,—that is, to make people in different parts of the country friends. So the result of the Mohonk Conference, both directly and indirectly, is very great.

We have established for these conferences at the South a bureau of information in New York, and we have also a bureau in Knoxville, Tenn., and are now collecting statistics in regard to work for the negroes and among the Southern white people. It seems to me, that we ought in some way to have Dr. Gates establish a bureau

which will furnish information in regard to Indian affairs to those who need it.

Col. R. H. Pratt was asked to follow Dr. Frissell.

Col. R. H. PRATT.—I want especially to endorse what the good Bishop said in his classical paper this morning. It went right to the root of the matter. The conditions in New York are not exceptional. I also endorse the Commissioner's short-hair order. It is good because it disturbs old savage conditions.

A celebrated American writer makes one of his characters say,

"The great American idee
Is to make a man a man
And then to let him be."

In dealing with the Indian the eternal thing with us is his property. Property is the stumbling block all the time, and I am glad to see any steps taken to get it out of the way. The Indian's property and our greed for it stands in the way of the Indian's progress. If we can make the Indian a man and get him to the point where he has ability to take care of himself and then let him alone, there will be no trouble.

Segregating any class or race of people apart from the rest of the people kills the progress of the segregated people or makes their growth very slow. Association of races and classes is necessary in order to destroy racism and classism. Almost all the humanitarian and Government contrivances for the Indian within my knowledge are segregating in their influences and practically accomplish only segregation.

We have brought into our national life nearly forty times as many negroes as there are Indians in the United States. They are not altogether citizen and equal yet, but they are with us and of us; distributed among us, coming in contact with us constantly, they have lost their many languages and their old life, and have accepted our language and our life and become a valuable part of our industrial forces. The Indian, on the contrary, through our contrivances and control, has been held away from association with us, with all his affairs entirely under our control. We constantly treat him as an alien, and even in his education and industrial training we alienize him from all association and competition in our schools and industries. The system has been successful in making him the most un-American and foreign to our affairs of any of our peoples. Ten millions of negroes are all English speaking and have been made citizens. Two hundred and fifty thousand Indians, one fortieth as many, are yet largely speaking their own languages and living their own old life.

Long experience proves that it is just as easy to give the Indian the English language and our American industries, Yankee shrewdness and the push-and-go of our people, as it is to give it to any other man of any race. The only condition necessary to the ac-

complishment of such results is the one condition that succeeds with all other races ; that is, the associating with, and participating in, the life and affairs of the nation. No other man of any foreign race is made American except through being educated, trained in and permitted to participate in, all there is of America. Our very contrivances to help the Indian hinder him in reaching these relations and getting these benefits. Even the Indian schools we have instituted have become a barrier to him in reaching the opportunities of association and competition, and so are a means of keeping him Indian and tribe. We all indorse the public school as the best influence for Americanizing and unifying our people. Put the Indian into the public school, give him a chance in the American family, and he soon learns to take care of himself and his property ; keep him out of the public schools, away from the family, and his property in the hands of agents, and he remains Indian and tribe to the end.

A limited experience and a limited education among our people enables the Indian to demand, and gives him the ability to control, his own property, and ends the necessity for agents and traders and rids us of all expensive supervision.

A lady in this room, in a quiet way, has done great things for Indian boys by giving them just these advantages. In the course of twenty-one years she and her husband welcomed thirty-two Indian boys from the Carlisle school into their family and employed them on the farm, sent them to the public school near their home, and taught them to live as we live. Neither Carlisle nor any other Indian school could do that so well ; in fact it cannot be done in any other way.

Give the Indian a chance to get out and away from his past. Give him a chance to learn America and its industries, its education,—to get the push-and-go of it into him by actually participating in it. Remove the restraints and influences that keep him on his reservation in tribal life, and nothing but a liberal chance will be necessary to transfer him into our American life, and that very quickly. It is not a work of generations. It is not a work of one generation under such conditions and influences. It is a work of many generations under the tribalizing system we are pursuing. The Indians are in our hands. We have assumed absolute control over them. We have destroyed all the resources of their old life. It is impossible for them to continue it if they would. They understand that a good deal better than we do. Having assumed this control, and the old life being no longer possible, it would not be a greater strain upon right and upon kindness to force them to move out and away from the tribe and enter into these benefits, than the restraining, hindering, and tribalizing influences we do enforce. Our Government intends to be honest and kind. The long-continued appropriation of vast sums of money to help the Indians shows this. Indeed, one of our greatest mistakes has been, and is, the gift of large sums of money. It becomes the engine of their

destruction. The Indians do not have it long. It goes into the hands of the people about them, and the most debasing enticements are used by those of our own race to get it from them. The distribution of money to an Indian tribe is always regarded by those living near the Indians as a contribution to the development of that district. That it harms the Indian is not considered. It is easier to get money or property from ignorant Indians than from those who have been educated, and especially from those who have been educated and trained among our own people. No gifts of money can possibly compensate them for the denial of opportunity to earn and to learn to compete and become equal to us by actual experience.

I have no sympathy with any plans which compel these people to think all the time that they are dependent upon and must be provided for by the Government or their friends, nor with any movements that claim great sums of money for them. It is the greatest possible wrong to prolong their Indianism, whether we do it for humanitarian or so-called scientific reasons.

We have a bureau in Washington which gets large sums of money for the alleged purpose of investigating the mysteries of Indian life and discovering their origin. What particular benefit would it be if we knew their origin? and what possible influence upon the welfare of the country or of the Indians themselves could it have if we knew all the music and all the modes and methods and every feature of the old Indian life? What the Indian was in past, and cannot be restored. The only question of material interest to either the white people or the Indians is that which relates to their and our present and future welfare in relation to each other.

The ethnologists prefer the Indian kept in his original paint and feathers, and as part and parcel of every exposition on that line. Years ago the head of that Bureau in Washington berated us for our Carlisle plan, and claimed that we were interfering with his plans; that he was trying to get at the history and life of the Indians and their language; and that he should never be able to accomplish his work if our school and its purposes went on. It seemed at first large opposition, but I was afterwards glad of it, for it was high scientific testimony that we were on right lines. It will be a happy day for the Indians when their ethnological value is of no greater importance than that of the negro and other races which go to make up our population.

Once an anthropologist-ethnologist came to Carlisle and carried away fifty or sixty specimens of hair from the heads of as many young people from the different tribes represented at the school. I suppose they wanted to split them. We have had others come to take facial and cranial measurements of all our students. These people get out from year to year at Government cost very expensive books giving minute accounts of their discoveries concerning our two hundred and fifty thousand Indian population. The ten million negroes seem scarcely to attract their attention. The In-

dian Bureau is trying to put the Indian on his feet as a self-supporting citizen; but its reports not being illustrated nor highly colored, are not particularly in demand for distribution among the electors.

Father Ganss, who preceded me, formerly the priest for nine or ten years at Carlisle, has intimated that we quarreled at one time. At the same time that we disagreed about certain things we were friendly. His presence and the presence of the great bishop of his church here in this convention is promise of good. It is as it ought to be; we are all coming to work in harmony.

In the Carlisle School we have a strong Y. M. C. A., and the Catholic pupils have been members of it right along. Some of them have been sent as delegates to the conventions of State organizations, to the national conventions, and to the great gatherings year after year at Northfield. We have a number of King's Daughters' Circles. The lady in charge when organizing them found that the Catholic girls desired to join. At my suggestion she spoke to Father Ganss about it, and he told her to let them join the circles by all means. There has been no clashing of interests at Carlisle, but people at work for the churches among the Indians, especially for the Catholic Church, have found a good deal of fault, and alleged a great many things that were not true. Carlisle tries to be United States, and is non-sectarian. We give every church the fullest opportunity to work with and for our pupils.

When I took the first party of Indians to Hampton a Catholic priest appeared and claimed his own. General Armstrong asked what he ought to do about it. I said, "Your Indian work is at Government expense, and the children should be placed under the religious care of the churches to which they or their parents belong." Not only should the Indian have the benefit of church help, but he is entitled to go into the higher schools and even the colleges and universities, not at Government expense, and it is not necessary that the Government pay for his higher education. Every young Indian capable of attending a higher school can be provided for, and the way should be open for him clear to the top.

One of the best features of Carlisle is our outing; the working part of it I have explained, but the school opportunities connected with these outings are of the greatest value. Every fall we arrange to leave from three to four hundred of our pupils out in families for the winter to attend public, private, normal and other schools. The association and competition in school with the children of our own race fits the Indian for association and competition later in all the business and affairs of our American life. We put our newest and most ignorant pupils out early in the spring. Living in families they take on English far more rapidly, and learn our ways of life and how to care for themselves and their property affairs better than it is possible to train them in any school, because these lessons are practical, while in the school they are of necessity theoretical.

One thing which makes this course popular with our young

people is the fact that they earn money. This last year, ending June 30th, the earnings of the boys and girls of the Carlisle School amounted to over \$30,000, and in the twenty-three years' history of the school their total earnings under the outing have been above \$350,000. That large sum would not be paid to workers that were not worth it, and it becomes an unanswerable argument in favor of the system.

No separate system of industries need be created. It calls for no great appropriation by Congress, and becomes no tax upon the charity of the country to make it go. In order to carry it out we must loosen the bands with which we have bound the Indians to reservations, to tribal life, to agency supervision, and open the way for them to thus break up their community systems. The community system for any of our peoples is against Americanism, against Christianity, against the best interests of either the people concerned or the United States. We have Italian communities in our great cities, and German communities in certain localities, where only Italian and German are spoken. In Berks County, Pennsylvania, there is a German community, where the fourth generation finds the people unable to speak the English language. It is an inexcusable sentiment that would favor this condition. The operation of our system of schools and association with our people, if allowed to prevail, practically breaks up such community systems, and lifts those diverse peoples into the knowledge, ability and desire to be real Americans.

The PRESIDENT.—We may be proud of the United States Army when we see men who have devoted their lives, not to destroying their fellow beings, but to elevating them and to instructing them in the principles of civil government. Our army is sometimes criticised very severely, but there are men who deserve the highest honors the Government can bestow for what they have done for the elevation of humanity and in the illustration of civic righteousness, and Colonel Pratt is one of them, but I want to qualify one of his statements as to scientific people. I am sure he would not include among those whom he criticises our friend, Miss Alice Fletcher, who is not only an ethnologist but a philanthropist. She is able to look back without being turned into a pillar of salt.

Colonel PRATT.—Miss Fletcher is all right. It wasn't Miss Fletcher who came to get the different kinds of hair.

The PRESIDENT. Our session this morning has shown how blessed it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 24, 1902.

The Conference was called to order after morning prayers, led by Rev. Hector Hall, at 10 o'clock.

Mr. J. H. Seger, of Colony, Oklahoma, was introduced.

Mr. JOHN H. SEGER.—When I came to this Conference I was told that I would probably be called on to say a few words, and I imagined that I should feel a good deal as I felt about twenty-five years ago when I was surrounded by twenty-four Indians, and their guns were pointed at me. But when I was told that I would be allowed only ten minutes, I thought I did not care how soon the exercises would be over. Where I live, when the Indians want to say something that will make me feel good, they say I am just like an Indian; and after I had been here two days I could say that you are just like Indians, and I do feel a great deal easier in facing you than I imagined I would.

I entered the service in 1872, and during the time since I have been right with the Indians. I have been away from them but a few times. Although the Government allows thirty days yearly, I have taken leave only three times in thirty years. If I had not expected to get some information here, I should not be away from the Indians to-day.

Since I have been with the Indians I have been studying them, and they have been studying me, and I have found out that they are human beings, and I have come to the conclusion that if we want to elevate them we must elevate them as men, women and children. Since I have been studying them I have seen other people who were studying them, and they reminded me of two blind men who wanted to find out just what kind of an animal an elephant was. They thought that if they could not see him they could feel him. The first one felt his ear, and said, "He is like a fan;" and the second blind man took hold of his tail, and said, "He is just like a rope." I have found out that the Indian is not like a fan, nor like a rope, but like a man. One class of people who have studied the Indian were newspaper reporters, and from them many people have got their idea of what an Indian is. I have met these men in the Indian camp. They would say: "I have come to stay a few days to find out all about the Indian. To-day I went inside an Indian lodge. I wonder what my folks would say if they knew it! I saw where they sleep and how they cook. They are a lazy

set. They let the women do all the work. The children are very interesting; they never cry, never quarrel, and never laugh; they are very interesting. I am going to tell my paper all about it, that people may understand Indian character." That man thought the Indian was just like a rope.

I will tell a story to illustrate the other class of people who think they know all about Indians.

Once after the Cheyennes had been on the warpath and had had quite a fight with the whites, they were under the guard of the military,—a kind of prisoners of war. They were not allowed to go west of the Canadian River when hunting. About that time I took the contract to carry the mail one hundred and sixty miles west from Reno, and the reason I took it was because they said no one but Indians could carry it, because it had to go in thirty-six hours, traveling night and day, and there being no path, they said white men could not do it. And they said further that no one could get the Indians to do it but "Johnny Smoker," so the contractor asked me to have the Indians carry it, as I was the only one who could do so. So I went to Little Robe, the ruling chief of the Cheyennes, and I made an arrangement for him to carry it, and I said I would locate him on the Wachita River. It was necessary for me to go over the route and stake it out and explain to him how to carry it. Just before we started on our trip Little Robe said: "We are going to be alone for several days, and we shall probably see no other human beings. The Cheyennes have been fighting with the white people, and the white people have killed a good many Cheyennes, and the Cheyennes have killed a good many white people. You don't know me very well, and I don't know you very well. I propose that we don't take a gun. We will need a knife, but I propose that we take only a butcher knife" (he did not believe in concealed weapons). I told him I would agree to that. Then I said: "I, too, have a proposition. I understand driving a team, and I propose to drive the team and hitch and unhitch, because you do not understand that; and as you are better acquainted with camp life, you must make the camp fire, cook, and sometimes make our beds. You have nothing but dry buffalo meat, and I have provision enough for both. You take charge of it, and we will fare the same. You make the bed, and we will sleep under the same blanket and drink from the same cup." He agreed. We crossed one hundred and sixty miles of country without seeing anyone else on the trip. When we got to Fort Eliot I showed him how to deliver the mail, how to get it, etc.; and while I was doing it a number of Texas men in the store looked on, and one of them came to me and said, "You have got a redskin with you." "I have Little Robe with me," I replied. "I suppose he is up here to steal horses, aint he?" "No, sir; he isn't here to steal horses. I have a contract to carry the mail, and he is going to work for me." "Work for you? See here, stranger, an Indian won't work." "Won't work," I said. "I have paid them for cutting one thousand one hundred cords of wood and for cutting four hundred tons of hay." "Well," said he, "I have been on the frontier all my

life. I have fought Indians ever since I was grown up, and I *know* they won't work." He thought the Indian was just like a fan.

I could tell you a great many instances like that relating to the past of the Indian, but what interests us more here is what the Indians are to-day and what they are going to be in the future. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes are allotted. They have white people around them. When they were allotted I wanted to have a white man on each side of the Indian, for I knew that part of the country would be settled largely by whites with families, who would make an honest living, and that they would be good instructors for these Indians; and I have found it so. The greatest difficulty with the Indians is the bad conditions they are placed under by the kindness of the Government. They drew rations up to January last. As the Government had inaugurated this system, the Indians did not think it was their place to propose to discontinue rations. But since I have been with them I have adopted the plan of saying to them, "Come, let us reason together," and we would talk over any matter that pertained to their welfare. When the stopping of the rations came up, the Indians would talk to me about it, and would say: "Look here, don't you think it is pretty hard for the Government to expect us who have never been used to farming to support ourselves in this way? Why, I have known people who lived on nothing but bread and molasses, and lived in a dug-out, and every member of the family worked. Is that what you expect of *us*?" Then I would say, "How long ago was it that that family lived in a dug-out?" "About seven years." "How is that family living to-day?" The Indians would begin to suspect what I was driving at. "Oh, they have garden and wagons and fowls, and plenty to eat now, and a big house, and they have it painted white, and they have nice things all right, and they ride in a carriage." "Now," said I, "the difference between the Indian and the white family is, that the white family would rather eat bread and molasses and live in a dug-out for awhile, so that by and by they could live in a big house and ride in a carriage, and the Indian would not." The question dropped right there. We had reasoned together.

The question that has disturbed us more than anything else is the revival of the old Indian sun dance. For fifteen years the Indians had laid aside that particular exercise, but a year ago our agent thought it would be a nice thing to make him popular among the Indians if he would let them have an old-fashioned sun dance, and he gave permission, which they accepted very reluctantly. For eight or nine years the Indians have every year cut a hundred cords of wood and brought it to the school. I had them do the freighting, and for two years had given them the freighting of the coal. But this season the dancing was started, and they said they would have to go and see what it was like. They would see their old friends and have a good time; and they went, and I had to get white men to haul the coal and cut the wood. The Indians were gone about a month. When they came back their horses were all worn out, and not able to do anything the rest of the winter. They themselves were demoralized and in a bad condition, and it was very hard to

get their minds on work or anything else. Our agent, in his last report, said that the Indian should be allowed to have the sun dance for the next ten years. Why should they not be allowed ten more after that, if it should be allowed at all? This summer we have had two sun dances, and it has been very demoralizing. We could not get the Indians to do anything during that time. Yet it is impossible to have a real sun dance. They have lost the old men who used to organize them. When they were being organized this summer, I took a trip to where the Indians were cultivating corn, and they brought up the question whether it was strictly necessary for them to go to the sun dance. The wet weather had put them back, and they had lost a good many ponies by not having corn, and they wished to raise a crop, and if they went to the dance the weeds would take the corn, and they were working from daylight to dark to get rid of the weeds. They said they would prefer to come to my school the Fourth of July and have a good celebration, and then come back to their corn; but they said the Indian office wanted to continue the sun dance for ten years, and was anxious to have them come back. They had tried to be loyal to the Government, and tried to do what the Indian office wanted, and so they supposed they would *have* to go to the dance. It is a fact that circulars were sent to the outside Indians telling them that the Indian Commissioner wanted them to come in and have a sun dance, and that he would probably be there and have a council, and they should have several government beeves. That brought them. There is a lady here who knows how reluctant those Indians were to go. About that time Big Smoke came to my house, and I asked if he were going. "No, sir," said he; "I am not going. I have just buried my father. And before my father died he called me to his bedside, and said: 'My son, I do not want you to go to the sun dance. There is nothing in it for you. Those things are all behind us. You want to look ahead. What you have to do is to support your family. Take the white man's way and go to work. This is my last word to you. After I am dead I want you to go down and see Johnny Smoker, and tell him what I have told you, and ask what you should do to make a living.' Now I have come to deliver that message. Tell me what to do." His father was a typical Indian, imbued with respect for all the tribal customs and manners, and he valued them as much as any Indian could. I said: "Big Smoke, there is work all over the country. You passed the steam threshers. You can have work at any of those machines; or you can have work hauling wood." He said, "Write a letter and tell them I want work." So I did. Ten days later I met him on the road. He was going to the station with his wife and daughter, who had the bead work that they had been doing for the Mohonk Lodge. They were all smiling. He reined up his team and looked around, saying, "Do we look hungry?" I said, "No." "Don't my family look pretty fat?" I told him they did. "We have plenty to eat," said he. "I have been hauling wood for white man, and sometimes I make two dollars and a half a trip. My women at home are doing bead work, and now we have got fifteen

dollars for it at Mohonk Lodge, and we are going to the stores and buy such things as we need before we go home to make the hay."

That is about what the best Indians think of the sun dance. They think it is something behind them. Some of them asked me if I was not going to the sun dance. I told them they could not have a genuine one nowadays; that if they could have one like what they had thirty years ago I did not know but I would go; but I did not think there were any Indians now who would like to take a knife and put it through their breasts, and swing from a thong through it. The torture used to be the important thing. "Oh," said he, "I don't think the Government would allow that." Several Indians were standing around as we were talking about the Government not allowing the torturing part, and one of them spoke up and said, "If the Government knew some things they do at the sun dance, they would say it is a great deal worse than torture." I said, "Yes; I know that."

The Indians learned something at that sun dance. The agent suggested that they should put a line around the place where they had it, and charge fifty cents for white men to come in. It was advertised all through the papers, telling what a horrible thing this sun dance was, with naked savages, with torture, etc., and it drew a great crowd. And they had money to throw to the birds, and it taught them that if they would go to the towns and put up a ring and make themselves hideous, they could make money by it. The more hideous they looked, the more money they could get. They went to three or four towns, and the papers got hold of it, and one paper said, "We have heard of the noble savage, and have studied him as he danced, almost naked and painted hideously, and we have decided that he is more like a brute than a man." I have said that the Indian is a man, and this makes me feel sad; but it is about the condition things are in. But we have got to stop this sun dance, and then and only then will they go to work.

Mrs. Page, sister of Mrs. Roe, of Mohonk Lodge, was invited to speak.

Mrs. PAGE.—I was with Mr. Seger during a long trip in the summer, and I was privileged to see many of the things he has recounted, and it revolutionized my ideas in many ways.

The Mohonk Lodge, which was built to afford shelter to the Indians, and to give them a place where they could meet and carry on social life in ways that will not be harmful to them, was also intended as a place for their native industries. It is situated midway between our church and parsonage, and faces the Cheyenne camp. Imagine one of the terrible storms that come up there so frequently, and their camp flooded. They gather together the articles scattered by the winds, and with their little ones hurry to the lodge, where dear Mrs. Jackson welcomes them and gives them warm comforts, and soon, like the children of nature that they are, they are laughing and making fun of their own predicament.

Then remember there are always those who are sick or dying—and the Mohonk Lodge is never without its dying occupant—cared for or sustained as they pass in peace the last hours of their life.

Think of the women coming there with their little ones. Think of them as they come with flour given them at the issuing station, that they may be taught how to make the most of the simple rations that are furnished by the Government. The children gather there and play with games and dolls. This is what that lodge means to them. They are all free to come. The doors are never locked night or day, and it is doing valuable work along the social line.

In an industrial way it is accomplishing much, for in addition to shelter and opportunity they have materials furnished to them. It was often very difficult for the Indians to do work that they knew how to do well, because they never had the money to supply themselves with materials. They select their own designs, and carry them to their distant camps, and bring back the finished article. It has been charged that the Mohonk Lodge asks too much for the work which we are sending out. Everyone acknowledges that it is high-grade Indian work, but they say they cannot always market it because we will not sell at starvation prices. Mr. Roe offered a price for the best square inch of bead work, and another for one done in the least time, and upon the length of time for doing the best work we gauged the price. It is slow work at best. It forms an industry for all from young to old. The old cannot, however, work rapidly, but at the same time they are able to earn something for themselves. I think last year the women earned about fifteen hundred dollars.

The CHAIR.—These experiences from the field are deeply pathetic. It seems to me that Mr. Seger ought to belong, not only to this Conference, but to the arbitration conference, because he evidently preceded the Emperor of Russia in disarmament.

Rev. Dr. Twombly was then introduced.

THE SITUATION IN HAWAII.

BY REV. ALEXANDER S. TWOMBLY, D.D., NEWTON, MASS.

It was a wise policy on the part of President Roosevelt to summon Governor Dole to Washington in April of this year. The object was not so much to consider the charges preferred by malcontents against the governor's administration as to discuss the Hawaiian situation in all its political and economic features.

The governor was accompanied by a delegation of some of the leaders of the Republican party in Honolulu, and the visit resulted in Mr. Dole's confirmation as governor for his unexpired term of

two years, and in the presentation to the President of a complete statement of affairs in the islands. Attorney-General Knox and other high officials also received the delegation.

The President is now aware, as never before, that the transformation of Hawaii on correct principles is a serious problem of the United States Government in connection with legislation for all our other outlying dependencies.

Under early American influences Hawaii had a natural, self-centered, and slow growth. Its new epoch, at the beginning of the twentieth century, is artificial, forced upon it almost wholly by external conditions. Formerly, the group drifted; now it feels the stress of modern requirements and steers for a conventional harbor.

Romance died with the extinction of the old chiefs. Modern civilization has suddenly grafted the sprouts of the temperate zone on a semi-tropical stock, which needs special nurture to bear good fruit in this time of its unwonted quickening. Add to these grafts of the better sort the pest of imported human parasites, and the result awakens grave apprehension.

The United States Government, at this juncture, is called upon to work out in Hawaii some of the most vital questions in statecraft. The islands offer a virgin soil for the solution of these new problems. The task is a complicated and difficult one.

The ethnic problem comes first. The handful of men and women of real American blood and education, many of them born on the islands, numbers a few thousands. These, with a limited muster roll of other white nationalities, are the nucleus of brains and integrity in the midst of a heterogeneous collection of other varieties of mankind.

A majority of the present one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants are Asiatics, ninety thousand or more. They are alien to our institutions, and, as a whole, are incapable of American citizenship in its true sense.

The Japanese, about sixty thousand, can come and go freely.

The desire for cheap labor makes them important. Their number will probably not increase. They cannot be imported as coolies under our federal laws, but many arrive, and about as many return annually. While the higher ranks, merchants and educated persons, are progressive, the laborers are slow in the line of advance. Few if any Japanese will desire naturalization, but they are very tenacious of their rights as residents.

The Portuguese, several thousands, are aggressive, thrifty and superstitious. They have political clubs, and nominate candidates of their own. They are not considered a dangerous element, either socially or politically, although petty misdemeanors are common among them.

The thirty thousand of pure natives offer only a temporary problem to the statesmen of America. In a few generations they will become extinct. The death rate among them rapidly increases, and few children are born to Hawaiian fathers and mothers. Just now,

because they form a majority of legal voters, they are prominently in the field as political opponents of the best white element. They sent the Home Rule leader, Wilcox, to Congress, and control the elections by virtue of superior numbers. Their low average in intelligence is as bad in legislation as a low *morale*. Whether the *kanakas* can resist bribes and lobbyists remains to be tested.

Of the part-white Hawaiians much more is expected as citizens, socially and politically, but the life of the pure native, as such, will soon have no place in Hawaii. It lingers in the interior of the islands, with much of its old ignorance and prejudice. It is becoming a hybrid, especially in Honolulu, the only large city of the group. It is picturesque, like the scenery and the foliage, but has no inherent persistency in any direction, and acts spasmodically as the politician tickles its sluggish nerve-centers with promises which never can be fulfilled.

There is in it no basis for radical changes, social or political, but the memory of many droll performances in the last session of the legislature is having its effect even on the *kanakas*.

The test for the franchise is now on such a low plane that ignorance and inability seem to set the standard of citizenship.

Some one has said that "slavery pickled Southern life and left it just where it found it." So the false theories of education in the Hawaii of the early century not only pickled but bottled up the Hawaiian-speaking natives. They will not advance, although their limited number of children are now taught English in the schools. A considerable number of the members of the last legislation were not familiar with the English language. This made the work of that body abortive, and almost wrecked the Home Rulers as a deliberative assembly.

The worst element in Hawaii to-day is the low-down American, adventurer or politician. If he has brains, this late comer is the carpet-bagger of the transitionary period, the demagogue in politics, and the disgraceful, dissipated scamp. He has crept even into the judiciary and other offices. One has just been detected in large speculations. If such men are federal appointees, it is difficult to dislodge them.

As for the ordinary scalawags, deserters from ships, drinking loafers found in all large cities, professional criminals, men out of work because of shiftlessness or hard times, and the thousand and one "ne'er do weels" of reckless habits, many come to Hawaii from the States and are American citizens with votes.

Now, will American farmers, colonists, artisans, respectable new settlers, offset these bad accessions to the electors of the islands?

It is said that white labor can hardly be introduced into the sugar plantations, even on the co-operative plan. Some such experiments have been tried and have failed.

On the other hand, a colony from California has completed its second year on a tract of 1,200 acres, and has started peach, orange, and lime orchards. A pineapple company has been re-

cently incorporated. Land considered worthless has been made productive. Almost everything will grow in Hawaii. But some think the possibilities of the small farmer are limited. Land in small parcels has become increasingly inaccessible. Capital is needed, which few immigrants can command. The soil of the islands lacks phosphates, which are needed for animals.

The white farmer has also hard work to compete with the Chinaman. Therefore Americans of good repute are not expected in large numbers, while the army of American scalawags increases. Honolulu is a sort of eddy for the drift of the Pacific, and the scum accumulates. These irregulars affiliate with the Home Rule party because they have access to the natives, as the higher classes do not. They gain influence over the Hawaiian lower classes by associating freely with them. Their presence, therefore, is demoralizing and a menace to a better social and political situation.

Such, then, being the ethnic and political status of to-day, Hawaii as a territory of the United States is in a peculiar situation, in many respects unlike its condition before annexation. It has come to the parting of the ways. In one direction lies disaster; in the other, if guided aright, it will find prosperity and safety. Let us consider, first, the possibility of disaster.

Even the appearance of Honolulu is much changed, not wholly for the improvement of its outward aspect or the spectacle of its inhabitants in its streets and on its wharves. Its palm trees wave their graceful fronds and its foliage is resplendent, but it lacks many a charm which the character of its people supplied.

Annexation was alluring, because it offered a stable government and protection from foreign invasion and interference. It promised permanence to the commercial interests which the reciprocity treaty fostered. But the territorial idea has some drawbacks already apparent. To the federal government it presents unusual phases in Hawaii, never before met in our country's history. Congress has here a "white man's burden," different from that presented by the Philippines, Porto Rico, Cuba, or new territories on our main land.

To straighten out the just qualifications of citizenship among the mixed inhabitants of Hawaii and the children born to them on the islands will tax not only the honesty but the ingenuity of our statesmen. It is a critical time, but it is also a splendid opportunity. Its proper acceptance involves all our outlying territorial possessions. What is done in the near future in Hawaii must surely affect our policy throughout the Pacific Isles.

The evolution of Hawaii, with ultimate statehood in the perspective, will be a basis for the solution of problems now unforeseen but inevitable.

If false sentiment concerning the decadent native race, or commercial greed, or the allowance of undesirable immigration, or, above all, if neglectful indifference destroys the opportunity, then farewell to the hope of a beneficent future.

Hawaii has not of late been accorded its rightful share of attention, either at Washington or throughout our land. It is almost a back number. Some thoughtless congressmen are reported as saying: "Hawaiians wanted annexation. Now let them work out their own destiny. Experience will teach them useful lessons."

The Spanish War, to which annexation owes its quicker success, thrust little Hawaii into sudden obscurity. The rapid march of events in the Philippines and China developed what seemed to be far more important issues than the fate of a few fly-specks on the map of the Pacific. Even the trust problem, in its present crucial stage owing to the coal strike, may crowd interest in Hawaii still farther into the background.

The future condition of this Lilliputian territory, so dependent on present careful treatment, is therefore in imminent peril. Hawaii may be sacrificed in its profoundest interests at any critical moment to save some real or fancied necessity of our nation as a whole. Who can tell what may happen in our Oriental policy to make our legislators careless of what happens to these islands?

By and by the small comparative productiveness of its soil will count as little when our Southern fields augment their semi-tropical crops, and the West Indies yield tenfold more than now under American ownership. Hawaii may be easily undervalued as an industrial factor when our Western deserts are reclaimed by irrigation.

How readily might it come into the hands of great industrial or commercial promoters! Independent holdings, small ownerships, giving place to large plantations, may be combined in one great trust, and the worst American practices go on unchecked.

Besides, Hawaii will sometime reach the limit of its possible population. It can have but two leading cities, Honolulu and Hilo, and these cannot be very large. The immense commerce of America with the Orient will make these cities valuable to the United States, mainly as fitting and coaling stations. With cable communication, these islands will be treated as points of call and departure, and the welfare of their inhabitants will be of secondary consideration.

The legislation at Washington, in the hands of some future government, may correspond; and the fortified harbor, as a place to defend in time of war, will be paramount in the councils of the nation. (I am speaking now only of *possible* contingencies of which we ought to take notice.) In a few generations is it certain that our Republic will care first for the interests of a million or more of the resident population of Hawaii,—a mixed mass descended from aliens, with a small proportion of genuine American ancestry?

Hawaii is not like our own frontier territorial domain. It is not integral but external. When it reaches its limit in population and production, and is arrested in its political representation and importance, its internal affairs and domestic legislation will be

subordinated to considerations which may make it the cesspool instead of the paradise of the Pacific.

This is a pessimistic view, I know, but I speak only of possibilities, which in the lapse of time may become realities, unless Hawaii, now in its incipient stage of transformation, receives the benefit of wise and special and speedy legislation for its future welfare. We cannot shut our eyes, at least to the obvious conditions which darken the prospect of the islands at the present time. Take, for example, the fact that the Americans in Hawaii can hardly hope ever to return to the simple, happy social joys and amenities of the past. A society called "The Cousins" made the little colony of Americans a brotherhood of affiliated interests. It is beginning already to lose its inclusiveness and charm. No longer can doors and windows remain unlocked or open through the sweet, tropical, moonlight night. The sneak thief and the burglar are abroad in the land.

Since annexation the liquor traffic has increased in portentous proportions. The pastor of a Portuguese missionary church in Honolulu reports that ninety-five per cent of the Portuguese, children and adults, are addicted to the drink habit. The Hawaiian native is fond of stimulants, and regardless of consequences. The Chinaman is an opium smoker, but all other nationalities patronize the saloons, which extend over the whole group.

The Home Rule government is responsible, for there is revenue in the business. Annexation placed it under the laws of the territorial legislature. The present policy increases the sale of intoxicants. Licenses are freely issued.

Moreover, the increase of drunkenness and crime follows the obstructions to justice in the courts. Says a leading newspaper: "The administration of justice in the First Circuit Court of Honolulu has been of late a byword and a farce. Every possible technicality is construed in favor of the criminal. One judge dismissed forty-one and another sixty-nine cases on technical grounds alone."

A part of this increase of crime arises from the fact that judges who are appointees of the Government at Washington cannot easily be removed. There is no separate municipal authority. The social evil in Honolulu became so scandalous in an attempt to keep it off the streets that Governor Dole and the high sheriff of the United States Court were obliged to interfere.

The President's decision to appoint Mr. De Bolt to the first judgeship of the First Circuit Court marks a new departure at Washington in the matter of judicial nominations. Hereafter some care will be taken with them. Mr. De Bolt has fine qualifications for judge, and, with his colleague, Judge Robinson, may be trusted to redeem the local bench from the disgrace brought upon it by other incumbents.

As to the financial condition of the group, we may quote a leading Republican journal as authority for the statement that "before the Home Rule legislature met the times were good. Home Rule

legislation, however, destroyed confidence; outside capital, an indispensable requisite, was refused. Holding up appropriations to carry on public administration and the attempt to multiply offices threatened the sugar industry. Business was paralyzed. The territory cannot stand another session like the last." That session left a deficit in the treasury very embarrassing to the administration.

Another recent report declares that "the cutting off of dividends and the shrinkage of values have given Hawaiian securities a black eye in San Francisco." The reason given is that in this transition period "labor is unsettled. Hawaii has lost its contract system. The new laborers are not as efficient. Prices of everything are higher. Equipment is more expensive, and many have lost heavily by the fall in sugar values."

The political situation has also much to do with this unfortunate condition of affairs. The test for the present franchise in the territory of Hawaii is now on so low a plane that ignorance and inability are the standard.

But let us turn now to the hopeful side of the situation. A majority of the best people in Hawaii will not hear of any other. Governor Dole is perhaps among them, having returned from his visit to the States much more sanguine of results. He believes there will be another alignment of parties when the next election comes along. The lack in fulfillment of their promises by the leaders of the opposition last year has cost them their prestige, especially in the outlying districts.

There are three political parties in Hawaii. The Home Rule polls the largest vote, as the old Royalists and nearly every native vote that ticket. Delegate Wilcox is the leader of that party, but the ex-queen has repudiated him, and he has made himself unpopular with the natives by a bill in Congress to make the leper settlement on the island of Molokai a leper home for all lepers in the United States. Yet he still has a fair hold on the natives.

Then there are the Democrats and the Republicans. There are some good and honest members of the Democratic party, but they have not achieved much thus far. Some have lately gone over to the Home Rule party.

Prince Kuhio is the candidate of the Republican party as delegate to Congress, as opposed to Wilcox. He is the ex-queen's favorite nephew, and is taken by the Republicans to conciliate the natives.

But whatever the result of the coming election, the best Hawaiians rely the most for a turn in their affairs upon the retirement of unworthy judges by the Federal Government and a reform in the judiciary. The authorities at Washington are gradually finding out the character of some of their officials in Hawaii. The commission appointed by Congress and recently sitting in Hawaii, Senators Burton of Kansas, Foster of Washington and Mitchell of Oregon, ought to be able to enlighten our legislators as to the true situation in the islands.

After all, the main hope of Hawaii lies in that fraction of its population which is composed of able, vigorous and sincere men and women who are ready to sacrifice themselves for the salvation of their native or adopted land.

All the resources of these tried and true patriots are at the command of the Federal Government, if only they can be upheld by intelligent and honest legislation at Washington.

What may be achieved by a little leaven of upright and alert men was proved during the existence of the Hawaiian Republic, from the year 1894 to 1898. In its brief life it was one of the very best of the independent states on earth. There were absolutely no peculations; no oppression of the natives; there was a gradual suppression of crime; the judiciary was above suspicion; foreign diplomacy was straightforward and dignified.

One of the firm Royalists of Oahu, the father of the Princess Kai-u-la-ni, declared to the writer that the men at the head of affairs were of the highest order of integrity and ability.

In this class of citizens are to-day merchants and planters whose credit abroad is equal to that of any commercial and industrial magnates in America.

This better element is also reinforced by the best of the educated natives and a large number of the part whites.

If I may add religious purpose to the characteristics above cited without prejudice to the name "missionary" given as a term of reproach, I need only point to the practical philanthropy of Protestant and Catholic men and women, and to their active Christian work in behalf of their fellow-men.

The native ministers and a goodly following of their flocks are loyal to good government. The Catholic priests, who seldom meddle with politics, do what is possible for the order and morality of their adherents.

There is a Protestant Board of Missions, unassisted by any aid outside the islands, which has disbursed nearly a million of dollars since 1863; one third of this large sum has been spent on the islands of the Southern Seas, and two thirds in work among the nationalities represented in Hawaii.

A much larger sum has been contributed for the maintenance of churches, native and white, throughout the group.

There is also a new generation of young Hawaiians, American by birth, now receiving their education in our American schools and colleges, who return to their native isles full of ambition and hope. Foster their patriotic zeal for the extension in Hawaii of the highest American ideals, and the places now worthily held by their fathers will be equally well filled by their descendants.

Among other promising resources of Hawaii are the college and the school. The equipment for teaching all the children in the group is complete; the instruction is in English, and the teachers, many from New England, are capable and zealous. No nation-

ality is exempt from compulsory attendance. The system embraces even the children of the lepers on Molokai.

One thing cheers beyond measure all friends everywhere of true progress in Hawaii. It is President Roosevelt's interest in the islands. The friends of good government and righteous law know that he is a man of loyal nature, whose convictions never allow his acts to lag behind them.

From him, Hawaii, in this trying transitionary period, expects co-operation in its strenuous efforts to bring the territory, in due time, into the front rank of the republic's most progressive states.

If Hawaii shall obtain legislation that will start her great sugar industry upon a career of renewed prosperity; if she shall obtain legislation that will enable her to retain for local improvement the customs revenues whose export drain her life blood; if she shall secure payment of the indebtedness incurred by her in using the torch to save her people and the people of the mainland from pestilence,—if she shall obtain any or all of these things she must obtain them from the Republican party, for it is in power in Congress and it is there to stay. It is with the voters of Hawaii now to determine with which party they will identify themselves. Will they march forward with the swelling Republican legions? or will they drag backward with the dwindling and retreating forces of Democracy? The choice is with them, and as they choose wisely or unwisely will the destinies of these beautiful islands be affected.

Considering, then, the changes thus far for better or worse, in that land of sunny skies and surpassing beauty,—and, notwithstanding our regret that never will the old days of restful simplicity in living return to that fair heritage of ours beyond the sea,—may we not indulge the hope that all true Americans will unite with those who are striving, as their fathers strove in the past, to make Hawaii a Christian state?

There are noble hearts in that “gem of the Pacific” beating high with confidence in their share of America's bright destiny, and who, in spite of present adversity, wait for the time when all men will acknowledge that

“He alone is great who, by a life heroic, conquers fate.”

Dr. Birnie followed.

Rev. DOUGLAS PUTNAM BIRNIE.—I count it high honor to speak to you to-day; it is a privilege to strive to make the lovers of the Indian friends of the Hawaiian. For the third time, in obedience to the commands of your committee, I am here to speak for the Island Territory, but if word of mine may win your interest in Hawaii, I am content. . . .

You have listened to the delightful paper of Dr. Twombly, which presents a careful survey of the condition of affairs. In the few minutes which are allotted to me I shall touch briefly upon the

political, commercial, and ethical status of the islands, and suggest possible methods of betterment. From the figures which have been given to you this morning you perceive that although the people of Hawaiian blood number only about one fourth of the population, nevertheless, owing to the restriction of the 'ballot, the political control rests in their hands. The Japanese and Chinese immigrants are not permitted to vote, and the citizens of the white race form a very small portion of the population. The Hawaiian has little capacity for self-government, and Congress has placed the political control in the hands of an ignorant minority.

It is as though the political control of New York state had been placed in the hands of the Indians, and they had elected a legislative assembly, many members of which could not understand the English language. This is the condition in the territory of Hawaii. No wonder blunders were made. It is the only portion of the United States where men can legally vote who do not understand the English language.

This makes it possible for a demagogue to say to them, as some have said, "If you will only vote for me I will see that the Queen is restored to her old place with power," and they believe it. The result has been political unrest. It is the old story of the South and the North. They never voted under the old chiefs; they were not considered capable of voting; they cannot vote intelligently to-day. There can be no peace under the present condition.

What can be done? I suppose it would be impossible to take the franchise away, though it was unwisely bestowed; but a law might be passed declaring that no man could hold office who could not read and write English, and that after a certain time no new voters should be enrolled who could not speak the language of our country. Something must be done to restrain and limit the power of the ignorant minority in the Island Territory.

Take the condition commercially. Times are hard to-day; there is bitter poverty and distress. Before annexation the custom duties were retained in the islands; now they are sent to Washington. All prices have gone up. Food, clothing, supplies of all sorts must pay the San Francisco price plus the cost of transportation. Our exclusive policy went into effect, and no more Chinese laborers could be imported. The planters sent to Europe and the United States for white labor, but that has failed. They imported Porto Ricans at a high cost, and they have not been a success. They sent for negroes, but they could secure only the poorer quality. The labor market has not been supplied, and grade of morality has been lowered. The Japanese coolies are not desirable. They drink, are restless, discontented, untruthful, and as laborers are inferior to the Chinese. There is a proposition to introduce a limited number of Chinese to work in the cane fields alone. The Hawaiians will not do this work; the white man cannot. The Hawaiians make no objection to such importation. If you admit the Chinese to the cane fields you promote the sugar industry, and

you aid every skilled white laborer who is in the islands. I see no remedy for the present unfortunate commercial distress but the importation of Chinese labor for the plantations. You noticed what Governor Taft said. I have known him since we were in Yale together, and he is a conservative, fair-minded man. He suggested that Congress should leave to the Commission to decide whether a certain number of Chinese laborers should be introduced into the Philippine Islands. I think Chinese labor will elevate the tone of the community. They are industrious, frugal, law-abiding. They are home lovers. They pay their debts. They drink no liquor. In those tropical countries the man who drinks liquor goes to the wall; it is only the man who is temperate that lasts.

The only laborer that can live under the tropical sun and can do the work thoroughly and well is the Chinaman. You need the white man for the higher grades of service and for carrying on the business enterprises of the island, but you must have the Chinese in the cane field.

Take the ethical condition of the island. Crime has increased; vice has multiplied. The ballot is in the hands of the ignorant native, and the demagogue manipulates it. Recent disclosures show corruption among high officials. The treasurer of the Dole Republic was a leading banker of high character and ability; the treasurer of the Territory under the new régime stole a large sum of money, and made good his escape from the country. The Hawaiians of character and intelligence are discouraged. The native churches are in a deplorable condition. Many pastors have entered politics, and are neglecting their proper work.

For the future, if the present commission will favor the introduction of a limited number of Chinese for labor in the cane field, and Congress enact such laws, prosperity will come again to the Islands of Hawaii. The courts should be purified, and men of high character only be named as judges. Some limitation must be placed upon the franchise. With ignorance in legislature and corruption in officials no people can prosper.

We hear it said, "Hawaii has been annexed; now let her work out her own salvation." But Congress has tied the hands of the men of intelligence, culture, and high purpose. They are discouraged. The difficulties are many. It is as though you should, in one of the boats on the lake before you, place half a dozen children and two strong men. Then tie the men hand and foot; now overturn the boat. Stand upon the wharf, dry and comfortable yourself, and with cheerful voice send the message across the water, "Save yourselves and the children committed to your care."

A report from Dr. C. J. Ryder on Porto Rico was read by Mr. James.

PORTO RICO.

BY REV. C. J. RYDER, D.D.

I have been requested to present a report of my recent visit to Porto Rico at the Mohonk Conference. I regret exceedingly that engagements at the fifty-sixth annual meeting of the American Missionary Association, where I have personal responsibility, prevent my being present at Mohonk this year. In response to an urgent request I submit in a very brief form some of the results of my visit.

First, the island of Porto Rico.

No language of mine can overstate its beauty. It is about two thirds the size of the State of Connecticut, and presents every condition of seashore and mountain. It is full of surprises, and seems a miniature cosmos. I never saw water so blue as that off the coast of this island. As the tide rolls in, breaking in white foam over the coral reefs, it seems almost a vision.

In the blue, blue sky the most brilliant stars sparkle and splash and gleam, making night glorious and luminous. The green hills, fertile to their very summit, stretch back from the water's edge.

In productiveness the island is also a marvel as well as in natural beauties. I know I speak only truisms to those who are familiar with the facts, and yet the impression of a somewhat extended visit through the island makes much more real its wonderful productiveness.

The abundant productiveness and the fact that one season is about the same as another contribute to shiftless agriculture. And this naturally leads to a word about,

Secondly, the people of Porto Rico.

The total population is 960,000. I took great pains to discover the divisions into which the inhabitants of Porto Rico were grouped. I have never seen any reliable statistics along this line, and yet it is of very great importance. By considerable investigation I determined that the following would be a fair presentation of the facts:—

Spanish by birth or immediate descent	. . .	100,000
Negroes, ex-slaves and mixed with other races	. . .	400,000
Porto Ricans proper	600,000

Americans are so few in number that they can scarcely be reckoned as numerically an important part of the population. The Spanish will, many of them, drift back to Spain as time passes, provided the United States holds the island. Their social and educational as well as political conceptions are utterly different from ours. They find it hard to adjust themselves to the new conditions as is naturally true for a Latin race where Anglo-Saxon ideals are dominant.

The negroes are ignorant, destitute. They own scarcely any property, and are painfully illiterate. They do not present anything like the strong, vigorous race represented by the negroes in our own Southern states.

The Porto Ricans proper are the offspring of the Carib Indians and Spaniards. The fact that the males of this Indian tribe were largely destroyed by the early Spanish settlers is well known. Their women were taken as wives, and the Porto Rican proper of the island is the descendant of this admixture. Upon these rests the future of the island in my judgment. They are physically vigorous, quick intellectually, self-reliant and manly. They are in the very heart of the island up among the mountains. Few Americans have visited them. I went ponyback over these mountain trails in the heart of this region for days. Captain Wilson, United States Marshal, when I gave him my itinerary told me that not five Americans had been through this region, and they generally were his own detectives. I came down from this mountain region greatly impressed with the possibilities of the Porto Ricans. They naturally incline toward the freedom and vigorous life of the United States. At a coffee plantation when our troops pushed from Ponce to the north of the island they were surprised to see the Stars and Stripes flung out of the planter's residence. I know the history of the flag, having visited the plantation while there. The owner of the plantation was cordially in favor of American occupancy. His wife stitched the flag, hiding it in the bed in her own room that it might not be confiscated by the Spanish government and that they might not be involved in punishment. When the American soldiers marched up this flag was already on the flagstaff thrust out from the window of the house in which it was made and where it had been secreted so long! This is illustrative of the condition of the Porto Ricans proper.

Now a word as to the impression of the work being done there. The negroes and the Porto Ricans both present the condition of great need and yet of hopefulness.

I would speak in strongest appreciation of the work done by the public schools. Having received a cordial letter of introduction from Commissioner Harris of Washington, I had a most pleasant meeting with Dr. Lindsay, Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico. This latter gentleman is especially qualified for his work and is accomplishing a service that cannot be exaggerated. I visited many of the public schools throughout the island and was impressed with the general satisfactory quality of the work. Many of the native teachers are, of course, only imperfectly prepared. They are, however, earnest and, I think, progressive.

We cannot forget, however, that there are about two hundred thousand children of school age and that the public schools provide for only about fifty thousand of them.

I visited the missions of the different denominations very thoroughly, including the Catholics. The work as a whole is being remarkably well done. The schools established through these agencies are greatly needed, and supply a kind of training impossible to get in the public schools. The schools of the American Missionary Association are situated at Santurce, in the northern part of

the island, and at Lares, among the mountains. They reach quite distinct classes, and are both prosperous and, I believe, very useful.

At Santurce a considerable body of land has been purchased, and training in economic and intelligent agriculture will be given in the near future. This is the great need for the people of the island. Slovenly agriculture seems to characterize the work too generally. There is comparatively little need of shop instruction or ordinary lines of industrial training. The opportunities for work in these directions are very limited on account of the conditions of the people. There are no chimneys to build, no glass to set, and carpenters have comparatively little to do. Concrete or stucco is the best building material, and houses are necessarily and properly simple.

The work in this island is especially pressing. I cannot speak too emphatically of it. Take one fact, namely, the density of population, as illustrating the condition. In continental United States there are twenty people to the square mile on an average. In the Philippine Islands there are sixty people to the square mile. In Porto Rico there are two hundred and seventy-three people to the square mile. This density of population, unequaled elsewhere, even in the insular United States, introduces an element in the problem.

A young man from Porto Rico, now attending school at New Paltz, was invited to speak.

PORTO RICO THROUGH A SCHOOLBOY'S EYES.

BY ALEJANDRO GUILLIOD.

I have been requested to say something about my country. It is very difficult to talk in a language which is not mine, and which I learned just a year ago. Twenty-five young Porto Ricans came to this country to study and to get an American education, and one of them is I.

We have three races of people: the white, who are Spanish and French people, the mulattoes, and the black race. Of course the white people hold the property. The mulattoes are descended from the Caribs. The black people are the laborers. The situation is entirely different from what it was during the Spanish government. Porto Ricans were not considered as human beings, but as things. Not a Porto Rican could reach a public office. The Porto Rican did not have means to get an education unless he had money to pay for it in America or Spain. There were some public schools, but very few. In my town of about thirteen thousand inhabitants there were but four schools, and every one of them had about fifty or sixty children. I do not think, under such conditions, the Porto Rico people could have a good education.

The instruction in the schools was only elementary, a little arithmetic, reading, etc. If a man liked to have his children educated he had to send them to the United States.

The black people are not in a very good situation because they never like to go to school. Some people judge the Porto Rican people by the black people, and you see pictures of black people with Panama hat and without coat and without shoes, and they call them Porto Ricans because they are born there; but they are not really Porto Ricans, for Porto Ricans are just like you, with white skin and blue eyes. They work for the prosperity of the island. The blacks only work on the sugar plantation, and I would not like you to judge me by them.

About the productions of the island. The chief productions are tobacco, sugar, and coffee. Coffee used to be the best one, but the cyclone and hurricane on August 8th, some years ago, destroyed the plantations. The best plantations were near my town, and the side of the mountain was peeled off, and all the trees were broken down by the cyclone. You could see the rock; that was all. You could see no ground at all. Another production is tobacco. It is not as good as the Cuban, but it is good. The best production now is the sugar, and great American companies have gone down to work there. These companies work near to my town.

The coffee plant is one of the most delicate there is. They have to raise them under other trees, so that the sun could not destroy them, and also much water will destroy them. The cyclone destroyed all the trees that shaded the coffee trees, so the coffee trees died. Last year we had to import coffee for us.

The great point we have to talk about is the feeling of the Americans for the Porto Rican. It is entirely out of the truth that the Porto Rican does not like the American. We owe our liberty to the Americans. The explosion of the mine in Havana brought with it the liberty of Porto Rico, and the tears that American ladies poured out at the death of their husbands and sons who were killed in that explosion, fell upon the tree of Porto Rican liberty, because at the same time when war was declared was the beginning of the liberty of Porto Rico. As soon as the American went to our country all the faces which during the war were sad on account of the country, were, after two or three months, made sunny, for smiles betrayed the satisfaction of their souls.

We have received many favors from the Americans, and one of them, and I think the principal one, is the education, because the education is the torch that illuminates the world. The Spanish government did not have many schools. Now we have plenty. We have many schoolhouses, and many children receive education in my town, and the same is true in others. We have a normal school, and we did not have any under the Spanish government.

The hopes of the Porto Rican are in the future. They work to become a sort of southland to the United States, and so they will work until the dying. The purpose of sending Porto Ricans, by

the Porto Rican government, to this country is not specially to get education, but to learn how to be American citizens, so that we can go to our country after we get through our studies here and teach our people how to be Americans. I am feeling like an American. Many of the Porto Ricans like to be Americans. They like to come to this country because we don't know anything. We don't know our rights if we don't have education.

I thank you for the opportunity to come here, and I thank the audience for their indulgence, and at the same time I make a present of the sympathy of the Porto Rican people toward the American people, for at this time I represent Porto Rico. (Hearty applause.)

The CHAIR.—This is one of the most eloquent speeches that we have had at this Conference. It is surprising to remember that a year ago this young man knew no English, and yet to-day, without a note, he can speak out of his heart and touch ours.

Mr. SMILEY.—Captain Pratt has forty Porto Ricans with him, and I have invited some of them to come up here next year.

Mr. W. H. Lincoln, chairman of the Board of Commerce of Boston, was introduced.

Mr. W. H. LINCOLN.—To emphasize what the young man has stated I may say that I had the privilege of entertaining last summer, in behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, a delegation of representative Porto Ricans in Boston,—merchants, bankers, and professional men, who came to study our institutions and manufactures and our methods of conducting business. They were very intelligent men, and I was much impressed by their ability and learning. A banquet was given in their honor in Boston, and they were delighted with the attention shown them, and responded, when called upon to speak, in a most interesting and creditable way.

At a reception given them in the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce, when I addressed them as "Fellow-citizens, entitled to equal privileges and to indulge in the same hopes," they were most enthusiastic, and were so overcome by the thought that a few gave vent to their feelings and embraced me when I had finished. Like all races of Spanish blood they are emotional, and it seemed to be their great aim and purpose to become worthy as American citizens. They seemed to think it was a great privilege and opportunity for them, and they have great faith and confidence in the resources of their island.

The young student has alluded to the coffee plantations. These gentlemen told me they had been destroyed by the hurricane, but that the best coffee in the world was produced in Porto Rico, and there was a great opportunity in the future for raising coffee plants. The island is very productive, and coffee as well as sugar can be

successfully raised. They feel that there is a great future for the island, with the opportunity of having free trade with seventy millions of people.

In regard to education, they placed great emphasis upon its value and importance. They said they wanted a better system of education and the free public school for children. At present, educational opportunities are entirely inadequate for their needs. Only a small number of the children, comparatively, are provided with educational facilities. I was glad to hear what this young man said. It corroborated the statements made by these other representatives of Porto Rico.

Rev. C. W. Briggs, a missionary from the Philippines, was introduced.

WORK AMONG THE FILIPINOS.

BY REV. C. W. BRIGGS.

The Filipinos are a people who come under the title of this Conference because they were called "Indians" by the same people who named the aborigines Indians. The Spaniards never speak of the Filipinos as anything but Indians even to-day. I am glad to stand before you to speak of that people whom I have come to know and love. We have heard that the Indians have been maligned and misunderstood, and that lies have been told about them. The same is true of the Filipinos, and if it could contribute in a small measure to do away with these misconceptions of what they really are, I should feel that I had done a large service, and one that needs to be done.

When I started for the Philippine Islands many of my friends told me to be careful; that I was going among a treacherous people,—a people capable of taking me by the hand, smiling in my face and thrusting a knife into my back at the same time, and that I must have my eyes open and take great precaution; and I went among them with something of that feeling. When I reached Iloilo, where the fighting was still going on, something like a military order had been issued forbidding Americans going out unless protected by soldiers. That looked rather bad, and I went with more or less fear even in the daytime. After I had been there some time I found they were not people to fear, and my first impressions were radically changed; and I think of them to-day as a kind, lovable, peacefully disposed folk, desirous of good things; that each desired to be the friend of everybody, and desired in return that everybody should be their friend.

About a year ago, in the course of my missionary work, I made a tour into the interior of the Panay Island with two helpers, and we went to a town among the peasants in the mountains. There

had been no Americans there with two exceptions, a teacher and the American Army, which had been there a few months before. This place had been marked out as the hotbed of an insurrection, and had been badly used. The greater part of the buildings had been razed and the stores destroyed, and the people had been used badly in many ways, because war is a terrible art; and though the commanding general prosecuted the fighting in Panay with all the humanity of which it was capable, yet all war and fighting were terrible. These natives among whom I went had been badly used by Americans, and I had no reason to look for anything but hatred in return. We stayed in that town three or four days, preaching the gospel of Christ to the peasant people. At the end of that time we were to return to the coast, but I came down with an attack of tonsillitis and fever. The days were very hot, and my strength left me, so that I was unable to return with the others, but was left alone with these people, who took care of me three or four days. They ministered to me with a kindness and love that my own parents would have shown me. Everything they could do was done. I had gone there on my bicycle. The time came for me to return, and at four o'clock in the morning I came down from the upper part of the house to where I had been staying to start on my twenty-five miles' journey. As I came down from the little shack there were twenty-five workmen standing there whom I had never seen before, with one or two exceptions. One took my wheel and started down the hill with it, while around the corner came four men bearing a bamboo litter, with rods holding a lattice-work over it, and a hammock hung below. I was put into the hammock, and the four men started down, and twenty others followed, who alternated with these; and between four o'clock in the morning and one they had carried me the entire distance to my headquarters. They would take not a cent of payment for this, and as I saw them trudging under the burning sun, the perspiration streaming from them, and heard their labored breathing,—for they would not permit me to walk a step,—I felt as though they had thrust a knife into my heart, and a knife that hurt. I learned then what it means to heap coals of fire on a person's head. They were doing all this to an American, and all that they knew of Americans so far was that they were people who came to burn their houses and destroy all that they had raised. That is the only kind of treachery I had practiced on me. They are a kind people.

They are capable people, too. They are a people easily molded. When I first went to my work I made the acquaintance of a Spaniard who told me the people were like sheep, that you could easily lead them in any direction, and he told the truth. We can make something of those people if we like. We can build them up and make strong characters of them. They have a large measure of capacity. Governor Taft paid them a high tribute in that respect when he told of the great number of able lawyers he found—and he is able to judge whether a man is a good lawyer or not—and

he said that he had not seen better lawyers in the world than he found there; and as he has organized the islands in the various provinces and given them something of a republican form of government of their own, many of the governors have been Filipinos. That speaks well for their capacities. They also make good preachers and good school teachers, and they are capable of anything we have a right to expect of them.

To be honest we should not withhold some other phases of their character, which we must understand if we are to help them in the best way. There are limits to their capacity. Their capability is not our capability. Their ways of study are different from our ways. When we began our work on the Negros Island, one of the most advanced men who came to stand on our side was a wealthy upper-class native; and he was very enthusiastic on the reception of the message we had taken to him, and he wanted to be a preacher and worker with us. For a month or two I was alone with our work, and I could not give him much attention, although he did work at the Bible and got some church history, and so got some preparation. Then came two new recruits,—men fresh from the theological seminary,—and they began studying Spanish, and I turned this young preacher over to their hands, and suggested that they give him a course in theology; and they arranged a little curriculum, and when he heard of the homiletics and hermeneutics his enthusiasm knew no bounds. For three or four days he was there early and stayed till dark, would listen to their lectures, and take their suggestions and prepare outlines of sermons to be criticised. Then several days passed and he did not come, and they thought he must be sick, and one of them went to see him, and he found him at home in front of his house tugging at a kite string. He had spent an entire day in making the kite, and was now flying it for pleasure. That illustrates one side of the Filipino. He is a child, interested in childish things. But if we deal with him, bearing these things in mind, we shall find the Filipinos capable of becoming a great and useful people.

To say a word of the needs of these Indians of the Philippines. I believe that the first need they have—and I would say it as a Christian missionary—is the knowledge of God. One of the first men I became acquainted with there was an upper-class native, who had been the governor of one of the islands in 1896, and he knew the people of the island well. He is a Catholic and a good Christian man. And he said to me: "You have a great work to do to teach this people the knowledge of God. Four out of every five believe that the world was made by the patron saint of their particular town." Those were the words of a Filipino.

They need in the second place ethical enlightenment. That will come with the knowledge of God, as revealed in Jesus Christ and in the Christian Scriptures. They need thorough reconstruction and reorganization in accordance with the principles that we get from our God on high. I am not one of those critics who believe

that the Filipinos are entirely bad. I have seen immorality and intemperance in their lives and a great deal of sin and vice, but as I compare them with the other Oriental peoples I believe they are on a higher level than any in the East to-day,—India, China or Japan. They need social reorganization in accordance with Christian ethics. The marriage relation, how loose it is! A Methodist missionary told me that he married eighteen couples in one day, and I myself married twenty-five in one day. They came for miles to be married. Sometimes I have married couples who have lived together for years in relations of faithfulness to each other, who brought their grandchildren as witnesses to the marriage ceremony.

The prospects? I think their prospects are bright. It is not my purpose to criticise the church that has been dominant there for three hundred and sixty years. To show what my attitude has been it is no more than fair for me to say that when I went there an older man who had been there six months,—a man for whom I have the greatest respect,—I felt obliged to differ from because he was criticising the Roman Catholic Church and holding it up to ridicule. I did not go to the Philippines to fight the Roman Catholic Church in any way. I believe the result of the transitions there will be to purify the Catholic Church and make it more worthy of the name, and that it will do far greater service for the Filipinos than it has ever done before. But there are a great many whose turn of mind and training lead them to a different way of looking at things, and they cannot be at peace in the Catholic Church. In the Protestant form of religion they will find a form that is palatable to them, so I think the evangelical outlook is bright. Each mission has its own field of work, and we pledge ourselves not only to co-operate with each other, but so far as possible with the other Christian church on the islands; and that, so far as I know it, is the attitude of the Christian workers there.

I think the prospect is now bright because they are going to have the Word of God. The New Testament has been translated into various dialects, and thousands of portions of the New Testament have gone out among these people, and that is the corner stone of missionary effort. Therefore our prospects are bright.

The same is true educationally. We have twelve hundred American teachers in the Philippines who are teaching the children, and who are conducting normal schools for training native teachers, and the people are to have the educational privileges they have so many years demanded and for which so many have had to lay down their lives.

Mr. GILBERT.—Can the New Testament be used in the public schools of the islands?

Mr. BRIGGS.—I do not think it should be used in the public schools. I think that the fundamental principle of the Constitution should apply there as well as here. I think the state and the church should be kept separate so far as vital organic relation is concerned.

Mr. GILBERT.—Of course the Bible, and the New Testament especially, is the common book of Christendom. It is the basic book of our civilization.

Mr. BRIGGS.—I think that it should be left out of the public schools.

Rev. S. R. Spriggs, of Point Barrow, Alaska, was introduced.

OUR LIFE AT POINT BARROW.

BY REV. S. R. SPRIGGS.

I am asked to speak for a few minutes of our life at Point Barrow at the dome of the continent. I hope if any of you desire to go there as a matter of pleasure that you may not be so hampered in the journey to that out-of-the-way place as we were. In order to get there we were obliged to take passage on the one-hundred-and-fifty-ton freighting schooner, and take twelve long weeks from the time we left San Francisco till we reached the Aleutian Islands, four more to Bering Strait, and four from Bering Strait before we finally landed at Point Barrow. This long journey brought us to a climate far different from this. Perhaps the most disagreeable time is when the winter has begun to settle down, when fogs abound and clouds overcast the sky. The Point Barrow day lasts eighty-five days and the night sixty-nine days. That is the extreme which we have. We have no twenty-four-hour day or night. People continually ask if our days are not six months long, but I answer that if we were at the pole such would be the case, but midway there is a difference. People also ask how we stand the cold. It is not so cold as you would think. My wife made the startling remark the other day that she suffered more from cold coming up from New Paltz than in her three years in Alaska, and that means a great deal, because we have from sixty to seventy degrees below zero there. But the cold is dry, and it does not affect us so much in the winter months. In the summer there is a great deal of dampness as the ice passes by, and there is a great deal of fog from the Japanese current. The ships come at that time, and ships, fog, and dampness come together. The summer is the unhealthy time, but it is not long, only from the middle of June to September; the rest is all winter.

We found there a bleak, desolate looking country. The low shore line hardly told us where there was land, and the little native huts seemed no larger than ant hills from the ship, and indeed, in comparison with the buildings of this country, they are hardly larger. They consist usually of one room, twelve feet square, six feet high, half covered with earth in the summer and snow in the winter. But in these homes there is a great deal of happiness. In that cold climate the difficulty of heating the rooms is so great that they are forced to occupy small buildings.

One of the main difficulties we have to contend with is isolation. We have our mail once a year. From September, after the season closes, we look forward to that as the thing of greatest interest; but a year must slowly swing around before the ships can reach us. When it comes it is a day of great rejoicing. Our room is emptied and the mail sacks are brought in, and we have a general feast.

The people are Eskimo. They should not be classed as true Indian, but they come under your sympathy as well as the true Indian would. He is above the average in height, and I have seen them over six feet high. I have in mind a woman, a perfect Amazon; but some are so small that when full grown one might ask of them as one of the missionary's little children asked of a man, "Who does he belong to?" They are by nature peaceful, quiet, hospitable, given to jollity and entertaining very little serious thought; indeed, their word for having to think means "to be sad." The government among the natives is a sort of government by common consent. People do that which seemeth to each man good, and if it is not good for the majority they probably will not do it. They have few crimes. They have sometimes executed murderers, but it is very rare; I have known but two instances. There is no marriage ceremony, but a single wife is the rule. I know but of two exceptions; and in one case the wife has died, and in the other the extra wife was inflicted on the man as a superstitious practice by a "devil doctor." The relation is perhaps all that we could ask between husband and wife in many ways. As regards suffrage, I am quite sure they would all vote that the women should have the ballot as well as the men. The woman is busy if she does her full duty, for she has to be mistress of the house, the housekeeper, the mother, the wife. It is the part of the man to go on the hunt. The food of the natives is largely fish; but since they have been brought into relation with the white man they use also the white man's food,—flour, rice, beans, pork, molasses, sugar, etc. These common necessities are brought by ships, and traded for whalebone, skins, ivory,—the natural products of the country. But they never have a larger supply than the immediate necessity calls for. They are very improvident. The ground is frozen through the year, and thus furnishes a permanent storehouse, but few take advantage of this. Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof with them.

Physically the people are healthy, barring some exceptions, more healthy in winter than in summer. They pay no more attention to caring for their health than a child. I do not think there is a native at Point Barrow who is free from distressing colds, and many pass from these into bronchitis, pneumonia and consumption, due largely to lack of care.

They are enduring, and can travel long distances. They have no difficulty in taking long day's trips, running in front of their dogs, as they do in traveling. People have a false idea about Eskimo life. They picture a man sitting in a sledge with reins in his hands, yelling at his dogs. The man really runs in front of his dogs.

We look on the Eskimo as a dirty individual, and we are right; but let us take into consideration the circumstances in which he lives,—in one room, in a latitude anywhere from thirty to sixty-five degrees below zero. The entire family is in one room, and there are no conveniences for heating water. They are children of the hunt,—the walrus and the seal, all yielding fatty substances. But dirt is not to their liking. They would like to keep clean, and they have many expedients to eradicate dirt. We furnish all the soap we can, combs, brushes, etc., and the Eskimo family appreciate them. As I came down in the Bear, the officers told me that the natives of Point Barrow are the cleanest that they meet in Siberia or Alaska.

The mental characteristics are variable. Colonel Pratt holds that they are intelligent, and I heartily agree with him. They are bright, have good memories, and easily learn. They will learn long lists of words and sentences, but when it comes to applying their reason they are not always able to grapple with the situation. As a rule they are adaptable to the conditions imposed on them by the white man. They would readily obey the short-hair order, only in winter the climate demands that the hair shall be long.

My work is in connection with the school, and we are under government. We have a very good attendance. We had a hundred enrolled and an average attendance of forty and over for nine months of the year. They come from very long distances inland, and are earnest in their desire to attend school in the igloo. The parents are equally earnest to have them come. They tell us to whip the children if they do not do right, but we never use corporal punishment there. I doubt if the moral effect would be beneficial. Words are far better than force. The studies are elementary,—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and hygiene. To what end, you may ask, is this necessary? It is to this end, that this people may be freed from their superstitions. Superstitions are connected with all their actions. It is only as we can lift them intellectually that they will see the right way of life. People here are superstitious. I know many who dislike to sit thirteen at table, to see the moon across the left shoulder, or to cross a funeral train; but these superstitions are not connected with everyday life as those of the Eskimo are. They will keep the Eskimo from attending service or from going to school; but some are rising above these and above the power of the devil doctors. It is only as we can give them education and morality, religion and knowledge together, that we can hope to permanently raise this people to a degree of civilization.

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

Sixth Session.

Friday Night, October 24, 1902.

The last session was called to order by the President at 8 P. M., who introduced Mr. John A. Hobson, of England, as the first speaker.

Mr. JOHN A. HOBSON.—It was in full accord with the benevolence of Mr. Smiley that, on hearing from a common friend that two aliens, two strangers, were in America seeking to find out for themselves what strangers might hope to know, he invited Mr. Perris and myself to take part in this feast of nature and flow of soul. It has been a unique experience to me, as indeed I understand it is to most Americans, to be present at a Conference at Mohonk. I shall not forget this experience or the truths which I have learned about America and about questions which have been so ably discussed at your Conference.

Now I have felt some difficulty in accepting the invitation to address you. When I told friends who had visited in this country that I was proposing to come to America, and might be asked to speak, one of them said to me, "Let me give you a piece of advice: don't you say anything at all in criticism of the institutions or life of America —"

Mr. SMILEY (interrupting).—Poor advice!

Mr. HOBSON.—"Because, though they are so courteous as to be willing to hear it, they are so sensitive as to dislike it." The other friend said, "Above all do not run down any of the institutions of your own country, because Americans are very patriotic, and if you do so you will get yourself disliked." If I were to accept that advice it would certainly cut off a large portion of discussion.

We were told this morning by one of the speakers that this meeting is not political; that we are not concerned with politics. Of course we know what the gentleman meant, and I intend to adhere to it, but from my standpoint the whole of this issue is definitely political. Such issues belong to the study of politics, if I may say so, even to the science of politics (though science is not considered necessary in all quarters), and above all to the art of politics. Perhaps it would be best for me to begin with one or two impressions that I have gathered from this Conference. I want to give myself an opportunity of being corrected in private afterwards.

I have been extremely interested in two classes of subjects which have been discussed here: one relating to the ability of assimilating a quarter of a million of Indians within the borders of the United States; the other relating to the ability of America to assimilate

to her civilization large bodies of alien people resident outside her boundaries. The first is an issue of which we have no exact analogy in England. We have no large body of aliens far removed in race and character from the main body of the British people, and so I was particularly interested to learn the almost unanimous opinion of those who have given so much thought and feeling to the subject as those who have addressed the Conference. I have found a larger unanimity than I am accustomed to find in discussion of peculiarly debatable issues. It seems to me there is a consensus here to the effect that the Indians—who when white settlements spread were taken from their large territories which they roamed at will and put in preserves which in some cases were not deemed sufficient to keep them in their way of getting a livelihood, so that rations were added—should now have those rations withdrawn. That is an obvious gain. I do not think that any line of reasoning could defend the folly and injury done to any people by making them dependent on rations. Of course when I consider this question it seems to me that probably this treatment of the issue of rations might be carried logically farther than it is carried by the Conference. One gentleman who addressed you with great knowledge insisted that property was the bane of the Indian, and that if you could get from him his land,—I did not gather that it was suggested that he should retain that land in severalty,—but if it could be got from his control and the funds as well, and he could be thrown on his own resources and exertions, he would reap the advantage which everyone would reap by earning his bread with the sweat of his brow. I should like to suggest to you to consider how far that excellent argument might be carried beyond the region of the subject we are discussing. But there is a bigger question than the ability of America to assimilate this quarter of a million Indians. I was extremely struck with surprise at the conviction, supported by a powerful body of facts, that this body of Indians, far removed by centuries of alien life from the mass of the American nation, could, in the space of a very short time, by the establishment of individual property and school education, be genuinely assimilated into the mass of the American people.

I know it is not a question of the assimilation of the negro population, but I am invited to believe that this assimilation of a quarter of a million Indians could, by wise measures, be brought about within a few years. I should feel more certain, if I may whisper the remark, if we had had here some of that class of evidence which has been described as scientific. It seems to me, perhaps in my ignorance, that the science of ethnology, with its collection of different kinds of hair, measurement of skulls, and other methods which scientific men use, is not so alien from the practical treatment of these subjects as was suggested by some of your speakers. This scientific endeavor to study laboriously to reconstruct the past is surely essential to an intelligible understanding of the continuity of a race and what can be done with it in the

way of practical civilization. That is the one point which I think has occurred to me to make in relation to this issue.

There is, of course, a far more difficult issue, which was briefly treated in the speeches made this morning, and upon that point, if I may say so, I speak as an aged veteran, representing a people who have had for centuries these difficulties thrust upon their notice, or who have themselves helped to force them upon their notice in many different parts of the world. We have, of course, within recent years so vastly increased our responsibility to the lower races as to make it extremely difficult to find out what practical methods we can adopt for bringing the wholesome influences of the Anglo-Saxon upon them. Great Britain, since 1870, has increased her area by four and a half million square miles and added ninety million fresh population. That will give you some idea of the size and complexity of the subject. But your chairman alluded especially to that part of our empire which competes with this question before you by claiming the term Indian. We have had this Indian question and the problem of attempting to keep order and secure progress for a great Indian population of nearly four hundred million. We have it at the present time and we have had it for upwards of a century, and England has grappled with that problem with greater ability and more integrity than with any other portion of her imperial problem. We have sent out to India, generation after generation, many of the ablest and most honorable of our young men, and no politics has entered into the selection of those officials. We have sent out men educated by the best methods and possessed of such capacity as can be tested by the most rigid methods of examination. We have attempted to put British civilization upon India. And I am bound to say that if you will take the trouble to read those books which describe the present condition of the India population you will find that in spite of our efforts, in spite of the heroic self-sacrifice of generations of missionaries and officials, we have not succeeded in that task to any considerable extent whatever. We have secured certain elements of external order—I should almost say of mechanical order. We have stifled the springs of progress in the national life. It has been almost necessary that this should happen. Our methods of industry have destroyed the fine native handicrafts in most of the villages. Our methods of representative government have destroyed the forms of communal government which have gone back for countless centuries and which formed the political and social strength of the Indian people. Our missionaries, in spite of their noble work, have not succeeded in touching more than a small proportion of the lowest of the grades of the population. The higher castes and educated natives are almost to a man Mussulmans or Hindus at the present time. Our missionaries are making converts in large numbers, but we are engaged with a population growing far faster than our missionaries secure in converts. That cannot be disputed by those who face the facts of our India empire.

Why have we failed to the extent we have? Because, I think, we have attempted an impossible task. If any of you feel disposed to consider this subject further, read that fascinating book written by a man who spent a great deal of his time in India, who is a Conservative, a supporter of the British imperial power, *Europe and Asia*, by Meredith Townsend. After weighing all the evidence, he concludes that no real progress in this direction is possible, that we are not implanting British civilization upon the real soil of the national life, but that we have imposed it from above as a mechanical order and are keeping it there by force.

In India we have pursued some of the methods which naturally appeal to us as belonging to our conception of civilization; and we supposed that our conception of civilization, and our path of civilization, was the only path, ignoring the centuries of ancient civilization which constituted the people of India and the very slow way in which the soul of a people can be made to change itself, neglecting the tolerably patent view that you can no more impose social, political, or even religious institutions upon an alien people than you can take the flora and fauna of a tropical country and put them down in the frigid zone. Something can be done. Within a certain limit you can graft old institutions so that they will live and thrive; but there are limits, and it is the ascertainment of those limits that constitutes the gravest problem in India. It is so grave that many of our liberal statesmen and officials, who thirty years ago favored the bestowal of representative institutions and were in favor of building up the whole of the institutions of India on the basis of Great Britain, have abandoned it. They have said, We cannot make those institutions work on that soil. They have been attempting it through the nineteenth century and have not succeeded. We still hold India by the sword, and the India population is one of the poorest and most miserable in the world.

Nearer to the questions which beset America is the question of South Africa. I had there three years ago some opportunity of questioning men on the subject who were friends of the Kaffirs, the main body of the people of South Africa, and who have a title to the land, if anyone has. In Africa there are two ways, two divergent paths, which suggest themselves. One is to break up the Kaffir tribal system and give them the franchise and bring them into the white civilization as it is understood. The other takes a different standpoint, and prefers to mark off this portion of the country as preserves, to give sufficient good land for the Kaffir tribes to live in the way they have been accustomed to, under the general supervision of a British official, who shall allow to operate on these people the educative influences of our civilization, and who shall keep out of those preserves traders who seek to carry liquor or guns into that territory, miners, prospectors, who if they were admitted would work against the stability of those tribes and bring them to confusion. You have those two varieties, each seeking to benefit the Kaffir. The second plan is approved by some of the

wisest and ablest of our administrators in South Africa. In a great region of Bechuana-land it seems to have proved a remarkable success. They have been under general British protectorate, but they have maintained the tribal system. They have not had their practices put down by force; but it has been sought to win them by slow degrees from the worst aspects of their inherited life and to bring them gradually up by their natural economic needs to an understanding of white civilization and a growing willingness to participate in it. We have now abandoned the earlier plausible notion that we could in a few years, or even in a single generation, put our British institutions—political, social, or religious—with any success upon those people. You can take a people and say you are introducing representative government. You can say you are introducing the Christian religion; but it is no more real representative government than the Christianity is the Christianity of Jesus of Nazareth or even of the Christian churches.

I have given you in a word our experience gathered from our long British experience. That it is on all fours with your experience it would be absurd to suggest. We must, however, understand the ethnic conditions that have prevailed in any country if we want to introduce the type of Anglo-Saxon civilization. When we want to influence those people we must understand the past of their own institutions and how they have grown up, if we would be able to apply methods which alone can insure progress in dealing with peoples,—the cumulative methods of education and not the methods of catastrophic change.

Mr. G. H. Perris of England, the editor of *Concord*, was introduced.

MR. G. H. PERRIS.—I have to express thankfulness for the opportunity of being here. I wish to express my appreciation of the great privilege to a stranger especially, to be able to find in so concentrated a form so many of the things which he is most interested in, represented in so many personalities. Mr. Smiley's estate is beyond appreciation. It is said that all roads lead to Rome, but all these roads lead to Mohonk, and it would seem that all the railroads of the United States lead there, and even we little items of the Old World have been grasped by a sort of spiritual hand stretched across the Atlantic, which brings us up here to yield our little testimony.

I have made large sheaves of notes of the impressions I have received here during these three days for distant hearers and readers. I do not know how Mr. Hobson's impressions will appear to you, but if my own confirmation be worth anything, I hope that it will have the effect of showing you that in the mind of a second Englishman practically the same impression has been born. Of course we recognize the great differences between the native races problems as they appear to you and the native races

problems as they appear to us. Our native races problems are far removed from our own shores, and in the main, as Kipling says:—

“ East of Suez where the best is like the worst,
And there aren't no ten commandments,
An' a man may raise a thirst.”

You have not the historical discouragement which must weigh on the mind and conscience of every sensitive Englishman. You do not see behind you—though you have things to remember in the history of the North American Indian—the long trails of human blood that mark the history of England. Mr. Hobson has mentioned the dimensions of the problem. The little islands which are the cradle of your race are one tenth of the population of the British Empire, whereas the whole of your colonial population do not compose more than one tenth, or thereabout, of your white population, so that the dimensions are exactly reversed. We are one against ten; you are ten against one. I do not wish to state this as a mathematical basis of comparison. I do not wish to suggest that it is satisfactory that, mathematically speaking, our problem is one hundred times as bad as yours, though there is something even in that. Even in backward England, educationally speaking, we are finding that a teacher can only interest a certain number of youngsters, and that if you increase that number the virtue of the education is diluted correspondingly. Accepting this standard of education, and applying it to children of larger growth, it must be admitted that the more dependent and numerous the race we take, the less effective can be the influence for good which we apply to those populations. I mention this point again because I should like to be sure that you realize the dangers of the constant accretion of those races. You know, of course, it is the boast of our poets—or those considered to be our poets—that our empire came to be so by accident; that we blundered into it. Personally I would like to suggest that no schoolmaster ought to blunder into any task of education.

If we have not become discouraged by the enormity of our task, we have become more impatient under arrests of that work. Intelligent Englishmen would say that the lesson of Indian imperial history has been to go slow. I would not like to suggest that you are going too fast, that you are feeling too confident about your capacities, any more than I would like to suggest that we are going too slow. I leave it to you to determine on which side of the balance the error lies, but there is a great possibility of error on either side. Of course the difference in geography is a very great one, and I suppose it would have been sufficient to point to that difference once, but now that you have taken in hand an almost unknown Asiatic-Pacific people we may perhaps expect to find that more attention will be given by educated Americans to the analogies of historical cases in the Asiatic peoples who have been taken in hand.

I should not like to take any speaker too literally or seriously. I recognize the undercurrent of wit that supports every American speech, but at any rate I must say that in England, so far as I know, our ethnologists and philanthropists and administrators do not, even in joke, berate each other. I only mention that because I should like myself to bear humble testimony to an American institution. I do not know whether that was the institution referred to at all, but you have a Smithsonian Institute which puts forth rather large and weighty and expensive volumes on ethnology, and I should like to give my testimony that they have not been wasted, though we have had to pay Atlantic postage. They have found a welcome on one small spot of British soil at least. This is essentially an ethnological problem. The temper of mind in which we face facts is important. It has been a lesson of bitter experience that race is a fact which you ignore or minimize at your peril, for race is always an obstinate fact. It is obstinate in the highest types, such as the Boers, the British and the American, but it is a still more obstinate fact in the lower races. I do not really understand quite all the propositions that have been made, but I shall hope for private illumination on them. I do not fully understand whether you really expect to convert what one speaker called "festering cankers" into good Anglo-Saxons and Republicans in twenty-five years after converting tribal property into individual property. I only know that you are to compel them to live like white men.

I have come here to learn, and I shall carry these facts back with me, and shall be able to modify some of the judgments concluded from our own facts. I confess that I should have liked to have testimony not exclusively of white men themselves, because we Englishmen have so much erred in this matter. There is not perhaps any bait to national egotism which we English have not embraced, and after some centuries of this sort of thing we are getting, even the youngsters, to be a little skeptical.

I heard a gentleman speak here who seemed to miss the point of a Scriptural phrase. I confess that I never could pass an examination in Scripture myself, although a parson's son—owing to that fact perhaps! The Scripture authority I believe to be absolutely valid, that all nations are of one blood; but the respected and able speaker went on to say, "Let us enact it." I think the Biblical speaker had no comprehension of acts of Parliament. I think the derivation was a different one. The spirit of the New Testament was not of enactment, but of a purely moral kind. I think it related to what you call conversion, which is not to be forced or hurried.

I was very much impressed by a saying of Commissioner Jones,—a very emphatic statement,—that these people to whom you want to give citizenship in twenty-five years want heathenism; that they do not want citizenship. I do not want to lay stress upon the fact that that is not according to the Declaration of Independence. According to the conviction of all good political economists, the consent of the governed is a very essential element of social progress, and it does not do to ignore the question whether they consent or not. I

should like to know what is to become of these Indians when they are cast into the maelstrom of American life. I should like some one to tell whether it is proposed to guarantee them work, which seems to me the most splendid element of the reforms you have carried out. We have not to any great extent guaranteed our native races any work, except under famine regulations in India. That is the point of the most promise, but I do not know whether it is contemplated to continue it after the period when they shall hold individual property. Professor Giddings has used an excellent phrase as to the only true lines of advance in the treatment of alien races. He has said that the one true social bond was that of like-mindedness, but if we do not measure literally up to that—I presume we must bear it in mind as ideal—it is obvious that legislative enactment and the hasty forcible application of national laws do not necessarily carry with them a conversion to likemindedness. In the British Empire we do not try—we have practically never tried, or, so far as we have, we have given it up—to assimilate our native races. In no point is there any attempt to assimilate them. It has been concluded by men of every school to be a waste. It has therefore been a question to discover what is the right line of advance that men of every school, with scientific training and temper, would all agree; that native organizations, and especially their economic activities, should be, so far as possible, preserved; that gradually there should be an infiltration of our own ideas and thought and principles; and that, still more, aggressive incursion, like that of miners, speculators, and land-grabbers, should be shut out. That has been carried out with success in a few small territories of South Africa. The results of the opposite policy—plastering the tomb of the savage with untempered mortar—may be seen in Kimberley or Johannesburg. This is the conclusion not of a few heretical students, but of the most substantial men.

In Egypt we have not carried the native forward except in a mechanical fashion. We are providing them with a dam across the Nile. There are many ways in which a superior race—"superior race" in quotation marks—can help an inferior race mechanically, supposing the cost be not too much. The cost of our bringing civilization is too heavy in India. In Egypt the main question is with reference to these great works upon the Nile, but the expenses of militarism are serious elements. I should hope that that one item would be completely excluded from the American problem. In every part of the British Empire in which we come into contact with natives, we enroll native soldiers in the army. I should hope the American example, even in the Philippines, would be an example of peace and moral processes, those influences which in the long run have a really vital effect upon the lowest peoples. It is not that we have not good will to our native races. We have nothing quite corresponding to the Mohonk Conference, but we have bodies in England, such as the Aborigines Protection Society, and others, whose sole concern is to watch that no active cruelty be done to them. We have plenty of good will. I think the English no more wish to do an act of cruelty than the Americans do. The

ignorance of most English people is the first obstacle. They are not to be called fellow-citizens, but fellow-subjects.

There is a second obstacle in the feeling that you cannot do good by act of Parliament, and that any change of the land status is one of those irrecoverable steps which should be taken only after the greatest deliberation.

The store of information which has been given by the women who have been speakers here struck me as being worth more than many of those distinguished masculine arguments which I have listened to. I have been immensely touched by the way the women workers among the Indians reported upon their work. I wish that our politicians in both hemispheres could see that women are constructing while men are criticising and destroying.

I do not know whether it is a wild suggestion to make or not, but I feel so much the lack of clear, close, scientific information as to the lines which you have found profitable in dealing with native races with diverse conditions, that I would like to throw out this suggestion. In a certain elementary degree European countries which have colonized have united together to stop certain great evils, such as the drink traffic and slavery. Those things were represented at the Brussels Conference, and steps were taken to carry them out by certain steps. They should be carried much further. Nothing is so much wanted as an international conference on the same lines as to the common steps of different countries in the treatment of their dependent, native races, and I should like to see the United States, which was anticipated by the Czar of Russia in arbitration, take the initiative in calling such a conference.

I should like to be able to attend an unlimited series of Mohonk Conferences, not only to enjoy the splendid hospitality, the walks, the scenery, the discussion of men and women aiming at the same thing in spite of all differences, but to enjoy the feeling for three days that we are really advancing good ideas which are common to all of us.

MISS ANNA L. DAWES.—Dr. Frissell said last night that he wished there might some arrangement be made by which the general public could get more information about Indian affairs. I think we are all constantly in receipt of letters asking for facts for college students, for women who are to write papers for clubs, for missionary societies, and for many other occasions of greater or less importance. They all want to know "what is being done for the Indian." It has been difficult to tell them just what they want to know, the material is so scattered. If there could be a sort of clearing house for such literature, and some one whose business it should be to send the proper literature to each, it would be a good thing. It is a fine thing that these young people should want to know about the Indians, and a very valuable one, and it is important that they should have just the literature they want. The college student may not want the report of the missionary society, but he should be put in the way of getting what he does need.

The most competent person to take up this burden is Dr. Gates, and he has generously consented to do so. If anyone will apply to Dr. M. E. Gates, 1427 New York Avenue, Washington, D. C., for information on Indian affairs, he will furnish it. He hopes that all the societies represented here will send their literature in bulk to him, that he may send it out to people who need it. The great difficulty is the want of money for postage; therefore, if you will request those asking for literature to pay their postage, we can at least try to give the information desired.

Dr. Addison P. Foster, chairman of the Business Committee, then read the Platform, moving its adoption in the following address:—

Dr. FOSTER.—It may be well for us to turn our attention for a few moments to some of the underlying principles and methods which pertain to our work.

One of the things that has always made this Conference so extremely interesting, is, that we are united in the same philanthropic endeavor of trying to lift up other races, to do something for the elevation of humanity at large. There could be no problem more fascinating; there could be nothing more attractive or better calculated to draw upon our resources of sympathy and thought. This is the problem to which we are giving attention in our own homes. If any of us have welcomed babes into our homes and watched them develop year by year until they step forth into beautiful manhood or womanhood, we have felt what is the burden of building up character and elevating humanity. We have given of ourselves in doing this work. This is the problem given us to do in this Conference. What greater problem is there than to reach out for the good of the race, to do what we can for the elevation of mankind as a whole?

I hesitate a little at saying what I have in mind, lest I be accused by our English cousins with us of letting the eagle soar; but it must be acknowledged that our country has had remarkable power in wielding peoples of all conditions, uniting them into one great family, laboring for one common aim. It may be helpful to ask what influences are at work in our country for fusing all these unlike elements.

First, we all stand on a common level before the law; we have no hereditary distinctions; we cannot conceal the fact of differences; we cannot so arrange that we shall all have the same amount of money, of brains, or social influence, but it is certainly true that we have an equal freedom before the law. Every one has a vote,—that is, every man of us,—and happily the man and the woman are one before the law, so it is much the same.

Again, the same thing is true as to holding office. There is not a boy in the land who does not see the possibility that he may reach the Presidential chair, and that has an influence on his mind and his future life.

There are other things in our country that tend to the upbuilding

of manhood,—for example, freedom in the matter of business. Man is absolutely free to work, and that is a priceless privilege. Then there is freedom in religion. There is no connection between church and state, but every man is free to worship God and to hold any views he pleases, and no man may interfere with him under any circumstances. All these things are working together to mold the humanity seething in this great land, and made up of immensely diverse elements, into a people that is surprisingly homogeneous.

Those principles we must seize and use in our influence with the Indian and all these outlying races. There are four instrumentalities which God has graciously put into our hands with which to mold these peoples. One of these instrumentalities is law; another is custom or example, for when we are brought into relations with a multitude of people we unconsciously imitate them; another instrumentality is education,—the training of the mind; and the fourth is religion. See how these have been used in our past history; how we have brought law into play, have tried to bring the best customs into use, have employed education to bear upon youth, and how we are now striving to inculcate religion. There are two relationships to be considered and set right,—heredity and environment. How shall we change the heredity of the unfortunate? It can be done only in course of time. We do not expect to do it in one generation or two, but we can do it in the third. When I was on one of the reservations, visiting Indian schools, I was asked to go into a cottage with one of the teachers. There sat three women side by side,—three generations,—the aged grandmother, with her hair down her back, squatted on the floor; by her side her daughter, and she the mother of a young woman near her who was a teacher. The grandmother was a pagan; the mother had become a Christian in her youth, but now in her matronly age she was shy and awkward, but still a Christian lady. And there was the third generation, the daughter, a graduate of Beloit College, a young lady of perfect charm and culture, as attractive I might say as any of the young ladies here,—and that is saying a great deal. I could see as never before the wonderful influence and power that comes by a steady push on the line of heredity. The first generation was hopeless; the second was lifted up; and the third was well nigh perfected. Here is our hope in regard to all of these people, but time is required in the process.

As to environment, our great work as a conference has been along that line. We have been trying to shape the environment of these people, and to get them away from the old conditions and bring them into new relationships, where they shall be under influences which will give them a chance.

In seeking a right environment we have aimed at three things,—at opportunity, at facility, and at stimulus. It is not enough for a person to have an opportunity, to work or to learn, or to enjoy; he must also have the ability to work, learn, and enjoy. He must have the facility to put himself into the right place and do the things there, and he must have a stimulus to do it. These three things must be borne in mind,—opportunity, facility, and stimulus. We

have been aiming to get opportunity for the Indians; we have sought to give them facility; but the great thing after all is to give them stimulus.

In elevating mankind it is important to secure them property, a home, social privileges, and character. The first three of these are mainly obtained through law, and to some extent through example and education; but character, after all, is the main thing to be gained in the elevation of man, and this cannot be secured by law, and only partially by example and education. All that we secure through law is secondary; all that is not based on character is secondary. We must, then, aim to secure a stimulus in the soul itself which shall develop character. That stimulus is to be had through two influences,—through education and through religion. We have been working on the line of education with great energy and persistence, and schools have been established throughout the land that are very effective. The conclusion of the whole matter, then, is this: that in our philanthropic endeavors for the Indians we have reached the place where we must emphasize the missionary side of the work. What can this Conference do in this direction? I can understand why there has not been more emphasis laid here on missionary activity. It is because our work as a conference has been to utilize the great reformatory instrumentalities of law, custom, and education. The fourth and greatest instrumentality, namely, that of religion, is largely in the hands of the churches. It is beyond the reach of the Government, and lies somewhat outside of our reach as a deliberative body. But is there not something that even our Conference can do toward using the instrumentality of religion? Certainly! We can emphasize the importance of missionary work in at least three ways: by declaring our convictions in this direction both here and privately as we have opportunity; by showing, through the sweet and loving relation which we bear one another in this Conference as Christian people of all names; the possibility and power of Christian union in promoting philanthropic endeavor; and, I may say, above all, by seeing to it that we set an example to the needy races and peoples around us of pure and self-denying, Christlike lives. This, after all, is of the first importance if we would influence those whose lives have not been as fortunate as ours.

Dr. L. C. WARNER.—I have been asked by the Business Committee to make a few remarks about the New York Indians. The tribal relations of the Indians in this State are an anomaly in our civilization, and must be broken up. Paternalism is no more beneficial to the Indian than to the white race. Character and ability to become good citizens must come from the individual being left at liberty to earn his own living and manage his own affairs. In accordance with these principles the Dawes Severalty Bill was passed fifteen years ago, and seventy thousand Indians have been made citizens in this country, who now enjoy the privileges and rights of the white American citizen. In the passage of

the Dawes Bill the tribe of the Seneca Indians was omitted; not because they were in less need of having their land in severalty, but because of certain complications of the title to their land which made it impossible for the same law to apply to them as to the other Indians. It is to remedy this flaw in the title and to supplement the Dawes legislation that the Vreeland Bill has been introduced. I take it that we are united in the desirability of the Indians having their land in severalty, and that if we have any differences it is in regard to the method by which it is to be accomplished. Those who have listened to the discussions of this Conference must find it clear that this land of the Senecas cannot be divided in severalty, and that the Indian cannot have a title which he can sell to another individual, unless this cloud upon the title is removed by the purchase of the Ogden claim. That is the object of this bill. We do not need to discuss the justice of the Ogden claim, but it rests as a cloud upon the title. If as business men we owned this land, our first interest and purpose would be to remove this cloud. It is said that the Government ought to appropriate the money for it. Why should the Government make this appropriation? Bear in mind, it is through no fault of the Government that this cloud rests upon the land. The claim antedates the formation of the American Government. It is the title of the State of Massachusetts which existed before the Constitution was adopted, before the union of the States; and the United States is under no moral or legal obligation to remove it. When you bear that in mind, you see at once the cloud on the land should be removed by the Indians themselves from their own funds.

The only question then remaining is, Is the offer a reasonable one? It amounts to a little less than four dollars an acre, and that would seem to be a reasonable amount for any person to pay to establish a title to valuable land of this character.

A second object to be accomplished by this bill is to clear up the matter of leases. When the railroads went through this section they made a railroad junction on this reservation, and there is a large village—Salamanca—of five thousand white people whose only title to the land is a lease for ninety-nine years. In the settlement of this question, it is desirable that the title to these lands shall be changed into a fee simple. This is to be done by paying to the Indians an amount that at four and one-half per cent will equal the rental they now pay. It seems to be a just and fair proposition.

There is one amendment proposed to this bill, to the effect that it should not require the consent of the Indians. It is to be borne in mind that the Indians are the wards of the United States. What is the position of the ward? A guardian who has the care of a ward does not ask the consent of the ward when he wishes to change an investment. He is held morally and legally responsible for the legality of his acts, but he does not ask the consent of the ward. In the same way the United States Government is morally

responsible for taking right action as to the property of these Indians, but it is not under obligation to ask their consent. We must bear in mind that the whole nation is interested in this problem. Here is a body of people not amenable to the laws of the State. It has well been called a cancer. It is of the utmost importance to the whole community that this cancer should be removed,—that these tribal relations should be broken up; and the bill seems a reasonable one to accomplish this purpose.

Dr. HUBBELL.—When we are adopting resolutions with regard to “the Indians of New York,” we must remember that the Onondaga Reservation, whose condition Bishop Huntington has deplored, is not touched by the Vreeland Bill. It does not touch the Tuscaroras. It has no reference to the Tonawandas, nor to the Mohawks or St. Regis Indians. In the State of New York there are nearly two thousand five hundred Indians not affected in the slightest by the Vreeland Bill because they are not Senecas, and there are twenty-three thousand acres of reservations not touched by this bill. I therefore suggest that in a resolution of this sort,—with which I am heartily in sympathy,—we should assert that we desire the principles of the Vreeland Bill to apply to these other Indians.

Mr. Charles T. Andrews said that he had just received a letter from a teacher, saying that she hoped the Vreeland Bill would be defeated. Mr. Philip C. Garrett moved the adoption of the platform; Mr. Smiley seconded the motion, and the platform was unanimously adopted.

(The platform will be found at the opening of this volume.)

A resolution of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Smiley was read by Mr. Chas. F. Meserve.

Rev. George L. Spinning of South Orange, N. J., and Mr. William H. McElroy of New York City, followed with brief addresses in seconding the vote of thanks, which was then unanimously adopted with great applause.

Mr. A. K. Smiley spoke briefly, in response, as follows:—

Mr. SMILEY.—I wish to thank you all, and especially the last speakers, for their wise and witty words,—witty beyond expression. I think they exaggerate, but the kindness of heart I appreciate. I want to say what a pleasure it is to me to have such a Conference. It is twenty years since I first called it together for the purpose of bringing different organizations and individuals working for the Indian to agree on a common platform. I try to bring together here men of all classes and all denominations. It has been a source of extreme satisfaction this year that we have had a strong delegation from the Roman Catholic Church. We are indebted to the wisdom of President Roosevelt for having put on the Board of Indian Commissioners two prominent members of that church, Archbishop Ryan and Charles J. Bonaparte.

I always think the last Conference the best, and I am sure of it this time. We have never had discussion on a higher plane, or from men more competent to conduct discussions. The fine reports from the field always interest me, also.

I thought two years ago that we had threshed the Indian question so long that something else should engage our attention, but there is always something new coming up, like the Vreeland Bill of this year. It will continue to be so for a long time. Twenty years ago I thought the Indian question would be settled in ten or fifteen years, but it is long yet before it will be settled.

I was especially glad to hear our English cousins. They are our closest friends, and one of these gentlemen who has spoken to us is deeply interested in another cause which lies close to my heart—peace and arbitration.

Some of you have come from a long distance. I appreciate it, and I thank you. I welcome you all. We have had a good Conference, and I wish you a pleasant journey home.

This Conference has also been officered in a fine way, and we have had a rare president; but if it hurts them as it does me to have soft things said in their presence, I am not going to say a word about them, but you can take my word for it that they were good officers.

President BARROWS.—We return our thanks for the confidence reposed in the officers, and are thankful that our task has been so light. We could have no better satisfaction than the feeling that in treating the tasks set before us we have given satisfaction to Mr. Smiley in the work of the Conference. He has told us that the Indian question can be settled only by the education of the Indian, but all the time he has been educating the white man by these conferences. None of these great race questions, whether of the negro, the Indian, or any other race, can be settled without the education of the white man.

This has been a delightful Conference. It is a joy to see the old faces, to think of those who have been with us in the past, and who have inspired us by their presence. It is delightful to come together from time to time in our pilgrimage to this holy hill. It is delightful, also, to meet the new faces. That is one of the great exhilarations of life, to enrich the circle of old friendships with new friends. I think we all feel here that somehow the bond of our Christian fellowship has been strengthened, that our sympathy has been enlarged, and that our charity for each other and for all the world has been widened. We must thank all those who have contributed to this.

Mr. SMILEY.—During the past year three prominent men connected with this Conference have passed away. I have asked that we should pass no special resolutions concerning them, yet a word of remembrance should be said. First, of Mr. Lyon, so long a faithful officer in the Board of Indian Commissioners, seeing that the work was done honestly and to the advantage of the Government in providing the Indian with his supplies; a most faithful man, of great

integrity and ability, and of vast service to the Indian. Another friend who has passed away is Dr. Beardshear, President of the Agricultural College of Iowa, also a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners,—a very delightful man. Then there was General Morgan, one of the best commissioners, whose death is a great loss to us. These three, out of many, I feel that we must mention.

Mr. BARROWS.—Another one who has gone from us is Mr. S. A. Galpin, whom I had known for thirty years, who had long been interested in Indian affairs. As I look back over the eighteen years since first I came here, how many faces I miss,—General Fisk, Mr. Houghton, Mrs. Bullard, General Marshall, President Hayes, General Armstrong, Mrs. Dawes and many others. We owe a debt of gratitude to them all. We have had a good deal of catholicity in this meeting. I came into the room the other night and heard some one playing on the piano, and then was surprised and delighted to find our good friend Dr. Ganss playing a selection from Meyerbeer's "Huguenots." It struck me as interesting that Luther's hymn was being played by a Catholic priest, and that a Jew had written the music! That is another evidence of our catholicity, though I confess that the tune probably came from some old Catholic source. And so now I think we cannot close our meeting better than by using as a benediction the closing words of the address made to us the other morning by the good Archbishop: "Friends of the Indian, we believe in the same Lord and in the same God. Let us work together. Let us love one another and work for one another; let us work for humanity, and work through the love of the God of humanity."

After singing the hymn, "God be with you till we meet again," the Conference, at 11 P. M., adjourned *sine die*.

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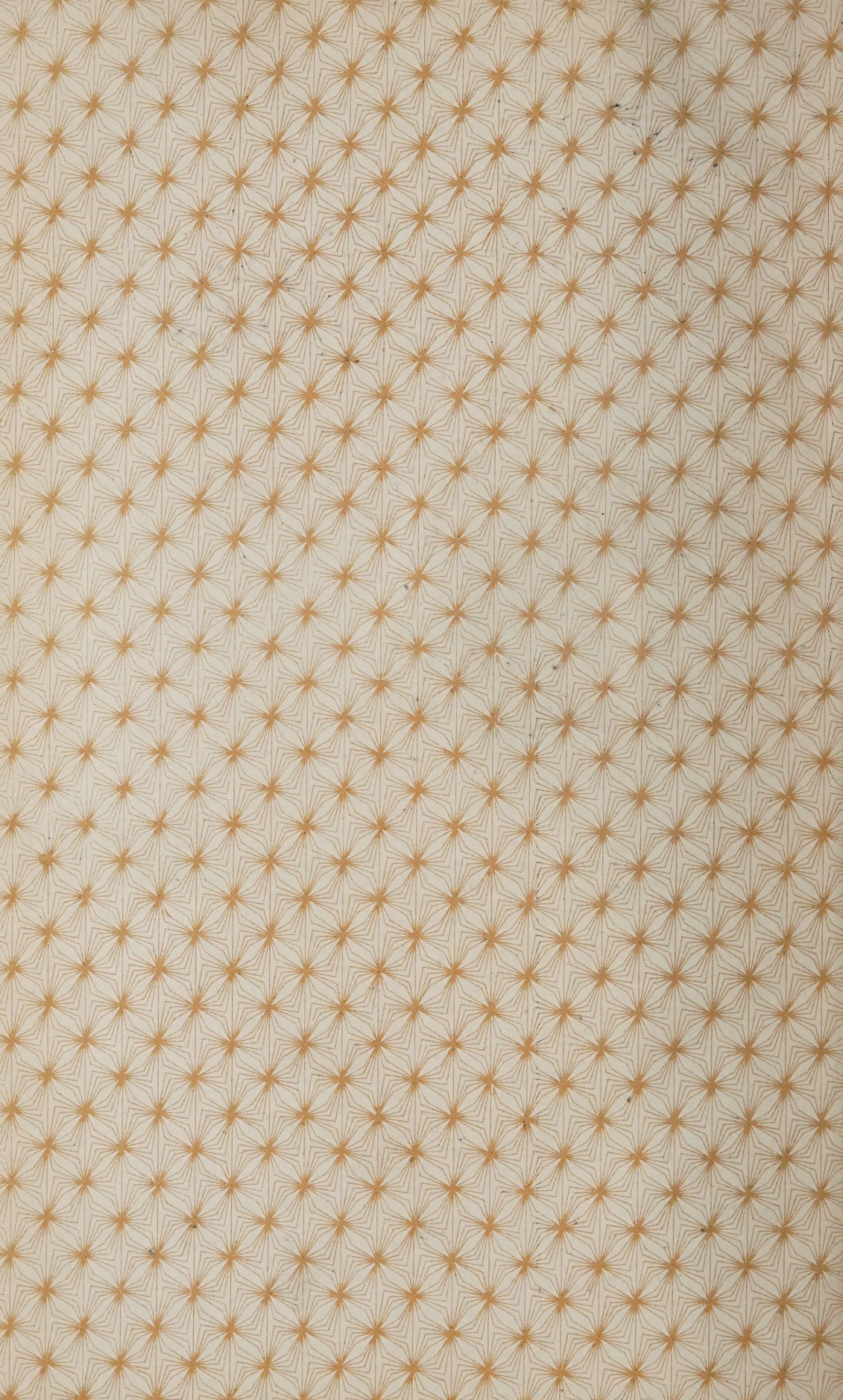
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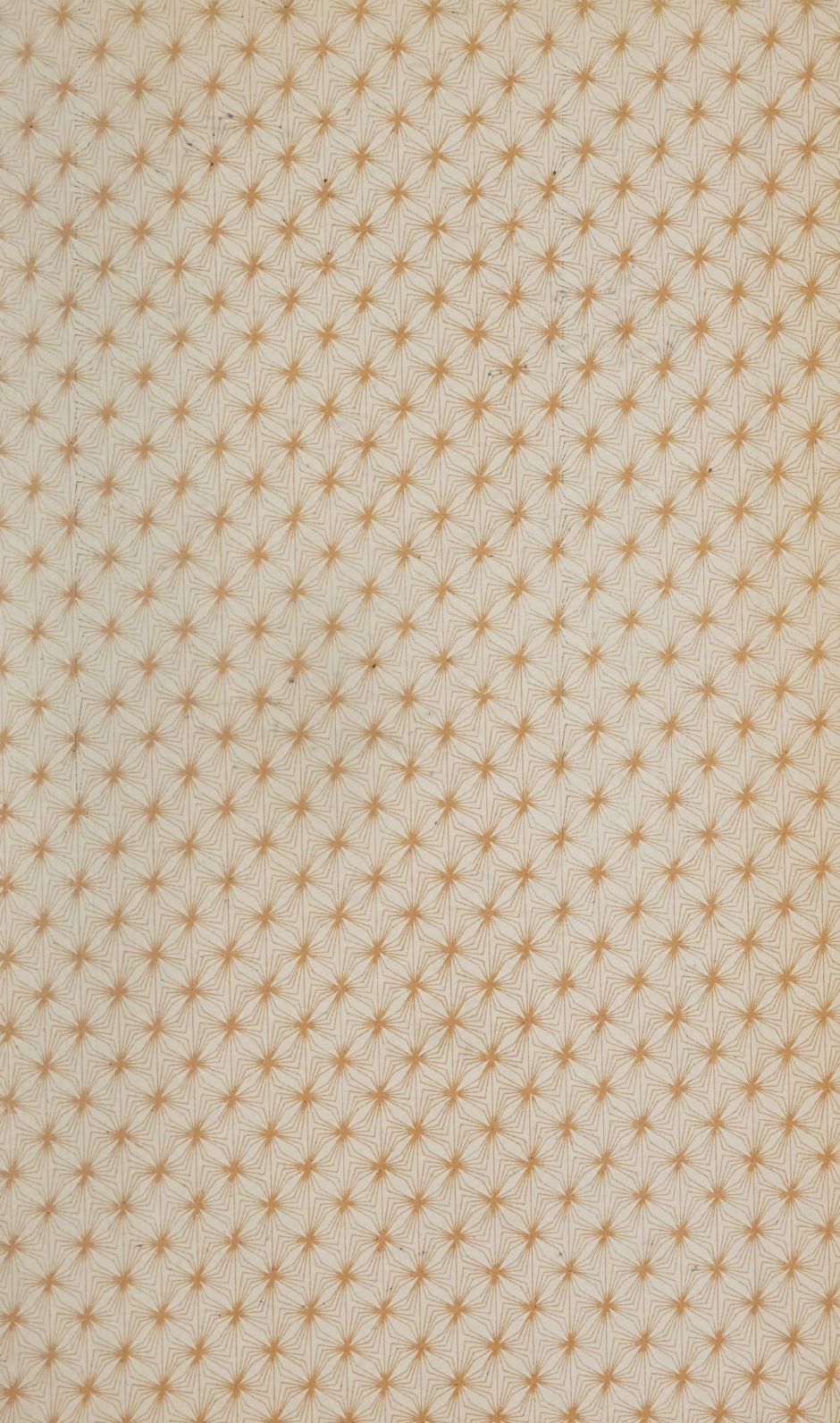
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